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A
THIRD COLLECTION
O F
T R A C T S.

Proposals tender'd to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, for uniting the Protestant Interest for the present, and preventing Divisions for the future. Together with the Declaration of King Charles II. concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs; and some Proposals of Terms of Union between the Church of England and Dissenters. Long since published by the Reverend Dean of St. Paul's. 1689.

I DOUBT not but every pious and sober Protestant of this Nation cannot but be heartily troubled to observe those passionate Differences and unchristian Dissentions which daily increase among Brethren, who are united in one and the same Doctrine of their Religion, and reformed from the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome: Upon the due Consideration of which, every one, who wisheth Peace and Prosperity to the Kingdom he lives in, ought to consider what should be the Occasion of those unhappy and ruinous Divisions we have so long suffered under, and to offer probable Means for composing them.

As to their first Rise, I doubt not but they owe their Original to the (a) *different Manner of the Reformation, and the establishing of the Orders which each Church did think fit and convenient for itself, (as the Reverend and Pious Mr. Hooker acquaints us) which were so peremptorily established under that high commanding Form, which rendered them to the People as Things everlastingly required*

(a) *Hooker's Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, printed Anno 1676, p. 44, 45.*
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by the Law of that Lord of Lords, against whose Statutes there is no Exception to be taken; by which Means it came to pass, that one Church could not but accuse and condemn another of Disobedience to the Will of Christ, in those Things where manifest Difference was between them: Whereas the self-same Orders allowed, but yet established in a more wary and suspense Manner, as being to stand in Force till God should give the Opportunity of some General Conference what might be best for them afterwards to do. This, I say, had both prevented all Occasion of just Dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater Liberty unto the Authors themselves of entering into farther Consultation afterwards; which, though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some Fear of Derogation from their Credit: And therefore, that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain.

Now, if we consider the Shortness of that Time wherein our first Reformation continued under *Edward* the Sixth, and the Persecution in *Queen Mary's* Reign, which forced many pious and learned Clergymen of the Church of *England* to flee into foreign Countries (as *Zuric, Embden, Basil, Strasburg, Franckfort, Geneva, &c.*) for the Preservation of their Religion and Lives, where they frequently conversed with those eminent Divines, who were the great Reformers there; 'tis no Wonder, that some of them should return better pleased with their Discipline than their own; especially considering, that several of them had intimate Acquaintance and Conversation with one of the Reformers, whom the Reverend Mr. *Hooker* thought (b) incomparably the wisest Man that ever the French Church did enjoy since the Hour it enjoyed him. In *Queen Elizabeth's*, *King James*, and *King Charles* the First's Reigns, 'tis well known how our Differences increased, until that unhappy War broke out, by which the Non-conforming Interest prevailed; so that the Presbyterian Discipline was endeavoured to be fixed as the established Form of Government in this Nation; our Universities, Preachers, Writings, Education, &c. were generally modelled thereto; by which Means, the greatest Number of the trading Part of the Kingdom, several of the Gentry, and some few of the Nobility (observing the Precepts and Practices, Lives and Deaths of many of that Clergy to be pious and exemplary) joined with them of this or the like Perswasion.

Since which Time, it pleasing God to restore *King Charles II.* the Parliament thought it convenient to establish the same Discipline which our first Reformers judged prudential, and that (as the Dissenters do complain) upon stricter Subscriptions than formerly, not abating or laying aside any of those Ceremonies, which have been Matters of Dispute and Contention betwixt them and the Church of *England* ever since our blessed Reformation from Popery and Superstition: Upon which Account, many of the Non-conforming Divines laid down their Livings, and the old Controversies began afresh to be revived; and so are like to be continued, until we be either ruined by Popery, or healed by Moderation, which is the only Salve to cure the Church's

(b) *Hooker's* Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 44.

Wounds. And that admirable Remedy formerly proposed to the Wisdom of Superiors by the Reverend Dr. *Stillington*, who having highly commended the (c) *Prudence and Temper of the French Churches, in composing their publick Forms of Prayer, that they were so far from inserting any Thing controversial into them, that Papists themselves would use them.* And, saith he, the same Temper was used by our Reformers in the composing our Liturgy in Reference to the Papists, to whom they had an especial Eye, as being the only Party then appearing, whom they desired to draw into their Communion, by coming as near them as they well and safely could. And certainly those holy Men, who did seek by any Means to draw in others at such a Distance from their Principles as the Papists were, did never intend, by what they did for that End, to exclude any truly tender Consciences from their Communion. That which they laid as a Bait for them, was never intended by them as a Hook for those of their own Profession. But the same, or greater Reason, which made them at that Time yield so far to them, would now have perswaded them to alter and lay aside those Things which yield Matter of Offence to any of the same Profession with themselves now; for surely none will be so uncharitable toward those of his own Profession, as not to think there is as much Reason to yield in Compliance with them, as with the Papists. And it cannot but be looked upon as a Token of God's severe Displeasure against us, if any, though unreasonable Proposals of Peace between us and the Papists, should meet with such Entertainment among many, and yet any fair Offers of Union and Accommodation among ourselves be so coldly embraced and entertained. Thus far our Reverend and Learned Dean of Paul's delivered his Opinion as to these Matters of Dispute near thirty Years ago, before the Laws were established against Dissenters. And in his Book, intituled, *The Unreasonableness of Separation*, (wrote twenty years after the former) he hath given the World such a Testimony of his real Kindness to Dissenters, (notwithstanding his hard Usage from them) and of his sincere and hearty Desire to heal our unhappy Breaches, and unite our unchristian Divisions, as will for ever consecrate his Memory to Posterity. Upon these, and some other like Considerations, I should humbly propose to the Wisdom of this present Parliament, some probable Means to put an End to our present Differences, and to unite us for the future; that so we may become a flourishing Nation, free from the Factions and Divisions of former Ages.

Proposals for our present uniting..

1. **I** Humbly propose, that the Ceremonies, at present enjoined by Law, might be left to the Liberty of the Clergy to use or lay aside; and that, because the Dissenters on the one Hand are perswaded that their Conformity to them would be sinful, and the Church of *England* on the other Hand hath declared at several Times, that they are Things indifferent, and may be

(c) Dr. *Stillington's* *Irenicum*, p. 122, 123.

changed. Upon our first Reformation, in the Account she has given of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained, she saith thus: That as those Ceremonies were taken away which were most abused, and did burthen Mens Consciences without any Cause; so the other that remain are retained for Discipline and Order, which (upon just Causes, may be altered and changed. Again, since his Majesty's Restoration, in her Preface to the Common-Prayer, are these Words: (d) *That the particular Forms of divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used, being Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important Considerations, according to the various Exigency of Times and Occasions, such Changes should be made therein, as to those that are in Place of Authority, should from Time to Time seem either necessary or expedient. Accordingly we find, that in the Reigns of several Princes of blessed Memory since the Reformation, the Church, upon just and weighty Considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such Alterations in some Particulars, as in their respective Times were thought convenient. Thus far the Church of England. And of late I find, that a very eminent Member thereof, the Reverend Dean of Canterbury, hath acquainted us, in a publick Sermon preached by him at the Yorkshire Feast, (e) That tho' it was not for private Persons to undertake in Matters of publick Concernment, yet he thought he had no Cause to doubt but the Governors of our Church (notwithstanding all the Advantages of Authority and Reason too, as they thought, on their Side) were Persons of that Piety and Prudence, that for Peace-Sake, and in order to a firm Union amongst Protestants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to insist upon little Things, but to yield them up, whether to the Infirmary or Importunity, or, perhaps, in some very few Things, to the plausible Exceptions of those who differed from them.*

The Reverend Dr. Sherlock, in a Sermon lately preached before the Lord Mayor, hath likewise most charitably and piously declared his Thoughts about these Matters of Difference in the following Words.

(f) *We have Reason to hope, that the Church of England, which, at the Beginning of the Reformation, took such prudent Care not to offend the Papists by going farther from them than was necessary, will, whenever it is likely to do Good, condescend a great deal farther than it is necessary to reform, to meet the Dissenter; for while the external Decency, Gravity, and Solemnity of Worship is secured, no wise and good Man will think much to change a changeable Ceremony, when it will heal the Breaches and Divisions of the Church. And let us all heartily pray to God, that there may be this good and peaceable Disposition of Mind in all Conformists, and Non-Conformists, towards a happy Re-union; and all considering Men will think it Time to lay aside such little Disputes, when*

(d) Preface to the Common-Prayer.

(f) Dr. Sherlock's Sermon, preached be-

(e) Dr. Tillotson's Sermon, preached at the Yorkshire Feast, Anno 1679, p. 28.

fore the Lord Mayor, Nov. 1688,

it is not merely the Church of England, nor any particular Set of Protestants, whose Ruin is aimed at, but the whole Protestant Faith.

And as a farther Confirmation of the Readiness, not only of our Divines, but of the Fathers of our Church, to encourage so glorious a Work, his Grace of Canterbury, and the rest of the petitioning Bishops, did, in their famous Petition (for which they were sent Prisoners to the Tower) assure his Majesty, that they did not refuse to distribute and publish his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, *from any Want of due Tenderneſs to Dissenters; in Relation to whom, they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit, when that Matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation.*

And not long after, another Company of Bishops, who were sent for by the late King James, to give him their Advice, (in several important Affairs of the Nation) among other Things, proposed, *That a free Parliament should establish a due Liberty of Conscience.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury was so earnest to promote this so Christian Design, that among those admirable Articles recommended by his Grace to all the Bishops within his Province, (which were to be more fully insisted upon in their Addresses to the Clergy and People of their respective Diocesses) this was one :

That they also walk in Wisdom towards those that are not of our Communion: And if there be in their Parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the Spirit of Meekness, seeking by all good Ways and Means to gain and win them over to our Communion: More especially, that they have a very tender Regard to our Brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that upon Occasion offered, they visit them at their Houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full Compliance with our Church, or at least, that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same Rule, and mind the same Thing.

And in order hereunto, that they take all Opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable to the Errors, Superstitions, Idolatries, and Tyrannies of the Church of Rome.

And that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace, for an universal, blessed Union of all the Reformed Churches both at Home and Abroad, against our common Enemies; and that all they, who do confess the holy Name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the Truth of his holy Word, may also meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect Unity and Godly Love.

Now, seeing the Church of England hath once and again declared her excellent Temper and Moderation for the Preservation of Peace and Unity (the great End and Design of all Church-Government) we have little Reason to question her Readiness (at such a Time as this is) to comply with so modest a Proposal, as a Liberty of using or refusing those Ceremonies, which she saith,

In

In their own Nature are indifferent and alterable, and upon weighty and important Considerations may be changed, &c. or to grant her Consent to such a Subscription, in relation to those Articles which concern the Government and Discipline of the Church, as are proposed by the learned Dean of *St. Paul's*, in the *Appendix*; especially considering, that by this Condescension of hers, she will certainly bring into her Communion a great Number of pious, moderate, and more considerative Non-conformists: Which will not only add Strength to herself, but give a great Joy and Content to all those who have wish'd well to the Peace, Unity, and Prosperity of this our Church and Nation: To which End it would not be amiss, that a strict Injunction should be laid on the Clergy and People to forbear all harsh and unchristian Language one towards another, and to observe the Apostle's Rule, *of not judging one another.*

2. I would likewise humbly propose, That the rest of the Protestant Dissenters might be indulged by Act of Parliament, provided they neither preached, wrote, nor discoursed against the Doctrine or Government of the Church as by Law established; and that, because Charity, which is kind, and thinks no Evil, would oblige a sober and indifferent Person to believe, that the Reason of their Separation from our Church did chiefly proceed from a Tenderness of Conscience (impressed upon them by the Force of their Education, Study, Conversation, &c. left in complying with the present established Form of Worship, they should sin against God, and wound the Peace of their own Souls: For otherwise, their own present Quiet and Interest must necessarily have obliged them to a Compliance, they having been under a continual Danger and Hazard of the Execution of the Laws established against them; whereby they have been not only deprived of that Maintenance, which, by the Countenance of Authority, they might otherwise have expected, and publicly enjoyed, but exposed to many Wants, Difficulties, and Sufferings.

Proposals for preventing future Divisions.

I Humbly propose to the Wisdom of this present Parliament, That an ACT might be passed, whereby every Person (after a limited Term of Years) intending to take Holy Orders, should be incapacitated for any Church-Preferment, or for a Licence to preach in private Congregations, who could not give a satisfactory Account to the Bishop of the Diocese where he intended to settle, of his Proficiency and Ability in Church-History and primitive Learning, whereby he might be able to give a clear and plain Account of what Discipline and Order were used in the Church of God nearest our Saviour's and the Apostles Days; when Differences and Errors in Doctrine or Church-Government began first to arise, with the Authors, Occasion, and Effects thereof. The Advantages, which must necessarily attend the making of such a Law, would be very great both to our Interest in Church and State; amongst which I beg Leave to name the following.

1. We

1. We might hereby (for the future) more assuredly hope for, and expect Peace and Union amongst our Church-Men, who, having been all well acquainted with primitive Learning and Practice, with the Rise and Growth of all Heresies, Schisms, and Divisions in the Church, and with the fatal Consequences which have attended them, would not more rationally than unanimously make Choice of one and the same Form of Worship and Discipline, but most heartily unite in their Affections to one another, endeavouring with all their Strength and Power to maintain the Church in Peace and Unity.

2. By this Means we might be assured to enjoy the most learned Clergy that ever this Nation brought forth, who would not only prove a great Bulwark against Popery on the one Hand, but Schism and Faction on the other; and being so well accomplished for the ministerial Function (before they enter into it) might much more assuredly engage the Affection and Hearts of their People, by spending (in private) the greatest Part of the Week in instructing them in the Principles, and encouraging them in the Practice of the Christian Religion; a Duty, alas, too much neglected in our Days!

3. We may then hope for Preferments to answer every Man's Merit: One of the principal Reasons why we have more Clergymen than Livings, seeming to be this, That a great Number of ordinary Tradesmen and Farmers do send their Children to the Universities (being ambitious to make them Gentlemen) though they are unable to maintain them there above three or four Years; in which Time such Accomplishments are not to be attained as are required by this Proposal. If thereof such a Law (as this) were once established, they would be willing to bring them up to honest Professions and Trades, much more suitable for them, and Persons of better Estates and Quality would be encouraged to bring up their Children in the Universities, and continue them there until they arrived to that Pitch of Learning, which would not only render them the Honour of their own, but the Envy of foreign Nations, and also capacitate them for the Enjoyment of a Preferment suitable to their Parents Charge, and their own Pains and Industry; especially if the King would appropriate the First-Fruits and Tenths of all the Ecclesiastical Preferments, or the Parliament should think fit to raise a Sum of Money for the purchasing Improvements, and endowing Livings with such a Competency, as might enable the Incumbents to provide comfortably for themselves and Families, and to keep up decent Hospitality in their Neighbourhood; and would annex those Improvements (when purchased) to the Bishops and Chapters of each Diocese, who are to be presumed to be the most competent Judges of the Abilities of all Persons to be entrusted with the Care of Souls: And for the more effectual Success of this important Affair, let the Bishops be obliged every Year to call upon the Universities for the Names of the most pious, learned, and industrious Persons in their several Colleges.

In short, I heartily wish, that we might often and seriously remember our Blessed Saviour's Prediction, that *a Kingdom divided against itself cannot stand*; and likewise consider that Fate, which attended the Faction and Division

sion of the *Jews*, which grew to that Height, that they could not forbear destroying each other, even when their declared Enemies the *Romans* were coming to besiege their City: *From which, good Lord deliver us.*

A P P E N D I X.

His Majesty's Declaration to all His loving Subjects of His Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

C H A R L E S R.

HOW much the Peace of the State is concerned in the Peace of the Church, and how difficult a Thing it is to preserve Order and Government in Civil, whilst there is no Order or Government in Ecclesiastical Affairs, is evident to the World; and this little Part of the World, Our own Dominions, hath had so late Experience of it, that We may very well acquiesce in the Conclusion, without enlarging Ourselves in Discourse upon it, it being a Subject We have had frequent Occasion to contemplate upon, and to lament Abroad as well as at Home.

In Our Letter to the *Speaker* of the House of Commons from *Breda*, We declared how much We desired the Advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion; that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession (of both which We have had abundant Evidence) could in the least Degree startle Us, or make Us swerve from it, and that nothing can be proposed to manifest Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which we will not readily consent; and We said then, that We did hope in due Time, Ourselves to propose somewhat for the Propagation of it, that will satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our Care and Our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring Disadvantage to it. And the Truth is, We do think Ourselves the more competent to propose, and with God's Assistance, to determine many Things now in Difference, from the Time We have spent, and the Experience We have had, in most of the Reformed Churches Abroad, in *France*, in the *Low-Countries*, and in *Germany*, where We have had frequent Conferences with the most learned Men, who have unanimously lamented the great Reproach the Protestant Religion undergoes from the Distempers, and too notorious Schisms in Matters of Religion in *England*: And as the most learned among them have always, with great Submission and Reverence, acknowledged and magnified the established Government of the Church of *England*, and the great Countenance and Shelter the Protestant Religion received from it before these unhappy Times; so many of them have, with great Ingenuity and Sorrow, confessed, that they

they were too easily misled by Misinformation and Prejudice into some Disesteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the Church of *Rome*; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the best Fence God hath yet raised against Popery in the World; and we are persuaded they do with great Zeal wish it restored to its old Dignity and Veneration.

When We were in *Holland*, We were attended by many grave and learned Ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal Assertors of the Presbyterian Opinions, with whom We had as much Conference as the Multitude of Affairs which were then upon Us would permit Us to have; and to Our great Satisfaction and Comfort found them Persons full of Affection to Us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State, and neither Enemies (as they have been giving out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgy, but modestly to desire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers, which the Indisposition of the Time, and the Tenderness of some Men's Consciences, had contracted; for the better doing whereof, We did intend, upon Our first Arrival in this Kingdom, to call a Synod of Divines, as the most proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all those Differences and Dissatisfactions which had, or should arise in Matters of Religion; and in the mean Time, We published, in Our Declaration from *Breda*, a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no Man should be disquieted or called in Question for Differences of Opinion in Matter of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

Whilst We continued in this Temper of Mind and Resolution, and have so far complied with the Persuasion of particular Persons, and the Distemper of the Time, as to be contented with the Exercise of our Religion in Our own Chapel, according to the constant Practice and Laws established, without enjoining that Practice, and the Observation of those Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom; in which We have undergone the Censure of many, as if We were without that Zeal for the Church which We ought to have, and which, by God's Grace, We shall always retain; We have found Ourselves not so candidly dealt with as We have deserved, and that there are unquiet and restless Spirits, who, without abating any of their own Distemper, in Recompence of the Moderation they find in Us, continue their Bitterness against the Church, and endeavour to raise Jealousies of Us, and to lessen Our Reputation by their Reproaches, as if We were not true to the Professions We have made: And in order thereunto, they have very unseasonably caused to be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the Kingdom, a Declaration, heretofore printed in Our Name during the Time of our being in *Scotland*, of which We shall say no more, than that the Circumstances by which We were enforced to sign that Declaration, are enough known to the World; and that the worthiest and greatest Part of that Nation did even then detest and abhor the ill Usage of Us in that Particular,

when the same Tyranny was exercised there by the Power of a few ill Men, which at that Time had spread itself over this Kingdom, and therefore We had no Reason to expect, that We should at this Season, when We are doing all We can to wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiss by other Men, and, We thank God, have wiped it out of Our own Remembrance, have been Ourselves assaulted with those Reproaches, which We will likewise forget.

Since the printing this Declaration, several seditious Pamphlets and *Queries* have been published and scattered Abroad, to infuse Dislike and Jealousies into the Hearts of the People, and of the Army; and some who ought rather to have repented the former Mischief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the Hardness to publish, that the Doctrine of the Church, against which no Man, with whom We have conferred, hath excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline.

This over-passionate and turbulent Way of proceeding, and the Impatience We find in many for some speedy Determination in these Matters, whereby the Minds of Men may be composed, and the Peace of the Church established, hath prevailed with Us to invert the Method We had proposed to Ourselves, and even in order to the better calling and composing of a Synod (which the present Jealousies will hardly agree upon) by the Assistance of God's blessed Spirit, which We daily invoke and supplicate, to give some Determination Ourselves to the Matters in Difference, until such a Synod may be called, as may, without Passion or Prejudice, give Us such farther Assistance towards a perfect Union of Affections, as well as Submission to Authority, as is necessary: And We are the rather induced to take this upon Us, by finding, upon the full Conference We have had with the learned Men of several Persuasions, that the Mischiefs, under which both the Church and State do at present suffer, do not result from any form'd Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows, but from the Passion and Appetite, and Interest of particular Persons, who contract greater Prejudice to each other, from those Affections, than would naturally rise from their Opinions; and those Distempers must be in some Degree allayed, before the meeting in a Synod can be attended with better Success, than their meeting in other Places, and their Discourses in Pulpits have hitherto been; and till all Thoughts of Victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary Thoughts for the Vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

We must, for the Honour of all those of either Persuasion with whom We have conferred. declare, That the Professions and Desires of all for the Advancement of Piety and true Godliness, are the same; their Professions of Zeal for the Peace of the Church, the same; of Affection and Duty to Us, the same: They all approve Episcopacy; they all approve a set Form of Liturgy; and they all disapprove and dislike the Sin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church: And if upon these excellent Foundations, in Submission to which there is such a Harmony of Affections, any Superstructures should be raised, to the shaking those Foundations, and
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to the contracting and lessening the blessed Gift of Charity, which is a vital Part of Christian Religion, We shall think Ourselves very unfortunate, and even suspect, that We are defective in that Administration of Government, with which God hath entrusted Us.

We need not profess the high Affection and Esteem We have for the Church of *England*, as it is established by Law; the Reverence to which hath supported Us, with God's Blessing, against many Temptations; nor do We think that Reverence in the least Degree diminished by Our Condescensions, not peremptorily to insist on some Particulars of Ceremony, which, however introduced by the Piety and Devotion, and Order of former Times, may not be so agreeable to the present, but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion, for the Improvement whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispensed with; and We hope this charitable Compliance of Ours will dispose the Minds of all Men to a cheerful Submission to that Authority, the Preservation whereof is so necessary for the Unity and Peace of the Church; and that they will acknowledge the Support of the Episcopal Authority, to be the best Support of Religion, by being the best Means to contain the Minds of Men within the Rules of Government: And they who would restrain the Exercise of that holy Function within the Rules which were observed in the primitive Times, must remember and consider, that the Ecclesiastical Power being in those blessed Times always subordinate and subject to the Civil; it was likewise proportioned to such an Extent of Jurisdiction as was most agreeable to that: And as the Sanctity and Simplicity, and Resignation of that Age, did then refer many Things to the Bishops, which the Policy of succeeding Ages would not admit, at least did otherwise provide for; so it can be no Reproach to primitive Episcopacy, if where there have been great Alterations in the Civil Government, from what was then, there have been likewise some Difference and Alteration in the Ecclesiastical, the Essence and Foundation being still preserved. And upon this Ground, without taking upon Us to censure the Government of the Church in other Countries, where the Government of the State is different from what it is here, or enlarging Ourselves upon the Reasons why, while there was an Imagination of erecting a Democratical Government here in the State, they should be willing to continue an Aristocratical Government in the Church: It shall suffice to say, that since, by the wonderful Blessing of God, the Hearts of this whole Nation are returned to an Obedience to Monarchick Government in the State, it must be very reasonable to support that Government in the Church which is established by Law, and with which the Monarchy hath flourished through so many Ages, and which is in Truth as ancient in this Island as the Christian Monarchy thereof; and which hath always, in some Respects or Degrees, been enlarged or restrained, as hath been thought most conducing to the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; and therefore We have not the least Doubt, but that the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by Us, to allay the present Distempers, very
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just and reasonable, and will very chearfully conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do, in the first Place, declare Our Purpose and Resolution is, and shall be, to promote the Power of Godliness, to encourage the Exercises of Religion, both publick and private, and to take Care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy Exercises, without unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous Ministers be not permitted in the Church: And that as the present Bishops are known to be Men of great and exemplary Piety in their Lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled Sufferings during these late Distempers, and of great and known Sufficiency in Learning; so We shall take special Care, by the Assistance of God, to prefer no Men to that Office and Charge, but Men of Learning, Virtue, and Piety, who may be themselves the best Examples to those who are to be governed by them; and We shall expect, and provide the best We can, that the Bishops be frequent Preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some Church of their Diocess, except they be hindered by Sicknes, or other bodily Infirmities, or some other justifiable Occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent.

2. Because the Diocesses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large Extent, We will appoint such a Number of suffragan Bishops in every Diocess, as shall be sufficient for the due Performance of their Work.

3. No Bishop shall ordain, or exercise any Part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, without the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters: And no Chancellors, Commissaries, or Officials, as such, shall exercise any Act of Spiritual Jurisdiction in these Cases, *viz.* Excommunication, Absolution, or wherein any of the Ministry are concerned, with Reference to their pastoral Charge. However, Our Intent and Meaning is, to uphold and maintain the Profession of the Civil Law so far, and in such Matters, as it hath been of Use and Practice within Our Kingdoms and Dominions: Albeit, as to Excommunication, Our Will and Pleasure is, that no Chancellor, Commissary, or Official, shall decree any Sentence of Excommunication, or Absolution, or be Judges in those Things wherein any of the Ministry are concerned, as is aforesaid. Nor shall the Archdeacon exercise any Jurisdiction, without the Advice and Assistance of six Ministers of his Archdeaconry, whereof three to be nominated by the Bishop, and three by the Election of the major Part of the Presbyters within the Archdeaconry.

4. To the End that the Deans and Chapters may be the better fitted to afford Counsel and Assistance to the Bishops, both in Ordination, and the other Offices mentioned before, We will take Care that those Preferments be given to the most learned and pious Presbyters of the Diocess; and moreover, that an equal Number (to those of the Chapter) of the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters of the same Diocess, annually chosen by the major Vote of all the Presbyters of that Diocess present at such Elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the Chapter,
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in all Ordinations, and in every Part of Jurisdiction which appertains to the Censures of the Church, and at all other solemn and important Actions in the Exercise of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, wherein any of the Ministry are concerned; provided, that at all such Meetings, the Number of the Ministers so elected, and those present of the Chapter, shall be equal, and not exceed one the other, and that to make the Numbers equal, the Juniors of the exceeding Number be withdrawn, that the most ancient may take Place: Nor shall any suffragan Bishop ordain, or exercise the before-mentioned Offices and Acts of Spiritual Jurisdiction, but with the Advice and Assistance of a sufficient Number of the most judicious and pious Presbyters annually chosen as aforesaid within his Precincts: And our Will is, that the great Work of Ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the Bishop and his aforesaid Presbytery, at the four set Times and Seasons appointed by the Church for that Purpose.

5. We will take Care, that Confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed, by the Information, and with the Consent of the Minister of the Place, who shall admit none to the Lord's Supper, till they have made a credible Profession of their Faith, and promised Obedience to the Will of God, according as is expressed in the Considerations of the Rubrick before the Catechism; and that all possible Diligence be used for the Instruction and Reformation of scandalous Offenders, whom the Minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's Table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty Lives, as is partly express'd in the *Rubrick*, and more fully in the *Canons*, provided there be Place for due Appeal to superior Powers. But besides the Suffragans and their Presbytery, every rural Dean (those Deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the Bishop of the Diocese) together with three or four Ministers of that Deanry, chosen by the major Part of all the Ministers within the same, shall meet once in every Month, to receive such Complaints as shall be presented to them by the Ministers or Church-Wardens of the respective Parishes; and also to compose all such Differences betwixt Party and Party, as shall be referred unto them by Way of Arbitration, and to convince Offenders, and reform all such Things as they find amiss by their pastoral Reproofs and Admonitions, if they may be so reformed: And such Matters as they cannot, by this pastoral and persuasive Way, compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for, and presented to the Bishop; at which Meeting any other Ministers of that Deanry may, if they please, be present and assist. Moreover, the rural Dean and his Assistants are, in their respective Divisions, to see, that the Children and younger Sort be carefully instructed, by the respective Ministers of every Parish, in the Grounds of Christian Religion, and be able to give a good Account of their Faith and Knowledge, and also of their Christian Conversation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the Bishop, or admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

6. No Bishop shall exercise any arbitrary Power, or do or impose any Thing upon the Clergy or the People, but what is according to the known Law of the Land.

7. We are very glad to find, that all, with whom We have conferred, do in their Judgments approve a Liturgy, or set Form of publick Worship, to be lawful; which, in Our Judgment, for the Preservation of Unity and Uniformity, We conceive to be very necessary: And though We do esteem the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and by Law established, to be the best We have seen (and We believe that We have seen all that are Extant, and used in this Part of the World, and well know what Reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most learned Men in those Churches have for it) yet, since We find some Exceptions made against several Things therein, We will appoint an equal Number of learned Divines of both Persuasions to review the same, and to make such Alterations as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional Forms in the Scripture-Phrase (as near as may be) suited unto the Nature of the several Parts of Worship; and that it be left to the Ministers Choice to use one or other at his Discretion. In the mean Time, and till this be done, although We do heartily wish and desire, that the Ministers in their several Churches, because they dislike some Clauses and Expressions, would not totally lay aside the Use of the Book of Common-Prayer, but read those Parts against which there can be no Exception; which would be the best Instance of declining those Marks of Distinction, which We so much labour and desire to remove: Yet in Compassion to divers of Our good Subjects, who scruple the Use of it, as now it is, Our Will and Pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed, and effectually reformed, as aforesaid.

8. Lastly, Concerning Ceremonies, which have administred so much Matter of Difference and Contention, and which have been introduced by the Wisdom and Authority of the Church, for Edification, and the Improvement of Piety: We shall say no more, but that We have the more Esteem of all, and Reverence for many of them, by having been present in many of those Churches where they are most abolished, or discountenanced; and it cannot be doubted, but that, as the universal Church cannot introduce one Ceremony in the Worship of God, that is contrary to God's Word expressed in the Scripture; so every national Church, with the Approbation and Consent of the Sovereign Power, may, and hath always introduced such particular Ceremonies, as in that Conjunction of Time are thought most proper for Edification, and the necessary Improvement of Piety and Devotion in the People, though the necessary Practice thereof cannot be deduced from Scripture; and that which before was, and in itself is indifferent, ceases to be indifferent, after it is once established by Law: And therefore Our present Consideration and Work is, to gratify the private Consciences of those who are grieved with the Use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with, their omitting those Ceremonies; not utterly to abolish any
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which are established by Law (if any are practised contrary to Law, the same shall cease) which would be unjust, and of ill Example; and to impose upon the Conscience of some, for the Satisfaction of the Conscience of others, which is otherwise provided for. As it could not be reasonable that Men should expect, that We should Ourself decline, or enjoin others to do so, to receive the Blessed Sacrament upon our Knees, which in Our Conscience is the most humble, most devout, and most agreeable Posture for that holy Duty, because some other Men, upon Reasons best, if not only known to themselves, chuse rather to do it sitting or standing: We shall leave all Decisions and Determinations of that Kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire Unity and Uniformity throughout the Nation, to the Advice of a national Synod, which shall be duly called, after a little Time, and a mutual Conversation between Persons of different Persuasions, hath mollified those Distempers, abated those Sharpnesses, and extinguished those Jealousies, which make Men unfit for those Consultations; and upon such Advice, We shall use Our best Endeavour, that such Laws may be established, as may best provide for the Peace of the Church and State, provided that none shall be denied the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though they do not use the Gesture of kneeling in the Act of receiving.

In the mean Time, out of Compassion and Compliance towards those who would forbear the Cross in Baptism, We are content, that no Man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it; but if any Parent desire to have his Child christened according to the Form used, and the Minister will not use the Sign, it shall be lawful for that Parent to procure another Minister to do it: And if the proper Minister shall refuse to omit that Ceremony of the Cross, it shall be lawful for the Parent, who would not have his Child so baptized, to procure another Minister to do it, who will do it according to his Desire.

No Man shall be compelled to bow at the Name of *Jesus*, or suffer in any Degree for not doing it, without reproaching those, who out of their Devotion continue that ancient Ceremony of the Church.

For the Use of the Surplice, We are contented, that all Men be left to their Liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least Degree for wearing, or not wearing it, provided, that this Liberty do not extend to Our own Chapel, Cathedral, or Collegiate Churches, or to any College in either of Our Universities; but that the several Statutes and Customs for the Use thereof in the said Places, be there observed as formerly.

And because some Men, otherwise pious and learned, say, they cannot conform unto the Subscription required by the Canon, nor take the Oath of canonical Obedience; We are content, and it is Our Will and Pleasure, (so they take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy) that they shall receive Ordination, Institution, and Induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their Function, and to enjoy the Profits of their Livings, without the said Subscription, or Oath of canonical Obedience. And moreover, that no Persons in the Universities shall, for the Want of such Subscription, be hindered in the
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taking of their Degrees. Lastly, That none be judged to forfeit his Presentation or Benefice, or be deprived of it, upon the Statute of the thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, Chapter the twelfth, so he read and declare his Assent to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in the Book of Articles in the said Statute mentioned.

In a Word, We do again renew what We have formerly said in our Declaration from *Breda*, for the Liberty of tender Consciences, that no Man should be disquieted, or called in Question, for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and if any have been disturbed in that Kind since Our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Direction of Ours.

To conclude, and in this Place to explain what We mentioned before, and said in Our Letter to the House of Commons from *Breda*, that We hoped in due Time Ourselves to propose somewhat for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, that will satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our Care and Our Study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring Disadvantage to it; We do conjure all Our loving Subjects to acquiesce in, and submit to this Declaration, concerning those Differences which have so much disquieted the Nation at Home, and given such Offence to the Protestant Churches Abroad, and brought such Reproach upon the Protestant Religion in general; as if, upon obscure Notions of Faith and Fancy, it did admit the Practice of Christian Duties and Obedience to be discountenanced and suspended, and introduced a Licence in Opinions and Manners, to the Prejudice of the Christian Faith. And let us all endeavour, and emulate each other in those Endeavours, to countenance and advance the Protestant Religion Abroad; which will be best done by supporting the Dignity and Reverence due to the best reformed Protestant Church at Home; and which, being once freed from the Calumnies and Reproaches it hath undergone from these late ill Times, will be the best Shelter for those Abroad; which will, by that Countenance, both be the better protected against their Enemies, and be the more easily induced to compose the Differences amongst themselves, which give their Enemies more Advantage against them. And we hope and expect, that all Men will henceforward forbear to vent any such Doctrine in the Pulpit, or to endeavour to work in such Manner upon the Affections of the People, as may dispose them to an ill Opinion of Us and the Government, and to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom: Which if all Men will, in their several Vocations, endeavour to preserve with the same Affection and Zeal as We Ourselves will do, all Our good Subjects will, by God's Blessing upon Us, enjoy as great a Measure of Felicity as this Nation hath ever done; and which we shall constantly labour to procure for them, as the greatest Blessing God can bestow upon us in this World.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, this Twenty-fifth Day of October, 1660.

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The Reverend Dean of Paul's Proposals, or Terms of Union, betwixt the Church of England and the Dissenters: Taken out of his Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation, Pag. 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

IS there nothing to be done for dissenting Protestants, who agree with us in all doctrinal Articles of our Church, and only scruple the Use of a few Ceremonies, and some late Impositions? Shall these Differences still be continued, when they may be so easily removed, and so many useful Men be encouraged, and taken into the Constitution? Do we value a few indifferent Ceremonies, and some late Declarations, and doubtful Expressions, beyond the Satisfaction of Mens Consciences, and the Peace and Stability of this Church?

As to this material Question, I shall crave Leave to deliver my Opinion freely and impartially; and that,

I. With Respect to the Case of the People, the Terms of whose Union with us is acknowledged by our Brethren to be so much easier than their own. But these are of two Sorts:

1. Some allow the Use of the Liturgy, but say, they cannot join in Communion with us, because the Participation of the Sacraments hath such Rites and Ceremonies annexed to it, which they think unlawful; and therefore, till these be removed, or left indifferent, they dare not join with us in Baptism, or the Lord's Supper; because in the one the Cross is used, and in the other kneeling is required. As to these I answer,

(1.) Upon the most diligent Search I could make into these Things, I find no good Ground for any Scruple of Conscience as to the Use of these Ceremonies, and as little as any as to the Sign of the Cross, as it is used in our Church, notwithstanding all the Noise that hath been made about its being a new Sacrament, and I know not what; but of this at large in the following Treatise.

(2.) I see no Ground for the People's Separation from other Acts of Communion, on the Account of some Rites they suspect to be unlawful, and especially when the Use of such Rites is none of their own Act, as the Cross in Baptism is not; and when such an Explication is annexed concerning the Intention of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, as in the Rubrick after the Communion.

(3.) Notwithstanding, because the Use of Sacraments in a Christian Church ought to be the most free from all Exceptions, and they ought to be so administered, as rather to invite than discourage scrupulous Persons from joining in them; I do think it would be a Part of Christian Wisdom and Condescension in the Governors of our Church, to remove those Bars from a Freedom in joining in

full Communion with us; which may be done, either by wholly taking away the Sign of the Cross, or if that may give Offence to others, by confining the Use of it to the publick Administration of Baptism, or by leaving it indifferent, as the Parents desire it. As to kneeling at the Lord's Supper, since some Posture is necessary, and many devout People scruple any other, and the Primitive Church did in antient Times receive it in the Posture of Adoration, there is no Reason to take this away, even in Parochial Churches, provided that those who scruple kneeling, do receive it with the least Offence to others; and rather standing than sitting; because the former is most agreeable to the Practice of Antiquity, and of our Neighbour-reformed Churches. As to the Surplice in Parochial Churches, it is not of that Consequence as to bear a Dispute one Way or other; and as to Cathedral Churches, there is no Necessity of Alteration. But there is another Thing which seems to be of late much scrupled in Baptism, viz. The Use of Godfathers and Godmothers, excluding the Parents. Although I do not question but the Practice of our Church may be justified (as I have done it towards the End of the following Treatise) yet I see no Necessity of adhering so strictly to the Canon herein, but that a little Alteration may prevent these Scruples, either by permitting the Parents to join with the Sponsors, or by the Parents publickly desiring the Sponsors to represent them in offering the Child to Baptism; or which seems most agreeable to Reason, that the Parents offer the Child to Baptism, and then the Sponsors perform the covenanting Part, representing the Child, and the Charge after Baptism be given in common to the Parents and Sponsors.

These Things being allowed, I see no Obstruction remaining, as to a full Union of the Body of such Dissenters with us, in all Acts of Divine Worship, and Christian Communion, as do not reject all Communion with us as unlawful.

2. But because there are many of those, who are become zealous Protestants, and plead much their Communion with us in Faith and Doctrine, although they cannot join with us in Worship, because they deny the Lawfulness of Liturgies, and the right Constitution of our Churches; their Case deserves some Consideration, whether, and how far, they are capable of being made serviceable to the common Interest, and to the Support of the Protestant Religion among us.

To their Case I answer,

First, That a general unlimited Toleration to Dissenting Protestants, will soon bring Confusion among us, and in the End Popery, as I have shewed already; and a Suspension of all the penal Laws that relate to Dissenters is the same Thing with a boundless Toleration.

Secondly, If any present Favours be granted to such, in Consideration of our Circumstances, and to prevent their Conjunction with the Papists, for a general Toleration (for if ever the Papists obtain it, it must be under their Name:) If, I say, such Favour be thought fit to be shewed them, it ought to be with such Restrictions and Limitations as may prevent the Mischief which may easily follow upon it; for all such Meetings are a perpetual Reproach to our Churches, by their declaring, That our Churches are no true Churches; that our Manner of

of Worship is unlawful; and that our Church-Government is Antichristian; and that on these Accounts they separate from us, and worship God by themselves. *But if such an Indulgence be thought fit to be granted, I humbly offer these Things to Consideration.*

1. *That none be permitted to enjoy the Privilege of it, who do not declare, That they do hold Communion with our Churches to be unlawful: For it seems unreasonable to allow it to others, and will give Countenance to endless and causeless Separations.*

2. *That all who enjoy it, besides taking the Test against Popery, do subscribe the Thirty-six Articles of our Faith, because the Pretence of this Liberty, is joining with us in Points of Faith; and this may more probably prevent Papists getting in amongst them.*

3. *That all such as enjoy it, must declare the particular Congregations they are of, and enter their Names before such Commissioners as shall be authorized for that Purpose, that so this may be no Pretence for idle, loose, and profane Persons, never going to any Church at all.*

4. *That both Preachers and Congregations be liable to severe Penalties, if they use any bitter or reproachful Words, either in Sermons or Writings, against the established Constitution of our Churches, because they desire only the Freedom of their own Consciences; and the using this Liberty, will discover it is not Conscience, but a turbulent, factious Humour, which makes them separate from our Communion.*

5. *That all indulged Persons be particularly obliged to pay all legal Duties to the Parochial Churches (lest mere Covetousness tempt Men to run among them) and no Persons so indulged be capable of any publick Office; it not being reasonable that such should be trusted with Government, who look upon the Worship established by Law as unlawful.*

6. *That no other Penalty be laid on such indulged Persons, but that of Twelve-pence a Sunday for their Absence from their Parochial Churches, which ought to be duly collected for the Use of the Poor, and cannot be complained of as any heavy Burthen, considering the Liberty they do enjoy by it.*

7. *That the Bishops, as Visitors appointed by Law, have an exact Account given to them of the Rule of their Worship and Discipline, and of all the Persons belonging to the indulged Congregations, with their Qualities and Places of Abode; and that none be admitted a Member of any such Congregation without acquainting their Visitor with it, that so Means may be used to prevent their leaving our Communion, by giving Satisfaction to their Scruples. This Power of the Bishops cannot be scrupled by them, since herein they are considered as Commissioners appointed by Law.*

8. *That no indulged Persons presume, under severe Penalties, to breed up Scholars, or to teach Gentlemens Sons University-Learning; because this may be justly looked on as a Design to propagate Schism to Posterity, and to lay a Foundation for the Disturbance of future Generations.*

II. *As to the Case of the ejected Ministers, I have these Things to offer :*

1. *That bare Subscription of the thirty-six Articles concerning Doctrinal Points, be not allowed as sufficient to qualify any Man for a Living, or any Church-Preferment, for these Reasons :*

First, Any Layman upon these Terms may not only be capable of a Living, but may take upon him to administer the Sacraments, which was never allowed in any well-constituted Church in the Christian World. And such an Allowance among us, instead of settling and uniting us, will immediately bring Things into great Confusion, and give mighty Advantage to the Papists against our Church. And we have Reason to fear a Design of this Nature, under a Pretence of Union of Protestants, tends to the Subversion of this Church, and throwing all Things into Confusion, which at last will end in Popery.

Secondly, This will bring a Faction into the Church, which will more endanger it than external Opposition ; for such Men will come in triumphantly, having beaten down three of the thirty-nine Articles ; and being in legal Possession of their Places, will be ready to defy and contemn those who submitted to the rest, and to glory in their Conquests, and draw Followers after them, as the victorious Confessors against Prelacy and Ceremonies. And can they imagine those of the Church of England will see the Reputation of the Church, or their own, to suffer so much, and not appear in their own Vindication ? Things are not come to that Pass, nor will they suddenly be, that the Friends of the Church of England will be either afraid or ashamed to own her Cause. We do heartily and sincerely desire Union with our Brethren, if it may be had on just and reasonable Terms ; but they must not think that we will give up the Cause of the Church for it, so as to condemn its Constitution, or make the Ceremonies unlawful which have been hitherto observed and practised in it. If any Expedient can be found out for the Ease of other Mens Consciences, without reflecting on our own ; if they can be taken in, without Reproach or Dishonour to the Reformation of the Church ; I hope no true Son of the Church of England will oppose it. But if the Design be to bring them in as a Faction, to bridle and controul the Episcopal Power, by setting up forty Bishops in a Diocese against one ; if it be for them to trample upon the Church of England, and not to submit to its Order and Government upon fair and moderate Terms ; let them not call this a Design of Union, but the giving Law to a Party to oppose the Church of England. And what the Success of this will be, let wise Men judge.

Thirdly, If a Subscription to thirty-six Articles were sufficient by the Statute 13 Eliz. c. 12, I do not understand how, by Virtue of that Statute, a Man is bound publickly to read the thirty-nine Articles in the Church, and the Testimonial of his Subscription, on Pain of being deprived, ipso facto, if he do not. For the Lord Chief Justice Coke saith, (g) That Subscription to the thirty-nine Articles is required by Force of the Act of Parliament, 13 Eliz. c. 12. And he adds, That the Delinquent is disabled and deprived, ipso facto, and that a conditional Subscription to them was not sufficient, was resolved by

(g) *Coke's Inst.* 4. Part 323, 324.

all the Judges in England. But how a Man should be deprived, ipso facto, for not subscribing, and reading the thirty-nine Articles, as appears by the Cases mentioned in Coke, and yet be required only to subscribe to thirty-six, by the same Statute, is a Thing too hard for me to conceive.

2. But notwithstanding this, if any Temper can be found out, as to the Manner of Subscription, that may give Ease to the Scruples of our Brethren, and secure the Peace of the Church, the desired Union may be attained without that apparent Danger of increasing the Faëtions among us.

And this I suppose may be done, by an absolute Subscription to all those Articles which concern the Doctrine of the true Christian Faith, and the Use of the Sacraments, and a solemn Promise under their Hand, or Subscription of peaceable Submission, as to the rest, so as not to oppose or contradict them, either in preaching or writing, upon the same Penalty as if they had not subscribed to the thirty-six; which may be a more probable Means to keep the Church in Quiet, than forcing a more rigorous Subscription upon them, or leaving them at their full Liberty.

3. As to the other Subscription required, 1 Jac. to the three Articles: The first is provided for by the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; the third is the same with the Subscription to the thirty-nine Articles; and as to the second, about the Book of Common-Prayer, &c. it ought to be considered,

(1.) Whether, for the Satisfaction of the Scrupulous, some more doubtful and obscure Passages may not yet be explained or amended? Whether the new Translation of the Psalms were not fitter to be used, at least in Parochial Churches? Whether Portions of Canonical Scripture were not better put instead of Apocryphal Lessons? Whether the Rubrick about Salvation of Infants, might not be restored to its former Place, in the Office of Confirmation, and so the present Exceptions against it be removed? Whether those Expressions, which suppose the strict Exercise of Discipline, in burying the Dead, were not better left at Liberty in our present Case? Such a Review made by wise and peaceable Men, not given to Wrath and Disputing, may be so far from being a Dishonour to this Church, that it may add to the Glory of it.

(2.) Upon such a Review, whether it be not great Reason, that all Persons who officiate in the Church, be not only tied to a constant Use of it in all publick Offices (as often as they administer them) which they ought in Person frequently to do, but to declare, at their first Entrance upon a Parochial Charge, their Approbation of the Use of it, after their own reading of it, that so the People may not suspect them to carry on a factious Design, under an outward Pretence of Conformity to the Rules of the Church they live in.

(3.) Whether such a solemn Using the Liturgy, and Approbation and Promise of the Use of it, may not be sufficient, instead of the late Form of declaring their Assent and Consent, which hath been so much scrupled by our Brethren?

These are all the Things which appear to me reasonable to be allowed in order to an Union, and which, I suppose, may be granted without Detriment or Dishonour to our Church. There are other Things very desirable towards the Happiness and Flourishing of this Church; as the Exercise of Discipline in Parochial

chial Churches, in a due Subordination to the Bishop; the reforming the Ecclesiastical Courts as to Excommunication, without Prejudice to the excellent Profession of the Civil Law; the building of more Churches in great Parishes, especially about the City of London; the retrenching Pluralities; the Strictness and Solemnity of Ordinations; the making a Book of Canons suitable to this Age, for the better regulating the Conversations of the Clergy. Such Things as these might facilitate our Union, and make our Church, in Spight of all its Enemies, become a Praise in the whole Earth.

A Specimen of a Bill for uniting Protestants; being a rough Draught of such Terms, as seem equal for the Conformist to grant, and the Non-conformist to yield to, for Peace Sake: Provided a good while, and published on Purpose only for the further, better, and more easy Consideration of the Parliament.

WHEREAS, there are many Jealousies risen about Popery, which makes it even necessary to the Peace of the Nation, that the Protestant Interest be united and strengthened by all good and lawful Means; and to this End, there being this one proper Expedient, to wit, The removing the Occasion of Divisions, which several Persons do find to themselves in those late Injunctions, which yet were intended to the same Purpose of Concord in the Nation: Be it enacted ——— That an Explanation of these Impositions, and such Alleviations, be allowed to the tenderly considerate, and peaceably scrupulous, as follow:

In the *Act of Uniformity*, By the Declaration of Assent and Consent to all Things, and every Thing contained in, and prescribed by the two Books of Common-Prayer, and of ordering Priests and Deacons, we understand not, that these Books are in every minute Particular, infallible, or free from that Defect, which is incident to all human Composure; but that they are, in the main Contents, to be sincerely approved and used. And we do therefore allow this Declaration to be sufficient, if it be made to the Use of the Book, in the Ordinary constant Lord's Day's-Service, notwithstanding any Exceptions some may have against some Things in the By-Offices, and occasional Service, the Rubrick, and otherwise: And for the Ceremonies which are made, and have been always, and on all Hands, held to be only indifferent Things, we think fit that they be left to the Consciences and Prudence of Ministers, and People, every where (excepting the Cathedrals) to use them, or forbear them, as they judge it most meet for their own and others Edification; provided, that if any Person will have his Child baptized with the Sign of the Cross,

Cross, or stands upon any Thing else hitherto required by the Service-Book, if the Minister himself scruple the Performance, he shall permit another to do it.

In the same *Act*, by those Words in the *Subscription*, *That it is not lawful to take Arms against the King, upon any Pretence whatsoever*; we intend no new or strange Thing, but the rightful Maintenance only of the King's Authority against Rebellion, according to the common Determination of learned Writers, in the Case of Subjection to Princes. By the Words, *I abhor the Position of taking Arms by the Authority of the King, against any commissioned by him*, we never thought of advancing the arbitrary Commissions of the King above Law; but by those *commissioned by him*, we understand such as are legally commissioned, and in the legal Pursuit of such Commissions. By the Clause which follows, that requires a Renunciation of all *Endeavour of any Alteration of Government in the Church or State*, we never meant to deny any free-born Subject his Right of chusing *Parliament-Men*, or acting in his Place for the common Good any Way, according to Law; but that he shall renounce all such *Endeavour* as is seditious, or not warranted by the Constitution of the Nation; and particularly, such an *Endeavour* as was assumed in the late Times, without, and against the Consent of the King: And for the rest of the *Subscription*, which is enjoined but to the Year 1682, be it enacted, that it cease presently, and be no longer enjoined.

And forasmuch as there is an Oath prescribed and required of all *Non-conformist* Preachers, that reside in any Corporate Town, by a certain Act of the former *Parliament*, made at Oxford, in the 17th Year of his now Majesty's Reign, entitled, *An Act for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting Corporations*: We do farther declare, that it shall suffice any Man, for the Enjoyment of his free-born Liberty, of inhabiting where he thinks best, and serve him also instead of the before-mentioned *Subscription*, to take that Oath in this Form of Words following: *I A. B. do swear, That I hold it unlawful, upon any Pretence, to take Arms against the King, his Government or Laws; and that I disclaim that dangerous Position, of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or any legally commissioned by him, in the legal Pursuit of such Commissions; and that I will not endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church or State, in any Way or Manner, not warranted by the Constitution of the Kingdom, or any otherwise than by Act of Parliament*: And as soon as any Man has taken the Oath thus, he shall be discharged of all Penalty for his Omission before.

We do declare moreover, that whereas it is required also in the *Act of Uniformity*, that every Minister, who enjoys any Living or Ecclesiastical Preferment, shall be ordained by a Bishop; and there are several Persons of late, who, in Case of Necessity, for Want of Bishops, took *Presbyterian Orders*: Our Meaning is not in any wise to disgust the reformed Churches beyond the Seas, and make it necessary for such to be re-ordained to the Office, but that they receive this second Imposition of Hands to the Exercise of their Office in
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the new Charge, unto which they are or shall be called ; and that the Bishop shall frame his Words accordingly.

And whereas there is a Subscription also in the *Canons*, and the *canonical Oath of Obedience*, imposed on most Ministers by the Bishops, that have given some of the greatest Occasion to *Non-conformity* heretofore, which yet never passed into Law by any Act of *Parliament* ; we do further declare, that nothing more of that Kind shall be required of Ministers henceforward, than was made and held necessary by the Act of the 13th of *Elizabeth*.

And in Regard there hath been great Offence taken by conscientious Ministers, at the Bishops, or their Courts, commanding them to read the Sentence of Excommunication against some or other of their Parish, for such Faults as they think not at all worthy of so great a Censure ; we declare it but a just Thing, that every Minister be first satisfied in the Cause, or else be exempted from the Execution of that Charge ; and that the Bishop, or his Court, provide some other Person, that is satisfied about it, to do it.

And to the Intent that a free Search after Truth may not be discouraged in the Pursuit of Concord, and many other Scruples avoided upon that Account ; we declare, that though an *authentick* Interpretation be required, as to the Substance of all Laws, yet, in the Articles of the *Church*, (which are *Theses* for Agreement, and not Laws) and the *Homilies*, a *doctrinal* Interpretation shall be held sufficient for an *Assent* or *Subscription* to them.

And because the very Superintendency of Bishops, and that Subjection to them which is required by the Constitution of the Realm, is, or may be an Hindrance to many sober Ministers, and other Protestants, of coming into the Church, who are ready to consent to the Doctrine, but not to the Discipline or Government of it ; we do declare, that so long as any Person or Party do acknowledge the *King's Supremacy*, as *Head* of the *Church* in this Nation, and obey their Ordinary, or the Bishops, *in Licitis & Honestis*, upon the Account of his Authority, (committed to them for the Exercise of that external Regimen, *Circa Sacra*, which is granted by all our Divines to the higher Powers in every Nation) it is enough for the owning *Episcopal Jurisdiction* (so far as they do own it in the Declaration of *Assent* and *Consent*, or in any other Part of *Conformity* ;) and shall serve them, to all Intents and Purposes in Law, no less than a professed Belief and Acknowledgement of the immediate divine Right of it.

Be it therefore enacted, by this present *Parliament*, that if any Person be willing to conform to the present Establishment of the *Church of England*, and her Service appointed, according to these Explanations, Alleviations, Declarations, Lenitives, or Cautions, he shall be admitted to any Ecclesiastical Preferment, and enjoy the Use of his Ministry without any Molestation ; all Statutes, Canons, or Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the making this Act of better Signification to the Concerned, and the Prevention of that Scandal which is raised on the Clergy, through the Covetousness of some, in heaping up to themselves all the Preferments they can get, when others have scarce Subsistence for their Families, and the Souls
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of many People are thereby neglected ; be it farther enacted, that no Clergymen, for the three next Years ensuing, be suffered to enjoy any more than one Living, or Cure of Souls, and one Dignity, or other Ecclesiastical Preferment, at one Time ; and that every Man, without Exception, that hath more than one of either, shall immediately give up the rest, to be distributed among those who shall be brought off from their *Non-conformity*, upon the Terms of this *Act*, into the established Order ; which, that they may also be obtained, and possessed with a clean Conscience, and that grievous Corruption of *Simony* may be extirpated out of the Land ; be it enacted moreover, that every Patron that shall henceforward present his Clerk to any Living, shall have the Oath called *The Simonical Oath* imposed on him, no less than on the Incumbent ; and if he refuses to take it, that then the Bishop shall have immediate Power (taking only the same Oath) of Presentation in his Room.

And forasmuch as there are some Persons of a good Life, that cannot (according to their Judgments) allow of our Parochial Churches, nor a Book of *Liturgy*, but do chuse to worship God and *Jesus Christ* in the Way of their gathered or separate Congregations, and crave the Protection and Clemency of the King, upon their Allegiance, as other Subjects ; be it finally enacted, for the Happiness and Quiet of the Realm, and the Reduction of these Men by other Means than those which have hitherto proved unsuccessful, that every Christian Subject throughout the Land, that profess the reformed Religion, and be not convicted of *Popery*, be pardoned all Faults and Penalties, incurred upon the Account of any fore-passed *Non-conformity* ; and that they shall not, during these seven Years next ensuing, be prosecuted upon any penal Law, for their Consciences, in the Matter of Religion ; they carrying themselves innocently and peaceably, with Submission to the Civil, and without Disturbance to the Ecclesiastical Government, now settled in the Nation ; all Statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.

In short, A Repeal of our Laws about *Conformity* unto the 13th of *Elizabeth* ; or, a new *Act of Uniformity* ; or, the King's Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, at his first coming in, turned into a Law, were *Comprehension*.

His latter Declaration to all his loving Subjects (some few Things in both, yet a little considered) made so, were *Indulgence*.

A Bill of *Comprehension*, with *Indulgence*, both together, will do our Business ; an Addition, or Clause in it, against *Pluralities*, will do it with *Supererogation*.

Deo Gloria,

MURDER will out ; or, a clear and full Discovery that the **EARL of ESSEX** did not **MURDER** himself, but was **MURDERED** by others ; both by undeniable Circumstances, and positive Proofs. 1689.

I. **THAT** he did not murder himself you have evinced ;

1. From the Improbabilities that he should do it.

2. From the Impossibilities that he could so do it.

II. That he was murdered by others you have made good ;

1. By undeniable Circumstances.

2. By positive Proofs offered.

I. That the Earl of *Essex* did not murder himself, as the Inquest declares, appears ;

(1.) From the Improbabilities that he should so do.

1. Because of that excellent, sedate, and well-composed natural Temper he was well known to be of, and free from such melancholy and frenzied Fits, which might incline and expose him to such a Mischief, whatever maliciously and falsely had been said to the contrary.

2. Because of that Grace and Fear of God he was so eminently endowed with, which would secure him from such Impiety.

3. Because of that Abhorrency by Principle, which he was well known to have, of such unnatural Practices (whereof he could not speak without great Emotion of Spirit) whatever, the better to colour the Murder, and fix it upon him, had been most villainously reported, and spread Abroad to the contrary.

4. Because of the careful Provision he made for his own Preservation after he came into the *Tower*, fearing the worst.

(1.) By sending for his own Silver Vessel to dress his Meat in by his own People.

(2.) By that Store of all Sorts of Wine he had ordered to be laid in for his own drinking.

(3.) By the Direction he had given to his Servant to take Notes of my Lord *Russel's* Trial, that very Day, for his own Use ; all ample Indications he designed Self-Preservation, not Self-Destruction.

5. Because, as his Conscience was clear from any treasonable Guilt, (whatever to the contrary has been most wickedly suggested) so was he free from either legal Witnesses or Conviction ; there being no Bill of Indictment found against him, as against others the Day before, which might sufficiently secure him

him from needless Fears, or any such desperate Course; though, had his Zeal and Affection to his King, Country, and Religion, (whom he might apprehend to have been in Danger) transported him to any Irregularity, his Father's, as well as his own extraordinary Merits from the Crown, might well be supposed (from so grateful and compassionate a Prince) would plead his Pardon, and free him from such Desperation.

6. Because of that entire Love and Friendship he bore to his most dear Friend, the Lord *Russel*, which, both in Honour and Conscience, would forbid and deter from such an Action, which must so necessarily tend to the certain Ruin and Destruction of his best Friend; and which fell out accordingly, from the sinister Construction they made thereof.

7. Because of the previous Notice given thereof in divers Places, which to be sure he would never have done, had he designed any such Thing.

(2.) *From the Impossibilities that he could so do as the Inquest declares.*

1. Because it was impossible that he at one Cut (as the Verdict saith) could cut four Inches in Depth, and eight in Length, because none can manage his Hand to guide a Razor so to do at once, viz. from the left Side of the Neck-bone to the right.

2. Because it is impossible, that with that *French* Razor, which was but four Inches and an Half long, and without a Tongue (necessitating to take two Inches and an Half at least in his Hand) that he could, with two Inches of such an Instrument, cut four or five Inches in Depth, and eight or nine in Length.

3. Because it is impossible in Nature, that when he had cut the left Jugular and Wind-pipe to the Neck-bone, which let out so much of the Blood and Vitals, that he could have neither Life or Strength to proceed to cut the other also, as all skilful Surgeons and Anatomists can demonstrate.

4. Because it was utterly impossible, that after he had locked himself into the Closet, he could so cut his Throat as it was, and then open the Closet-door, and fling the bloody Razor out of the Chamber-window, at such a Distance from the Closet, and then get the Razor up again, and keep it in his Hand (as some) or fling it by him (as others) and all this after he was dead, for he instantly died saith the Inquest, and none but himself in the Room say their Witnesses, therefore it was impossible he could with that Razor so murder himself. And that the bloody Razor was flung out of the Chamber-window, is made good by no less than ten Witnesses.

Thus have you some Grounds and Reasons (from the Improbability and Impossibility of the Thing) to clear his Innocency from the horrid Fact so impudently charged upon him, and consequently the Guilt of others, and which may be sufficient to all wise Men to detect the Murder, and inforce a Review, if no other Evidence could be produced: Tenfold less has done it in other Cases, it being so difficult many Times to get Light, and trace such secret, hidden Works of Darkness, as Sir *Fran. Bacon* elegantly, in Sir *Tbo. O——*'s Case, tells us, *That wise Men must take upon them in these secret Cases Solomon's Spirit, that when there could be no Witnesses, collected*

the Act by the Effeſſion, viz. when he uſed the Stratagem about dividing the Child ; but this you will find is not our Caſe, Providence having given us a larger Provision, as you will further hear.

II. *That he was barbarouſly murdered by others, as appears ;*

1. *By the undeniable Circumſtances ariſing ;*

1. *From the previous Reports.*

2. *From the corrupt and partial Proceedings of the Coroner and his Inqueſt.*

3. *From the Conſpirators villainous Ends.* And,

4. *From the wicked Methods uſed to ſtiſle it.*

1. *By the undeniable Circumſtances ariſing ;*

1. *From the many previous Reports which they had ſpread of his Self-murder* (a Method the Papiſts have heretofore taken, but the Policy thereof never yet underſtood, *viz.* when they ſtabbed Henry IV. of France, burnt London, aſſaſſinated Sir E. B. G. and murdered H. the Warder) of which divers undeniable Proofs have been, and are ready to be produced of ſuch Reports, not only in London, but 50, 60, 80, 90, and 100 Miles off ; in ſome Places a Day, in ſome two, in others (at a great Diſtance) the very Day he was murdered ; and as moſt remarkable (as God would have it) all agreeing in the very Manner thereof, *viz.* cutting his Throat in the Tower. At Andover, 60 Miles off, they had the Report of his cutting his Throat in the Tower the 11th of July, which was the firſt Day of his Imprisonment there, which ſufficiently diſcovers what they deſigned before-hand ; for if this Report came from London, it muſt be before he was a Priſoner, at leaſt in the Tower, and two Days before the Thing was done.

(2.) *From the irregular, corrupt, partial, and unjuſt Proceedings of the Coroner and his Inqueſt.*

1. That one F——, ſaid to be a Deputy Coroner, which the Law knows nothing of ; and to be ſure a legal Coroner he was not, Sir T—— S——, the Steward of the Tower, being the proper Officer, and accountable for that great Truſt ; but this is the Tool who muſt be brought forth to do the Job.

2. That none of the Relations were ſummoned to attend the Inqueſt, which by known Uſage ought to have been.

3. That contrary to the known Cuſtom and Uſage, not only of our own, but other Nations, as well as the King's ſpecial and expreſs Command, the Body was removed from the Place and Poſture it was ſaid firſt to be found in, ſtripped, and Cloaths taken away, the Body and Rooms waſhed from the Blood, to prevent the Notoriety of the Fact upon View, and as ſaid, by the new Coroner's Contrivance or Conſent (which makes it the more heinous and ſuſpicious ;) for had it remained in the Place and Poſture it was ſaid firſt to be found in, the Print of the bloody Foot upon the Stockings, the Cravat or Neck-cloth being cut into four Pieces in the Middle ; and the contrary Witneſſes, who ſpeak both as to Place and Poſture, would have clearly diſcovered the Murder, the notched Razor and cut Hand being moſt pregnant Circumſtances, yet little regarded.

4. That

4. That the Jury excepted against the removing of the Body from the Posture and Place, and demanded a View of the Cloaths, which *William Fisher* did by Name, yet was denied the same by the Coroner, after he had been in the next Room with some of the Conspirators, who had called him out upon that *Demand*, and who, upon his Return to the Jury again, did declare to them (as ignorantly as wickedly) that they were to sit upon the Body, and not the Cloaths.

5. The partial Examination of Witnesses, that though there were several in and about the House when the Fact was done, yet only *B——* and *R——*, who they might justly suspect to be privy to it, must be the principal Witnesses they will examine in the Case, taking little Notice of *P——*, *M——*, *Ll——*, Captain *H——* himself, or the two Women.

6. The little Regard had to the notorious Contradictions in the Witnesses they did or might examine; *B——* telling them the Razor was given him (wherewith he cut his Throat) the 12th of July, and *R——* the 13th; *B——*, that *R——* broke open the Door; but *R——*, that he easily opened it with the Key on the Outside; *B——*, that he could only, through the Chink of the Door, see some Blood, and some Part of the Razor; but *R——*, that he could, through the same Chink, see the whole Body; *B——* and *R——*, that the whole Body lay in the Closet, and none of it to be seen in the Chamber; but *P——* and others, that Part of it lay in the Chamber; *B——* and *R——*, that they were absent but a Quarter of an Hour from my Lord; but to others, *B——* owns he was absent from him two or three Hours, insomuch, as he was cold and stiff before he saw him; some, that he was found lying; others, kneeling.

7. That they unduly suffered themselves to be hurried into a Verdict, by the Message brought them by Capt. *H——*, in the King's Name, to hasten the same; as though the Death of so great a Man, and in that Place too, deserved not a serious and due Search, especially when they saw such foul Play offered them, by removing Body and Cloaths, and denying a View of the Cloaths, and when none of the Relations present, and so few of the Witnesses examined, and those in so much Contradiction too.

8. By the unheard of drawing their Verdict, which was done not by the Coroner, nor by the Jury among themselves, as it ought to have been, but by one of the Conspirators themselves in the next Room, who sent it to them by *B——*, and which they signed accordingly.

9. By giving so wicked and false a Verdict upon their Oaths, which was this, viz. *That the Earl of Essex, being the 13th of July alone in his Chamber, did, with a Razor, voluntarily and feloniously cut his Throat, giving unto himself one mortal Wound, cut from one Jugular to the other, and by the Aspara Arteria, and the Wind-pipe, to the Vertebrae of the Neck, both the Jugulars being thoroughly divided, of which said Wound the Earl instantly died.*

This was the Conspirators diabolical writing, which they imposed upon the Jury, and they made their Verdict both Coroner and Inquest by subscribing it.

It falsly saith he was alone in the Chamber, whereas by the flinging out the bloody Razor, as well as by sufficient Testimony, it will appear, that severall went up and came out at that Time.

It also falsly saith he did give himself with that Razor one mortal Wound of such a Length, and such a Depth, which are utter Impossibilities, as before.

(3.) *From the villainous Ends the Conspirators had to effect and carry on hereby, viz.*

1. To confirm a Protestant Plot, a Thing which they had long and often laboured, and as often been disappointed in, and which was so improved by the *Attorney-General*, as 1000 *Witnesses to make it good*; as also by the *Lord Chief Justice*, as the *Finger of God*, to convince all the *World thereof*, the sad Consequence whereof hath since been so severely felt.

2. Utterly to stifle the Popish Plot, witness the bailing the Popish Lords, impeached and committed by Parliament, out of the *Tower*, and the publick Prints to ridicule the same ever since.

3. To destroy the Lord R——, and therefore done at the very Instant he was to come to his Trial, and so improved by the Lawyers to the Jury, which some of them have owned did more prevail with them to bring him in guilty, than any other Proof produced against him.

4. That they might remove out of the Way so great a Champion of the Protestant Cause and Interest, who by his great Employments and Trusts in this and the other Nations, had gained so perfect Knowledge of their popish, horrid Intrigues, the Way they have taken of old, both in this and other Nations; and whereof divers Instances might be given, besides that of *Sir E. B. Godfrey*, whose Wounds bleed afresh at the mentioning hereof.

5. That hereby they might carry on a hellish Design against the King himself, as though he had been privy thereto, by not only butchering him in that his royal Prison and Palace (where by the Law he becomes Pledge for the Safety and forth-coming of the Prisoner) and at a Time when he was there in Person, where he had not been for divers Years before, and as tho' he came purposely to order the doing thereof, and to intitle the Government to it, which the Lord Chief Justice doth so often inculcate: If he was indeed then murdered by others from the King's Presence there [in *Bradon's Trial*] as also by that their horrid Presumption, in sending in the King's Name to hasten and hurry the Jury in that corrupt Verdict, and so daringly and contemptuously to remove the Body, contrary to the King's expresse Command, by a Person of Quality.

(4.) *From the Methods which have been used to stifle the Discovery hereof, and to deter Men from inquiring into the Matter.*

1. By the Lawyers and Judges, who have declared, that whoever went about to prove the Earl of *Essex* murdered, did no other than libel the Government, and bring the Guilt of his Blood upon it.

2. By

2. By the strict Command given by the Officers of the Guards in the *Tower*, the Day after the Murder, to all the Soldiers, not to speak one Word thereof at their Perils.

3. By the severe Prosecutions and Persecutions of those who have appeared herein, both as to their Estates, Persons, Lives, and Liberties.

Witness the turning out of old *Edwards* from his Place in the *Custom-House*, wherein he had been twenty-nine Years, for only bidding his Son, upon his Blessing, speak the Truth in the Case; and the many Severities to Mr. *Bradon*, for declaring what others had said about it; and the severe dealing with Mr. *Hugh Speak* for the same; as also that late cruel Usage of that poor Soldier in the *Tower*, because he would not affirm the Earl of *Essex* murdered himself, who was first whipped with Cords till the Skin was fleeced off, after that scourged with Rods, and then put upon the Wooden Horse, with six Muskets at his Heels, his Sword broken, and cashiered. But especially the Destruction of *Robert Meak*, the Centinel, for telling what he heard and saw that Day of the bloody Tragedy, whose Neck was therefore broke, and flung into the *Tower-Ditch*; who declared before-hand to his Friends, how his Life was threatened for the same. As also *Hawley* the Warder, who was served in like Manner for blabbing; whose murdered Body was, about a Month after it was missing, taken up near *Rocheester*; where a great Popish Lord declared, several Days before he was found, that he had there drowned himself.

4. By the Endeavours which have been used to prevent the Review, which, by two Letters to two Noblemen, and the Letters to the Lady *Essex*, sent openly by a Messenger, to *Cadman* the Bookseller, which he brought to Justice *Henton*, and he to the Secretary; all of them purporting a Discovery upon Indemnity and a Review, but all in vain.

(4.) By positive Proofs, attesting the Murder; that if Indemnity may be granted, as was offered in Sir E. B. G —'s Case, and a fresh legal Enquiry, as in Sir Tho. O —'s Case, and others, there will then be produced positive Evidence, which will declare who were the Contrivers and Authors, who the Actors and Abettors, of this barbarous and detestable Murder, describe the Instrument with which it was done, and which was made on Purpose for the same; the Rewards and Preferments to the respective Actors therein, with all the material Circumstances about it. Which Enquiry was successfully made in Sir Tho. O —'s Case, after the Coroner's Inquest had found it (as said) a natural Death; and by which, after more than two Years stifled by a high Hand, the then principal Minister of State, and his Associates, with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others, were searched into, found guilty, and many of them executed for that horrid Murder, committed upon that innocent Gentleman in the Tower.

The Conclusion.

NOW may not this dismal tragical Account (which carries so much Demonstration in it) be well left without a Comment, or any rhetorical Strain of Wit, or Flourish of Eloquence, either to convince or satisfy the Reader of the Truth hereof, to provoke him to the Discharge of that Duty incumbent upon him in his Place or Station, (which so barbarous and unheard of a Murder calls for at his Hand) the better to deliver himself and the Nation from the crying Sin of Blood-guiltiness; and which is therefore left to the Consideration and Conscience of all that hear thereof in general, and to all the Ministers of Justice, and his Fellow-Peers in special; whose Oaths, Honours, and Interests, may oblige them to their Duties herein; and who, in Reason, ought to feel the bleeding Smart of this bloody Stab, not knowing which of their own Turns may be next: And to his Relations and Kindred in particular, who are more than others called forth, in a peculiar Manner, to make a further and better Inquisition after his Blood than hath yet been made, especially after this full Discovery is offered to them, as they would vindicate his Innocency, wipe off the Stain of Felony, Murder, and Treason from the noble Family; deliver themselves from the Reproach of being bribed by the forfeited Estate to hold their Tongues, and suffer others to be so severely handled, as officious for appearing therein, under their Silence; and as they would free themselves from the Guilt of his Blood, and answer the Neglect to God and Man. Lastly, to all those (of which there are many) who, either as Accessaries or Actors, have embrued their Hands in this innocent Blood; whether, since they are secretly known, it will not be their wisest and best Course (as some did in Sir Tho. O——'s Case) to come forth and confess, and give Glory to God, as they may hope for Mercy here, or hereafter; and not to think to shelter themselves under Gold and Greatness, which will be a Covering (in this Case) too short for the Greatest themselves; because God, who is the Avenger of Blood, and to whom Vengeance belongs, will bring all to the House-top, and recompence them according to their Deeds; there being *no Darknes, nor Shadow of Death, where the Workers of Iniquity may hide themselves.*

L O N-

LONDON's great Jubilee restored and performed on Tuesday, October the 29th, 1689, for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Pilkington, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of LONDON. Containing, a Description of the several PAGEANTS and SPEECHES, together with a Song for the Entertainment of their MAJESTIES, who, with their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of DENMARK, the whole Court, and both Houses of Parliament, honoured his Lordship this Year with their Presence. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Right Worshipful Company of SKINNERS. By M. T. 1689.

To the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS PILKINGTON, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of LONDON.

THOUGH there be several remarkable Occurrences contributing to the Solemnity of this Day, (as the Presence of their Majesties, the Court, &c.) yet the general Joy and Satisfaction of the City is no less worthy of Record, which is as universal as their Preparations are publick. Nor can it chuse but add a Rubrick in the Calendar of your Life, that you were the first advanced to the Pretorical Chair of this great *Metropolis*, after the Year of Redemption, the happy Day of Deliverance from *Pagan* and *Egyptian* Bondage, by Miracles and Wonders. When Idolatry, like a Deluge, had overspread the Land, and the Church, like the Ark, lay tottering upon the Billows, then came the Dove with the Olive-branch of Joy; he allay'd the Swelling of the Waters, restoring us to our Liberty and Religion. When arbitrary Force and lawless Usurpation had unreasonably imposed on us new Lords and new Laws, contrary to the Practice and known Customs of this City, then did you, in Defence of our just Rights and Liberties, stand in the Gap, and bravely oppose the Violence of the impetuous Torrent. So great a Champion was you, and so zealous an Asserter of these Rights, that you preferred our Privileges before your Liberty, and glorying in your

Chains, while you were yet a Magistrate, became twice a Prisoner. Like *Daniel*, you are taken out of the Lion's Den, to be a Ruler over us: Nor had those ravenous Beasts any Power over you, although their Malice was sufficiently exasperated against you; their Jaws were stopp'd, till the delivering Monarch ordered your Enlargement, raising you higher by your *Fall*, and a greater Object of his Favour by your *Sufferings*. This royal Bounty of the Prince could not but beget in us a grateful Emulation to prefer you in the City, for whose Sake you had suffered such long and severe Persecution. The Chair being vacant by the Death of Sir *John Chapman*, with one Consent you are chosen for the remaining Time; and then, with an unanimous Heart and Voice of the elective Assembly, to continue for the ensuing Year. My Lord, we mention not this as a Favour done, but as a Debt due to your Sufferings; and at last should think all this too little, were it in our Power to do more. This must stop the Mouth of Envy, that all Tongues must confess your own Merits have most justly advanced you. You have asserted our Rights, restor'd our Customs and Immunities. Every Thing runs clear in its proper Channel: That it may never again be disturbed by the Violence of impetuous and arbitrary Men, is the Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most devoted humble Servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

To the Right Worshipful the Company of SKINNERS.

Right Worshipful,

TH E R E is not a Company in this famous City (though yet more antient) has arrived to the Dignity you have done; you have had the Honour to have six Kings Members of your Society, and this Year a King and Queen for your royal Guests, in the first Year of their Reign, and the first of your Deliverance from arbitrary and tyrannical Impositions.

There is yet another remarkable Honour worthy to be recorded, the deserving Patriot of his Country, Sir Thomas Pilkington, Lord Mayor, whom (signaliz'd for his Sufferings) you have most deservedly exalted from a Prison to the Pretorial Chair. This will be your Applause for what is done, that his Lordship's own Merits have given him a Title thereunto. Your costly Preparations, prudent Contrivance, and bounteous Contribution towards so glorious an Entertainment, is not only a Demonstration of your Respect to his Lordship, but of
Zeal

Zeal to their Majesties. That you have made me an humble Instrument to contribute towards the Preparations of this great Day, requires the Acknowledgment of

Your most humble Servant,

M. TAUBMAN.

SIR *John Chapman* being deceased in the Year of his Mayoralty, the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Pilkington* was chosen for the remaining Term; this being expired, he is again chosen for the ensuing Year. This Time of Election is on *Michaelmas-Day*, there being a Month allowed for the Preparations of the Festival, which falls on the 29th of *October*, the next Day after *Simon and Jude*. During this Time there is a Committee chosen, of the most judicious and experienced Citizens, to contrive, consult, order, and debate of all Matters relating to the Solemnity of this Day; which, for the Antiquity of its Institution, the Grandeur of the Preparations, the Splendor of the Pageants, the Concourse of Nations, and the Stateliness of their Entertainments, may be called the greatest and most costly in all the Universe. This Year especially claims the Pre-eminence, being honoured with the Presence of their Most Sacred Majesties, the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*, with all the principal Officers of the Court, and both Houses of Parliament; the Bishop of *London*, and all the chief Prelates of the Church; the Lords Commissioners of the Privy-Seal, the Lords Chief Justices of both Benches, the Lord Baron, and all the learned Judges in the Law; the four *Dutch*, and all foreign Ambassadors, Envoys, and Residents; who stand more amazed at this Day's Entertainment, than any Feast they had either seen or heard of in all the World before.

It is necessary, before we come to the Description of the Pageants, to make some Remarks on the Preparations of the Morning.

Betwixt Seven and Eight o' Clock in the Morning, the whole Company designed for the Duty of the Day meet at *Skinners-Hall* at *Dowgate*.

1. The Master, Wardens, and Assistants, in Gowns faced with Foins.
2. The Livery, in Gowns faced with Budge, and their Hoods.
3. Divers Foins-Bachelors, in Gowns and Hoods.
4. Thirty Budge-Bachelors, in Gowns and scarlet Hoods.
5. Thirty Gentlemen-Ushers, in Velvet Coats, each of them a Chain of Gold about his Shoulder, and a white Staff in his Hand.
6. Thirty other Gentlemen for bearing Banners and Colours, some in Plush-Coats, and some in Buff, they also wearing Scarfs about their Shoulders of the Company's Colours. The Motto in the Banners, *To God only be Glory*.

7. Several Drums and Fifes with red Scarfs, and the Colours of the Company in their Hats, red and yellow.

8. The Serjeant-Trumpet, and thirty-six Trumpets more, whereof sixteen are their Majesties, the Serjeant-Trumpet wearing two Scarfs, one of the Lord Mayor, another of the Company's.

9. The Drum-Major to the King, wearing a Shoulder-Scarf of the Company's Colours, with other of his Majesty's Drums and Fifes.

10. The two City-Marshals, each of them mounted on Horse-back, with rich Furniture, Housings, and Crupper-Cloth embroider'd; six Servitors likewise mounted to attend with Scarfs, and Colours of the Company's.

11. The Foot-Marshal and six Attendants with the like Scarf and Colours.

12. The Master of Defence with the same Scarf and Colours, having ten Persons of the same Science to attend him.

13. Threescore Pensioners accommodated with Gowns and Caps, each of them employ'd in bearing of Standards and Banners.

14. Several other Pensioners in blue Gowns, white Sleeves, and black Caps, each of them carrying a Javelin in one Hand, and a Target in the other, wherein is painted the Coat-Armour of their Founders and Benefactors of the Company.

Thus ordered and accommodated, they are committed to the Management of the Foot-Marshal, who distributes them into seven Divisions, and ranks them out two by two, beginning with the inferior Part of the Standard-Bearers. In the Head of them are placed two Drums, one Fife, and one Gentleman, bearing the Company's Arms.

In the Rear of them, two Gentlemen bearing Banners, being the Arms of deceased Benefactors.

After them march the aged Pensioners in Gowns, and in the Center of them fall in two Drums, beating the *Dutch* March, in Token of their Deliverance by the Prince of *Orange*, his present Majesty.

In the Rear of them fall in three Drums, one Fife, and two Gentlemen in Plush-Coats, bearing two Banners or Ensigns, one of the King's, the other of the Company's. After them fall in six Gentlemen-Ushers, and likewise the Budge-Bachelors.

The next two Gentlemen bearing two other Banners. After them fall in six Gentlemen-Ushers, and after them the Foins-Bachelors.

In the Rear of them fall in two Drums and a Fife, then two Gentlemen, the one bearing my Lord Mayor's, the other the City Banners. After them twelve Gentlemen-Ushers, and after them the Court of Assistants, which makes the last Division.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, with the principal Aldermen and Sheriffs, while this is doing, take their usual Repasts in *Skinners-Hall*, while the Trumpets sound a Levet, and the Kettle-Drums eccho their harmonious Sounds in the Court. Having Notice of the Company's Motion,
his

his Lordship mounts his Horse, with the Aldermen in their Order, two by two, the Sheriffs in the Rear.

In this Equipage of two and two, till taking in his Lordship and his Attendants, they march directly from *Skinners-Hall* through *Queen-Street* into *Cheapside*, there being no Lord Mayor this Year to join him from *Guildhall*.

In this Order they march to the *Three-Crane Wharf*, where they enter into their several Barges, which are gloriously adorned with Banners, Flags, and Pendants. His Lordship at the Stairs next *Westminster*, for the Priority of Place, as Admiral to this golden Armado, the rest of the Companies at another Pair of Stairs, yet so, as in order and Seniority; for this peaceful Navy moves not like Men of War by Couples, grappling in an Engagement, but, like Princes of the Blood, one by one, that their State may be more discernable, and their Grandeur the more remarkable. In the mean Time the Gentlemen-Ushers, Budge-Bachelors, and Foin-Bachelors, have their Opportunity to repair to their several Places of Defection.

His Lordship being landed at *Westminster-Stairs*, and having performed the accustomed Ceremony of taking the Oaths, comes at last to the *Exchequer-Bar*, where the Lord Chief Baron makes an elegant but short Speech; which being ended, the Lord Mayor, with his Retinue marching down *Westminster-Hall*, repair to their respective Barges, which return in the same Form and State they went. Nothing but Gold and Sapphire represent themselves unto your View: The Pendants flying, Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, Musick playing, which is eccho'd from the several Pleasure-Boats, and others that are playing from each Side with Pattararo's, and other small Pieces, to compliment them as they pass; insomuch, that the *Thames* is nothing but a continual flowing Harmony, which never ebbs till his Lordship is landed.

After this glorious Object upon the Water had afforded all that could be delightful to the Eye or Ear, his Lordship hastens to *Black-Fryars-Stairs*, where the Bachelors are ready set in Order by the Foot-Marshal, as in the Morning, to attend him, and both Bodies joined, march up *Ludgate-Hill*, and so into *Cheapside*, till about the *Half-Moon Tavern*, where his Lordship is entertained with the first Pageant, which is thus adorned.

The First Pageant

IS a triumphant Chariot, adorned with oriental Pearl, Topaz, and Carbuncle. This stately Structure is carried by a *Panther* and *Sable*, which are the Supporters of the Right Worshipful the Company of *Skinners*. Their Ensign, or Bearing, is no less honourable than peculiar, being Ermin in a Field Argent, three Crowns on a Chief, and Gules with Caps of the first; the Crest a Panther Couchant, with a Wreath and Laurels about his Neck, as hath the Supporters; the Motto, *To God only be Glory*. They were formed a Society in the first of King *Edward III.* who was the first Founder of this antient Society. Since this Time, in so high a Value was this Company with the Court, that from the first Founder no less than six Kings have been Founders

Founders and Members of this Corporation, *Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV.* Besides nine Dukes, two Earls, and one Lord. The Crest and Supporters of the said Arms were obtained and granted by *William Harvey*, Clarencieux, who was free of the same Company, *Anno Dom. 1561.* These Arms, with the Supporters and Crest as blazon'd, are painted on an Imperial Arch of the *Dorick* Order in the Frontispiece of the Chariot. *Honour*, placed in a Distance below, beats the Kettle-Drum, which is an Emblem to the Martial Bands and Artillery of the City, to be ready for their Arms in Case of Defence.

On a Distance above, under an Imperial Canopy of Golden Fringe, sits *Augusta*, representing the famous City of *London*. At her Foot sit *Peace* and *Concord* before, behind *Mercy* and *Innocency*, as her Attendants, which we will describe hereafter.

On the *Panther* is mounted a Figure, representing *Wisdom*; for, besides its Usefulness, it exceeds the *Lion* in Cunning, being that of Subtilty, that he will decoy the *Lion* from his Den, who, in Hopes to make him his Prey, is caught himself in the Snare; for this subtil Creature, being of a slenderer Shape, digs its Den to his own Dimension, wherein leaping to defend himself from the Violence of the enraged *Lion*, who leaps after, and sticks by the Middle, becomes his Prey.

On the *Sable* is placed *Government*, because the *Sable* is the Distinction of *Honour* by their Ermin, and those Persons of Honour so distinguished, (not by their Merits only) are the People to whom the *Government* is generally committed.

Honour, in a purple Robe wrought with Gold, a Mantle of white Silk fringed with Crimson, bearing in her Left-hand a Shield of the Company's, in her Right a Banner of my Lord Mayor's. On a Coronet of Stars, Or, this Motto, *Honor solius Dei est.*

Wisdom, in a Silver Robe and blue Mantle seeded with Stars, and fringed with Silver. In the one Hand bearing a Banner with this Inscription, *Sapientia docet*; in the other, a Banner of the City's.

Government, in Armour of Silver and an Helmet; in the Right-hand, a Gold Truncheon; in the Left, a Banner of the King's.

Peace, in a Robe of White scattered with Stars; in the Left-hand, a Branch of Palms; in the other, a white Flag.

Concord, in a Crimson-colour'd Robe, a Sky-colour'd Scarf, fringed with Silver, and fair, bright Hair; about her Head a Garland of red and yellow Flowers, representing the happy Concord of King and People, Court and City, in the Honour this Day conferred upon them, in their Majesties Presence; in her Left-hand, a Shield charged with a Grove of Myrtles; in her Right-hand, a Banner of the Company's.

Mercy, in a Robe of Crimson, and Silver Mantle; holding in one Hand a Spear; in the other, a Banner of the City's.

Innocence, with an harmless, mild Countenance.

Augusta,

Augusta, or London, gloriously attired in a Robe of Crimfon, and a Mantle, Or, a Cap of Maintenance, representing the Colours of the King and Company, salutes his Lordship in these Words :

The First S P E E C H.

S I N C E first *Augusta* was my antient Name,
London has more than once been in a Flame.
 Our fierce Elections, our domestick Wars,
 Our hot Contentions, and our civil Jars,
 In a few Years have prejudic'd us more,
 Than all the Jesuits Powder did before.
 But Thanks (my Lord) the Cloud is now dispers'd,
 And we are of our former Rights possess'd.
 The Sun, with you, resumes its Course this Year,
 And shines again within our Hemisphere.
 All we enjoy we must acknowledge due
 To England's great Preserver, and to you.
 You did assert our Privileges. He
 Timely redeem'd from pointed Tyranny.
 You, for our Freedom, sacrific'd your own,
 What more cou'd Pompey for his Rome have done?
 In some Degree, to make you Recompence,
 Behold Peace, Concord, Mercy, Innocence!
 These are the best Supporters of a State,
 My Handmaids here assign'd on you to wait.

The Second Pageant.

AN Imperial Throne, gloriously adorned with all Manner of Jewels, Pearls, and Topaz, mounted on a royal Pedestal of the *Compositive, Corinthian, and Roman* Order. On the Top of this Pedestal sits a masculine, warlike Person, stiled *Monarchy*, dressed in the Habit of a *Cæsar*, with a Scepter in his Hand, and a Laurel about his Head, holding a Globe in his Hand, with this Inscription, *Britannia*. It seems to slip out of his Hands, which he, timely recovering, kisses, and hugs it in his Arms.

At a Distance below, on the *Torus* of the *Base*, are placed the four Cardinal Virtues, *Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance*, as the best Support and Foundation of *Monarchy*; all these Virtues being naturally inherent to our present Monarch. On the lower Square of the Cornice are placed four Figures, representing the four Kingdoms, quartered in the royal Arms, *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, which are habited as follow :

Prudence, in a scarlet Robe, and Silver Mantle fringed with Gold, a Chaplet of Flowers; a Shield Vert, charged with a Dove Argent, bearing a Banner of the City.

Justice

Justice, in a crimson Robe, and a purple Mantle fringed with Gold and Silver; in the Right hand bearing a Shield, with a Balance; in the Left, a Banner of the Company's.

Fortitude, in a blue Robe, a Silver Mantle, a Golden Corset about her Neck, a Garland of Orange-leaves, bearing a Tower Argent, and a Banner of the King's.

Temperance, in a white Robe, green Mantle, and a Chaplet of Lillies and Roses; in one Hand bearing a Shield, with a Golden Cup; in the other a Banner of the City's.

England, or *Britannia*, in a Scarlet-coloured Robe, with a Mantle of Gold, and a Crown Imperial; a Trident in her Left-hand, and in her Right a Standard of *England*.

Scotland, in a blue Robe, a Silver Mantle, and a Scarf of Gold; a Chaplet of Thistles, with their Leaves about her Head: In her Left-hand a Shield, bearing St. *Andrew's* Cross; in her Right a Banner of the King's.

France, in an Azure-coloured Robe, spangled with Gold Flower-de-luces; a Crown Imperial dropping, which he supports in one Hand, bearing in the other a Banner of my Lord Mayor's Arms.

Ireland, in a Robe of white Linen, a Mantle of Frize, fring'd with Silver, and an Helmet of Gold, with a Laurel of Shamrogs, or green Leaves, round it; in the one Hand a Target, bearing the *Irish* Harp; in the other a Banner, with the Company's Arms.

His Lordship having viewed the Variety of these Figures, pleased with the Ornament of the Pedestal, and the Gloriousness of the Workmanship, makes an Halt; when *Monarchy*, rising in State, with a Golden Scepter in his Hand, descending three Steps, addresses him in these Words:

The Second S P E E C H.

FROM foreign Regions, and the Toils of War,
 I come to guard you to a peaceful Chair:
 When nought but Chains proclaim'd the Freeman's Doom,
 London almost a Tributer to Rome,
 'Gainst the Intrigues of the Most Christian Turk,
 Then great Nassau was sent to do our Work;
 Sent by indulgent Heav'n, to set us free
 From arbitrary Force and Slavery.
 We now are happier than we were before;
 The Halcyons build their Nests upon our Shore.
 Hearing the Royal Pair had grac'd your Feast,
 I come with Virtue to intrude a Guest;
 Such Virtues as few other Monarchs have,
 Prudent, just, sober, resolute, and brave:
 These Virtues shall subdue the Nations under,
 And make their Terror what is now their Wonder.

England

England appears in Triumph ; all her Tears
Are vanish'd with our Jealousies and Fears ;
Scotland's united to the British Crown,
Ireland subdu'd, proud France shall be our own ;
The wither'd Flower-de-luce's Head shall droop,
His lofty Neck shall to the Orange stoop.
These should be Trophies of my Victory,
The Hieroglyphick of true Monarchy ;
But since (my Lord) like Cæsar, you improve
A Government divided with great Jove,
My Laurel at your Footstool I submit,
And lay my Sceptre at his Royal Feet.

The Third Pageant.

The Ship Perseus and Andromeda, from the Levant, Inward-bound.

AS a further Mark of their Bounty, the Company have this Year added the Ship *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, Inward-bound, from the *Levant*, laden with Spices, Silks, Furs, Sables, Panthers, and all Manner of Beasts Skins, hanging in the Shrouds and Rigging. This Ship is peculiarly attributed to the Lord Mayor, as a proper Emblem and Characteristick of his Way of Traffick and Adventure, being a *Turky* Merchant. Nor is the Name of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* less properly applied, having Analogy and Respect as well to his Lordship as the Company : *Perseus* was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Danae* ; *Mercury* gave him Wings, that is, Sails, with which he mounts his *Pegasus*, that is, his Ship, wherein he slew the *Gorgons*, *Medusa*, *Sthenio*, and *Euryole*. He cut off *Medusa's* Head, whose Hair were Serpents, the Emblem of Envy, and placed it in his Shield. This is peculiarly adopted to his Lordship, who has overcome his malicious Enemies, and this Day rides in Triumph over them. *Minerva* gives him a Golden Shield, covered with a Goat's Skin, called *Ægis*, which is an Hieroglyphick of the Company's. He rescues *Andromeda* from the Sea-monster : The Moral is, the Church, from the Deluge that was ready to overflow it. How applicable this is to the present Revolutions of this Year, will need no Comment to explain.

This Ship has on Board it a jolly brave Captain, Mates, Gunner and his Mate, Boatswain, Pilot, besides the Ship's Crew, continually toping, bousing, and carousing ; who, for Joy of coming into *England*, having the Pot or Quarter-Can continually at their Noses, get merry with drinking their Majesty's and his Lordship's Health, discharging a Canon at every Round : The Boatswain giving the Signal with his Whistle, three great Huzza's are given, and the Health is renewed with a Canon, as before, and a Bowl of Punch.

Boatswain, Sixty Fathoms and an Half ; ho ; helm-a-lee ; Starboard ; hard a Port ; thus, keep her thus ; there, there, fall not off, brave Boy ;
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well steer'd, Pilot, and better con'd ; helm-a-lee ; this Son of a Whore, he will overfet us ; loof, loof, you Dog ; no near : What a Way this lubberly Land-Crab has made us ; steady, steady ; larboard ; there she scuds away.

The MARINERS SONG.

Captain.

NOW, Boys, our Voyage is out,
And we are richly fraught,
While Fools do stay
At Home, and play,
We trace the World about.

Pilot. Wou'd I were in close Harbour,
From Noise of Port and Larbor.

Boatswain. Thoud'st run a-head
With Jenny in Bed,
And anchor in her Harbour.

Pilot. But if she shou'd not come to it ;
If she shou'd not come to it ;

Boatswain. If she has a Rudder,
As well as her Mother,
I'll warrant thee, Boy, she will do it.

Boatswain. Sixteen Fathom and a Quarter, Master, Port.

Captain. Haul in your main Braces, down with your Anchor, and lower your Topfail to the Royal Sovereign of London.

The CAPTAIN'S SPEECH.

TH R O' Storms and Tempests I am here arriv'd,
Fierce as your Foes against your Life contriv'd.
The Seas, the Winds our Ruin did conspire ;
Their Tumults, Torrents, their hot Brains a-fire.
A Thirst of ruling over Judge and Bench,
Which nothing but an Holland Draught could quench.
To trade to Turkey we in vain had sail'd,
If Mahomet in England had prevail'd ;
Or the Most Christian Sultan, nearer Home,
By sly Intrigue had made her Slave to Rome.
But, Thanks to Providence, the Storm is o'er,
And we once more arriv'd on native Shore :
We boast not of the Riches brought from far ;
Virtue, not Riches, must support the Chair ;
Justice and Peace your Pilots be, to steer
A steady Course thro' the ensuing Year.

The Fourth Pageant.

THIS is a Scene of Mirth and Jollity, and called the Company's Pageant ; in which are various strange Figures and Shapes, lively representing their Mystery and Occupation. It is a spacious Wilderness, in which are planted all Sorts of Trees, Bushes, Shrubs, Brambles, Thickets, and Groves. In the former Part the Orange-Tree, with its Fruit flourishing in their Prime. This Wilderness is haunted and inhabited with all Manner of wild Beasts and Birds, of various Shapes and Colours, even to Beasts of Prey, as Wolves, Bears, Panthers, Leopards, Sables, and Beavers, even to Dogs, Cats, Foxes, and Rabbits ; which tossed up now and then into a Balcony, fall oft upon the Company's Heads ; and by them tossed again into the Crowd, affords great Diversion. With these, several Oranges of the Trees which are planted at every Corner of the Wilderness, which is no less divertive.

In the Rear of this Wilderness is erected a spacious triumphal Arch, the Banisters richly gilded, all the Columns adorned with Ensigns of their Majesties, the City, his Lordship, and the Company. About the Column, under the Lord Mayor's Coat, is painted this Inscription, in Capital Letters,

D E P R E S S U S S U R G O.

In the Front of this triumphal Arch, which is of the first and *Tuscan* Order, sits *Amphion*, playing upon an Hautboy, with two *Dryades*, or Wood-Nymphs, one on each Hand ; these Wood-Nymphs seeming to be charm'd with his Musick, whose melodious Harmony likewise allays the Fury of the wild Beasts, who are continually moving, dancing, curvetting, and tumbling to the Musick, whilst the Birds are chanting their wild Notes amongst the Trees in every Grove and Thicket.

These *Dryades* are habited alike, of a brown and tawny Complection, Hair thick and long, hanging loose over their Shoulders, and their Attire of a dark Green.

Amphion, a young Man of a ruddy Complection, in a Robe of Crimson Velvet ; on his Head a Coronet of red and white Flowers, with his Hautboy in his Hand, making his Obeisance, expresses the Charms of his melodious Harmony in this short Speech :

A M P H I O N's S P E E C H.

*I*N this wild, haunted Wilderness you see
The powerful Effects of Harmony ;
This Harmony (my Lord) doth represent
Union, which is the Soul of Government :
London's a Den where savage Beasts do lurk ;
Keep them in Concord, and you do your Work.

This being the last Pageant, placed at the End of *King-Street*, his Lordship moves to *Guild-Hall*, where he is ready to receive their Majesties, who come attended with the City's Royal Regiment of Horse, the Trumpeters Coats of Crimson Velvet, laced down with Silver and Gold Lace; the Trumpets made with Silver, and several Damask Standards and Banners, very richly embroidered, with Kettle-Drums. While their Majesties are at Dinner, they are entertained with the following Song.

A S O N G to their Majesties in Guild-Hall.

I.

HOW great are the Blessings of Government made
By the excellent Rule of our Prince,
Who, while Troubles and Cares do his Pleasures invade,
To his People all Joys does dispense;
And while he for us is still caring and thinking,
We have nothing to mind but our Shops and our Trade,
And then to divert us with drinking,
And then to divert us with feasting and drinking.

C H O R U S.

From him we derive all our Pleasures, our Pleasures, and Wealth;
Then fill me a Glas, nay, fill it up, fill it up higher;
My Soul is athirst for their Majesties Health,
And an Ocean of Drink cannot quench my Desire:
Since all we enjoy to his Bounty we owe,
'Tis fit all our Bumpers like that should o'erflow,
'Tis fit all our Bumpers, 'tis fit all our Bumpers
Like that should o'er—flow.

II.

Then whilst in a Concert the Minstrels do play,
Let a Health to great *Cesar* go round.
He who crowns with his Presence the State of the Day,
Whom all-conquering Laurels have crown'd.
And whilst we enjoy the inestimable Blessing,
The Extent of our Freedom, each Man his own Way,
Let's shew it in thankful Caressing,
Let's shew it in thankful, in thankful Caressing.

C H O R U S.

From him we derive all our Pleasures, our Pleasures, and Wealth,
Then fill me a Glas ——— &c.

A S O N G

A SONG to the Lord Mayor and Company.

I.

COME, Boys, drink an Health to the *Chiefs* of the City,
The loyal Lord Mayor, and the legal Committee.
The imperial City this Year that with you
Hath restor'd us our *Lives*, and our *Liberties* too.

II.

With *Justice*, and *Peace*, may it ever be floating,
May the *Heads* that support it agree in their *Voting*;
May a strong *Tide* of *Union* still flow in your *Hall*,
And no *Sea* of *Faction* e'er beat down your *Wall*.

III.

A Health to the *Dons* of the *Company's* Table,
Crown every Bumper with *Ermin* and *Sable*.
If *Ermin's* the *Emblem* of *Honour*, then you,
As well as their *Lordships*, are dignify'd too.

IV.

From *Heats* and *Contentions* for ever be free,
Let City and Court make one *Harmony*.
May never more *Discord* amongst you be found,
But one loyal Bumper for ever go round.

About the Middle of Dinner their Majesties Health is begun, all the Hall ecchoing with Huzza's, and loud Acclamations. His Majesty, in Requital, begins his Lordship's Health, which is answered with as loud Acclamations as before; the Kettle-Drums and Trumpets, after the other Musick, beating and founding in their Turns.

The Songs done, and Dinner over, their Majesties return back to *White-ball* in the same State and Order they came, having an intire Regiment of Foot-Guards before the Coach, led by the Right Honourable the Lord *Sidney*, the Guards of Horse behind, with a Lane of the Train-Bands of the City on each Side to *Temple-Bar*, from thence by the Liberties of *Westminster* to *Charing-Cross*, a Lane on each Side the Streets. The Lord Mayor returns to *Skinners-Hall*, where all the Silk-works, Banners, and Flags of the Company are lodged; the rest of the Companies to their respective Habitations.

Also the famous Artillery Company, that this Day attended on his Lordship, marched off in Order at the same Time.

The

The Painters and Managers of the *Pageants*, with the Speakers and Children, having perform'd their Parts with Satisfaction and Applause, repair to refresh themselves, having sat all Day in their appointed Postures and Attire.

I will conclude with the Motto of the Right Worshipful Company, who have so generously contributed, and unanimously gone through the Cost and Trouble of this Day.

Soli Deo Gloria.

A true and impartial Narrative of the Dissenters new Plot; with a large and exact Relation of all their old ones. Together with an Account of the chief Conspirators Names and principal Consults, as well as of several Persons of Quality who have abetted and encouraged them. Declared, and ready to be deposed before any of his Majesty's Justices of Peace. By one who was deeply concerned therein. Published for the discharging his own Conscience, undeceiving the World, and Promotion of Peace and Unity. 1690.

The I N D E X.

1. **T**H E Introduction to two Sorts of Persons whom this Discovery will oblige.
2. The Scheme of the whole Design here discovered, traced up to its Original in the Year 1541, whence it has been continued to this present Year, 1690.
3. An Account of the rebellious Principles of that Ring-leader of Heresy and Sedition, Jack Calvin of Geneva, with the chief Principle on which he built his own and all succeeding Rebellions.
4. Of the Propagation of these his Principles among the French, Dutch, and Germans, with the Tumults and Mischiefs thereupon arising.
5. The Affairs of England at the Beginning of the Reformation: Calvin's pragmatical intermeddling in it, and his Repulse. His Letters to young Edward, and what an Happiness it was to the Church of England, that that Child died so soon.

6. The

6. *The Progress of the Plot during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. — The moderate Men who favoured it; the propagating Calvinistical Notions, contrary to Power and Order, both in Church and State, and how they were received and imbibed by Queen, Lords and Commons.*

7. *What happened under King James, and vindicating the innocent Catholicks from the Guilt of the Powder-Treason.*

8. *How this Design was carried on during the Reign of King Charles the First, of blessed Memory, and the bloody Effects it had in his barbarous Murder, clearing the innocent Papists of it; wherein of the true Character of the Latitudinarians of that Age, Usher, Downham, Wilkins, &c. with the Mischiefs they did by their Moderation, and the brisk Opposition they met with from those good Men, and learned Divines, Sibthorp, Manwairing, Heylin, &c. and all others who were firm and right in those Reigns.*

9. *What happened after the Restoration, and the great Expectations the Faction and their Friends then had of confounding all Things again, with their Enragement at the Disappointment at the Savoy, and how it came about; with the Scheme of their new Plot, ever since carried on, and the Methods they took for their Revenge thereof; the*

(1.) *To persuade the World, that the King and his Brother were reconciled to the Church of Rome before they came over.*

(2.) *That the Nation grew debauched on their Return.*

(3.) *That the Papists burnt the City.*

(4.) *That there was a real popish Plot.*

(5.) *Their Opposition against King James's Succession, in the Bill of Exclusion.*

(6.) *Their actual Conspiracy at the Rye-House.*

(7.) *Their closing with the Toleration and Addressing.*

(8.) *Their present Plot, and Design to overthrow the Church by the following Methods.*

First, Infecting the People of all Ranks and Degrees with their fulminated Notions of Government and Allegiance.

Secondly, Declaring against the ill Practices of such as do not please them; whereas they ought to take them all upon themselves.

Thirdly, Prevailing with many of Note, both in Church and State, to be earnest for the Removal of several essential Pins and Nails in the Ecclesiastical Model; wherein is a short Digression, containing sundry unanswerable Reasons against any Alteration or Moderation.

1. *Because it would disoblige the Papists.*

2. *Because the Parties grieved will never be satisfied, and so they say all.*

3. *Because there are several good Men that cannot be at the doing it, and therefore it would not be legal.*

4. *Because by reasonable Ease is meant none at all.*

5. *Because it cannot, and shall not be mended. And,*

6. *Because the King shall enjoy his own again.*

Fourthly, Their last Method, and highest Step of their Plot, wherein are exposed all the weak Pretences for any Moderation.

The

The INTRODUCTION.

NO Person, that has not lived altogether out of the World, can be ignorant, at the very first View of these Papers, that they must needs disoblige such as are concerned therein; since, the more criminal any Man is, the more unwilling he will be to have himself dilated, and his Faults exposed to publick View, and the more animated against those who do it: But alas! that is not all the ill Treatment their Author expects; for he is too well assured there are a Sort of Men, even on the other Side, whom he pretends to serve by this Design, by discovering the Intrigues of their Enemies against them, who, whatever Reason and Gratitude dictate, may yet look unkindly and a-squint upon him after all his Labour, and urge, that either through Weakness he has lost, or through Falsehood betrayed, the Cause he undertakes to defend. All that he is careful to say in his Excuse, either against one Side or the other, is, that he hath two Friends nearer than either, to wit, *Truth* and *Justice*, whom he will make it his principal Care not to offend in this Relation; and, in the mean Time, shall not be much concerned what is thought or censured of him. Nor will he trouble the Reader with any other Prelude, but (endeavouring as much as possible to avoid Prolixity, as contrary both to his own Genius, and the Palate of all understanding Judges) fall immediately on the Matter of Fact.

HAVING been but too long acquainted with the Intrigues, and very *Cabala* of that Party whose *dark Deeds* I am now decyphering, finding the late great Revolution, and even a King of their own, had wrought but little Mutation in their Tempers, but all the *Catholick* World were now plenarily satisfied, that nothing would please them but the *old Root and Branch-Work*, and beginning myself cordially to detest such Principles and Actions, where they indeed are justly chargeable, I opined I was bound, under the strictest Obligation to my Country, no longer clandestinely to stifle what I myself knew in the Matter; what I have been an *Auritus & Oculatus Testis*; that is to say, an Eye and Ear-witness unto; in fine, to discover all their perpetrated Villainies, both of them, and the (as they are nominated) *Moderate Party*, who join with them; and that not only in this our own *Britannick* World, but the abutting Kingdoms and Countries; and that in former Ages as well as this current, to give the clearer Scheme of that *funest Conspiracy* which has been so long labouring; which will be a *necessary Induction* to that whereof I myself have come to the proper Knowledge.

And in order hereunto, it will be needful, *First*, To give some general *Scheme* of the whole Design of these pernicious Men, which will indifferently serve

serve for past, present, and, I fear^{me}, also future Ages; the unprejudiced View, and clear Proof whereof, I persuade myself, will convince the deluded World, they are indeed *a far different People from what they have been vulgarly accounted.*

The Design, which, you will say, is a terrible one, and therefore had need be well proved, as it shall be beyond all Possibility of Answer, was this, in short, *To go as far as possible from their Catholick Mother, whom they most rudely called the Old Whore of Rome, and never to have any Correspondence or symbolizing with her, nor give her any Hopes of future Accommodation; by Consequence, to entertain nothing in God's Service which had been notoriously abused by her to Superstition; insomuch, that the Use, in such Cases, they thought hardly separable from the Abuse: Heartily to desire all Churches might be settled by this Rule, according to God's Word, and right Reason; but if their Lot was cast in any, in their Judgment yet wanting somewhat of what they desired, modestly, as Beza calls it, to declare their Dissatisfaction thereat, but yet not make an open Schism and Rupture, nor desist from their respective Duties, unless required to submit to such Usages as they esteemed, not only less convenient, but even sinful; or to testify and subscribe their Approbation of such Things as their Consciences, after the calmest and strictest Examination, could not approve. For Default of which Compliances, if forced out, yet using all Candour towards such as remained within the Pale, interpreting all Things fairly, not widening the Breach, but heartily desiring its Closure. In State,—Albeit they would be thought far from encouraging the Licentiousness of the Rabble, or private Persons, who have nothing to do in the Government, yet they must own they cannot, nor ever could, rack themselves up to those high-flown Principles, whereto some have only restringed Loyalty and Obedience; nor can believe, that God and Nature made all the World for no other End, than to be Slaves to the Lusts of some few great Robbers; but that the Good and Happiness of Mankind is the topmost Law, and surest Rule, whereunto all Obedience is to be squared; and that this Obedience has Protection for its Correlate so eminently, that there can be no more one without the other, than a King without Subjects. On which Account, they also think, there is neither Treason nor Heresy in those Words of Calvin, so often exclaimed against as contrary to all Government, *Si qui nunc sint, &c.* If there be, &c. (hereafter largely recounted) being of the Opinion, that the Estates of a Realm may, and ought, to enquire into Abuses of that Nature, when notorious, intolerable, and remediless; and that in such Cases, Arms are lawful, albeit for the ill Consequents, never to be taken without the greatest Extremity.*

Here is (as they say) all their Plot and Design, if you will credit Truth and them; and herein have been induced to embark, one Way or other, all those of other reformed Communions, who have not been so zealous as others for the Continuance of those long Make-baits (as they call them) amongst us; or who, in Civil Matters, have not primitive Zeal enough to hold up their Throats by Legions, till the Swords of Tyrants were blunted, and their Arms weary with teaching them the Exercise of Passive Obedience; the Instances of which in

both Kinds, and their many foul Plots to attain their Ends, shall be tracked in that, and likewise subsequent Ages, down to this present Year, 1690.

For which Account, I need not be ashamed to acquaint the Reader, I am chiefly obliged to Dr. Heylin's useful Histories, (of whom more hereafter) an Author of that undoubted Credit, Unbiaſſedneſs, Coolneſs, Exactneſs, and Faithfulneſs, that the very *Catholicks*, in our late Controverſies with them, have been at the commendable Pains to epitomize, and print his *History of the Reformation*, not refusing to have their Cause ſtand and fall, in the Judgment of the World, by that Account he there gives. For which Reason, ſome have thought it were to be wiſhed, that *Fox's lying Legend*, and old wooden *Martyrs*, were thrown out of our Churches, and this Doctor's precious Works there chained in their Room.

It was (as he informs us, p. 6. *History of Presbytery*) in the Year 1641, that *Jack Calvin* himſelf, that *predeſtinatory and ſacramentary Peſtilence*, (as he tells us he is called) came to *Geneva*, that Neſt of Miſchief and all Wickedneſs, *the very Name of which is Half a Plot*; and which, had it been long ſince ſunk in its own Lake, *what had the World loſt?* Here the Faction, with *Calvin's* Inſtigation, tumultuoſly and rebellioſly plotted againſt, expell'd and abdicated their lawful Lord and Biſhop.—Thus, adds the ſame Author, *was the Genevian Diſcipline begotten in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nurs'd up in Faction*. What needs more Argument, after ſuch ſtrong Authority? Yet, take *Hooker's*, in his *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, (though Care is to be taken to ſtop your Noſe at ſome Paſſages in him, leſt you ſnuff up ſome dangerous *Commonwealth Maxims*) who, in Confirmation of the *Catholicks* and Doctor's Aſſertion againſt *Calvin*, and that conſiderable Branch of the Reformed Churches diſtinguiſhed by his Name, aſſures us, p. 3. “That before *Calvin* came to *Geneva*, the Biſhop was gone, and the Government popular.” And, p. 7. from his own Works, “That *Calvin* proteſted he neither had learned, nor taught, to reſiſt thoſe in Authority; therefore was going to leave *Geneva*.”

Furthermore, Since many would think it but a Piece of Juſtice, to make him the Author of all Sin, who makes God ſo, (although *that* alſo he, and his Followers, have Face enough to deny) do but mark, good honeſt Reader, how this very Man laid a Plot, with a Brood of little ones in the Belly of it, which have ſince crawled about over all Places, and in all Ages. The Deſign takes but a little Room, but, being of the Nature of Gunpowder, does the more Miſchief, being couched in a few Lines of his *Inſtitutions*; which yet, as the Doctor, p. 22. have proved the ſole Ground of ſuch Rebellions, Treasons, and Aſſaſinations, as have ſince diſfigured the Church of *Chriſt*, (at that Rate not excepting the *Gunpowder-Treſon*, and laſt *Popiſh Plot*;) “If there be now, ſaith he, any popular Magiſtrates ordered to moderate the Licentiousneſs of Kings, as of old the *Ephori, Tribunes, &c.* and with which Power, perhaps, the three Eſtates are ſeized in each Kingdom, where they are ſolemnly aſſembled; ſo far am I from hindering them to put Reſtraints on the exorbitant Power of Kings, as in Duty bound, that I conceive them

“ them rather guilty of perfidious and wicked Diffimulation, if they connive
“ at them, when they turn Tyrants, or insult their People, or betray their
“ Liberties, of which God has appointed them the Guardians.”

You have heard the Indictment, nor can he deny it ; nor will all his, or his Partizans *If's* and *Perhaps's* save him from being a notorious *Williamite*, and Enemy to the late (and present too) good King *J.* — ; for clearly hence have flowed, not only all past Stirs made by the stubborn Hereticks, as that good Man just quoted, in his Time observed, but even the present monstrous Revolution. For were it not those pestilent *Ordines Regni*, the *Estates of the Realm* here, which pretended to dispose of the Imperial Crown to whom they please, for those very Reasons before-alleged, nothing but the pious Endeavour to introduce *Catholick Religion*, &c. as if any one had any Thing to do to call Kings to Account, although they caused to be cut all their sheepish Subjects Throats, besides God in the other World, and his Vicar in this ?

After *Jack Calvin*, and his Associates at *Geneva*, had hammered out first their Discipline, and likewise this Doctrine aforesaid, to make Room for the same, they used all Diligence to cause them to be embraced and promoted both together, in all Parts of the Catholick Church ; whereby, as the so often cited Author declares, infinite Damage was done thereunto ; Catholick Bishops deposed, the Beauty of Churches defaced, Order ruined, Images broken, the Catholick Religion every where went to wreck, and all Things in Disturbance and Confusion. But especially the Princes felt the mortal Effects of those poisonous Protestant Doctrines, where-ever they got uppermost, whether in *Germany*, *France*, or the *Netherlands*.

In *Germany*, the Electors dared to set up the *Protestant Religion*, without the Emperor's Leave, in their own Territories ; and when professed, dared, by Arms, to defend that and their Subjects Lives, as well as assist their Brother Hereticks of *France* ; in which, how wickedly they acted, and how God blasted and cursed their Enterprizes, see p. 94. *Book 3.* and try if the Relation thereof will not cause ye to abominate such Practices ; if not, the Doctor hath pawned his Credit and Honour to no Purpose.

As concerning the *Netherlands*, to some of which (as p. 90.) some *well-meaning*, but *weak* Prince, had granted several Indemnities and Privileges ; when succeeding Princes, more puissant and wise, who were satisfied in that useful Maxim, *that they were not Slaves to their Oaths*, had been pleased to revoke them, and bring their Subjects into that *State of Slavery*, which so many great Men have assured us is the very *Primitive State of Nature*. Those wicked Countries, I say, dared to defend their Liberties ; and albeit there may be somewhat of Truth in it, that many Catholicks, as well as Hereticks, embarked in the Affair, yet we may safely say, they were *mere rotten Hereticks at Heart*, or they would never have therein acted. But the open ones were undoubtedly the most active in that Rebellion, under their Head, *William*, Prince of *Orange*, whose Family was looked upon by them as the main Support of their sinking Cause in all those Parts of *Europe* ; and who, sily pretending to be a good Catholick, was all the while a *secret Lutheran Heretick* ;

which Heresy was even bred in his Bone, having sucked it with his Mother's Milk. But yet, for this very Reason he left them, and turned *Calvinist*, (because he found the *Calvinists* Men of another Metal, more quick and stirring, and easily exasperated against their Governors, from the by-named Principles, and consequently more fit to advance his Purposes.) But an ordinary Character for one, whom his Flatterers called the Saviour of the Protestants, and one of the bravest Princes in *Christendom*; but yet the best this (you may judge how) unprejudiced Author thought his Due, p. 99. But see how Vengeance overtook this their Ring-leader, in the Height of all his Glory; for being at *Delph*, on the 10th of *June*, 1584. a brisk young Fellow did excellent Service for the Catholick Cause, by presenting him with three poisoned Bullets, whereof he immediately died. From whom lineally descends one, who is now as great a Plague to the holy Church of *Rome*, and as much a Darling of that contrary Party; and has yet been flattered by Fortune with as much Glory as this his Ancestor. But notwithstanding the cutting off this Head, as has been said, more sprung up; those in this Country turned out their Sovereign, *Philip II.* and have ever since pretended to be *free States*, and *High and Mighty Lords*; not without the Assistance, as will be hereafter accounted, of the heretical Queen, and Parliament of *England*.

This in the *Netherlands*. Neither were their Plots in *France* less numerous: Forasmuch as the *Genevian* Schism daily getting Ground in that Kingdom, several Princes of the Blood were, at several Times, corrupted thereby both in their Faith and Allegiance, and highly guilty of Lese-majesty against their Sovereign. For Example, that notorious *Coligny*, who, with his Party, so often appeared in Rebellion against his Sovereigns the *Guises*, who, under the King, ruled all *France*, or rather over him: And that the Actions of him and his Party were encouraged by *Calvin*, and Ministers sent from *Geneva*, on Purpose to preach the People into Rebellion, p. 53. is as clearly proved in the same Page, from two infallible Arguments; because the Pope was so persuaded, and because *Calvin*, writing to *Bullinger* of those Actions, extremely disapproves and condemns them. It is as certain, that *Beza* himself, and the Admiral, promised *Poltrou*, the Assassin, all the Reward this and the other World could afford, to murder the brave Duke of *Guise*, the irreconcilable Enemy of the Hereticks: And this the Confession of the Murderer, (who could have no other Ends in it than to speak his Conscience, p. 68.) having no Force put upon him to oblige him to a Lie, being only diverted upon the Rack, in the most exquisite Torments a Man could endure, sufficiently satisfied most Men of the Truth of it: For, on the other Side, *Beza*, and the Admiral, had not Impudence so much as to vindicate themselves from this Accusation any other Way, than by the most publick and solemn Manifesto's, Declarations, and Protestations of their Innocence, to their Dying Day. But they were known to be Calvinists both, and therefore no great Heed to be given to what they say.

About the same Time, to consummate their Treasons, they called in foreign Aid, for no other Pretence but to secure their *Liberties* and *Religion*, p. 69. (namely,

(namely, the *English* Hereticks, and by thus giving up their Country as a Prey to the Lust of those Strangers, the antient Enemies of that Crown, who pretended still to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, were guilty of an Action of such a disloyal, impolitick Nature, as no Pretence of Zeal could either qualify or excuse;) which Wickedness on the *English* Side, in assisting those Rebels, was punished, as *Heylin* tells the World in the by gone Lines, with cross Winds, ill Success, and infectious Diseases. See the Difference between the *Good Man's modest Judgment*, and that of a puritanical Queen and Parliament; who being, as well as the *Hugonots*, possessed with the Principles of their Mother City, dared, for want of more Grace, to call *this War* just and necessary, and even religious, in their *Acts* for a *Subsidy* to carry it on: But more of this in the Affairs of *England*. Let us now look back to the Event of all their Rebellion and Conspiracies in *France*. The Churches Vengeance lighted upon them unexpectedly, and destroyed above thirty Thousand, with their Ring-leader the Admiral, on Black *Bartholomew-day*, 1572, without giving them Time to say their heretical Prayers before they went into the other World: Which Action, in a Time of profoundest Peace, under the fairest Pretences, against the most solemn Oaths, upon no Provocation, plotted and accomplished against so many Innocents (as their Friends call them, supposing it possible that a *Calvinist* can be so) is by those who favour them exclaimed against, as one of the most brutish, barbarous, and bloody Villanies since *Herod*, and before the *Irish* Massacre.

And accordingly, observe with what Warmth, Zeal, and just Detestation the Doctor gives an Account concerning it, in p. 75.—[The celebrating of the Wedding in the Death of the Admiral on St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and the Slaughter of thirty thousand Men within a few Days after.]—And further he saith not.

It is Time now to come to the Affairs in *England*, wherein we are more immediately touched, and of *Calvin's* intermeddling here with what he had nothing to do with, nor received any Thanks for; that is to say, the *Reformation of our Church*:—But indeed planting his too fruitful Seeds of Schisms and Seditions amongst us.

But *Cranmer* and *Ridley* knew so well the Temper of the Man, and how *pragmatical* he had been where-ever he got in (p. 236, 237.) and how destructive his Notions were to the sacred Hierarchy, that they would have nothing to do with him or his Assistance. On this, he wrote to the young King himself, thinking to seduce him; and had at last, as well as the heretick Bishops about him, in Effect instilled into him so much Piety, Temper, and Moderation; that, as the same Author remarkably has it in such memorable Words as deserved to have been engraven and eternized on his own Statue of Brass, *It was none of the Infelicities of the Church of England that this Prince died so early.*

But what yet deeper Designs he managed at this Time against the Church, and how he plotted the forming of it after his own Model, we may more than conjecture from the Letters of a vigilant Catholick, found in *Queen Mary's*

Mary's Closet, of sanguine Memory, and communicated to Queen *Elizabeth* some Years after her coming to the Crown, by a Minister of State; wherein the politick Priest acquaints his Correspondent, that it was the Result of the most refined Thoughts in their Communion, by all Means to heighten Animosities among Hereticks, their uniting having been feared, and terribly alarmed the *Romish* See, inasmuch, as *Calvin* himself had made Proposals to young *Edward*, on some Terms, to admit of Episcopacy among the foreign Protestants, to join all in the same Confession of Faith, and acknowledge that King their Protector and Head, which would have been of fatal Consequence to the Catholick Cause; on which Account, they bent their utmost Endeavours to have his Proffers rejected, and accordingly accomplished the same. When this was shown Queen *Elizabeth*, she protested she had rather than half a Year's Revenue her Brother had seen this, and then a Year's, that she herself had seen it before: But what Matter is it what Queen *Bess's* Judgment was in the Case? She will have enough to do to answer for herself, whose Reign we are now come to.

In whose long (should I add tedious) Reign, all the Church and State began to contract those ill Humours, which afterwards over-run both, and made us a Scorn to On-lookers then, since, and now. It was then, that the open professed Puritan fell foul on *sundry Rites and Ceremonies, as the Cross, Surplice, &c.* as stinking so much of *Romish* Superstition, complaining moreover, the Church wanted farther refining. But what could they have done, had not the moderate Men joined their Cause, and promoted it more than they themselves could have done? For albeit they were satisfied in the Rationality of all those Ecclesiastical Decrees and Usages; yet, for the Sake of Peace, and quieting those Complainants, and easing their Consciences, and avoiding the Scandal of Schism, in those Particulars they were inclining towards a Relaxation; nay, had great Hopes also to have accomplished this their notorious Plot and Design, had not the ever loyal Catholick Party, in mere Zeal for the *Protestant Religion, by Law established*, obstructed their Intentions, and baffled their Hopes. So saith Bishop *Horn*, in a Letter to that Arch-heretick *Bullinger*, at *Zurich*, about this Time. "We have laboured, saith he, to get the Act
" of *Garments, &c.* to be repealed, and had obtained it the last Session of
" Parliament, and hope to accomplish it in this, had not the Papists hindered
" it." And several more of them wrote to the same Purpose, albeit they had before but over-much damaged the Church, by persuading the Queen to have Images removed therefrom.

See we nextly, how these subtle Serpents prevailed with that Queen to be in a Plot against herself, and embarked the Lords and Commons in the same Design. This they accomplished by inducing sundry Principles destructive to Power general, and absolute Impery, both into her Judgment and her Kingdoms, whether Laity or Clergy; namely, *That Kings might be resisted, if they endeavoured to destroy their Subjects*; which Position they contrived a Bishop, well inclined to their Party, should impudently write, and in bare-faced Print dedicate to the Queen; with whom that, and such Advice, had
such

such Success, that she assisted the rebellious Subjects both of *France* and *Holland* against their Liege-Lords and Tyrants, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. Whereunto the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as being likewise soured with the same Leven, entirely consented, and granted liberal Supplies therefore, and the Clergy Subsidies; daring moreover, in their very Acts of Parliament, to stile these just, necessary, and religious Purposes. From which Practice, how is it possible but evil-minded Nations will subsume, that if Queen, Lords, and Commons, if Clergy and Laity, Persons of all Estates, and all Characters, once and again did own and defend, assist and promote such an Action, they either were all the grandest Hypocrites, or else did truly, in their Judgment, think it was in some Cases lawful to defend Religion and Rights by Arms; and by Consequence, lop off that luxuriant Branch of Power, whereby Princes might, how they please, use their Subjects, and be worshipped by them as a certain *great Prince* is by the *Indians*, that he may do them no Harm?

Furthermore, May it not be worth Pain to find what Influence *Beza*, and his *Hugonots*, with other *Calvinists* and *Zuinglians*, had upon ours in this Reign? The *English* Puritans were almost resolved to leave the Church, and make an open Schism: *Beza*, with Design to injure us more by their *staying in*, and distracting all, writ a Letter to them, persuading them, for avoiding the Mischiefs certain on such a Breach, to continue still in the Church, and use those Ceremonies required, although not declare they judged them *lawful*, whereas they did not. Some would think this argued much *Temper* and *Christianity*, but they must be mistaken; seeing it is as impossible for one of *Beza's* Kidney to do a good Action, as to be a good Man. Howsoever, hereupon they did continue, although it is a Doubt soon affoiled, *whether or no their Room would not have been better than their Company?*

It is a very melancholy Consideration, how many great Men among us were leaning to these same Opinions: *Horn*, before-mentioned, *Grindal* himself, with many other Prelates, and, as we are told, a great Part of one *Convocation*. And in the State, *Knollis*, *Leicester*, *North*, &c. all judging, that on Account of much Mischief in that and succeeding Ages, felt and foreseen by some Things, called by them *not essential* to our Church, they might with much more Profit than Damage suffer some Retrenchment. But these their Wishes and Plots succeeding as well as *Hacker's*, *Coppinger's*, &c. Blasphemies (which yet we cannot persuade them to own) all fell to the Ground, without any Fruit to their Content during her Reign: In which even the Defection of the Papists from our Communion, which they joined the first ten Years, is by the admirable *Heylin* charged on these same Persons as a perfect Branch of their Plot, in *p. 259.* notwithstanding the World is so unhappily mistaken as to think the direct contrary. Consequently, what more clear, than that all the Attempts made on that Queen by the Papists, *Parry's* Conspiracy, *Babington's*, the Queen of *Scots*, and even eighty-eight itself, and the *Spanish Invasion*, are justly chargeable on this Party? And therefore, — *Christianos ad Leones!*

The

The succeeding Reign of King *James* would afford a very large Field, and tempt to expatiate on their Plots therein: As their *Sham-Plot of the Gunpowder Treason*, thrown upon the Catholicks to render them odious, albeit they have so frequently, when thereon interrogate, assured the World it was a meer Trick of *Cecil's* (their Religion not permitting them to equivocate or lie) with others truly innumerable. We might furthermore account somewhat of their principal Plotters, the strongest Fautors of the moderate Party; namely, *Abbot* (and his Followers and Admirers) who refused to judge in so luscious a Case, as that of the *Lady Essex's Virginity*: But this, and the *Plot at Hampton-Court*, with that when they brought their Abettors Hands by the *Thousands*, must be briefly past over, to make Way for what is of more Concern in the Time of his Successor; for whatever Subterfuge may be taken for other Reign's Transactions, those which occurred, during that of King *Charles* the First, of blessed Memory, were written with a *Sun-beam*, yea, engraven as deep as those infamous *Stigmes* in the Brows of their great Champions, and shall be as clearly proved against them in the ensuing Paragraphs.

That Prince was hardly warm in his Throne, but the *Plot* before begun was carried on with more Life than ever, to set up the Faction in Church and State, and destroy the wholesome Government in both established. Pursuantly whereunto, they, and the Party which favoured them of our own, caused Delate sundry of the King's Ministers, questioned that supreme, imperial, absolute, unaccountable, illimited Power, so oft insinuated as inseparably inherent in the Crown of *England*; pretended Things were not well managed, good Men not advanced, Viciousness not restrained, but encouraged, the Laws not executed against Popish Recusants, but suspended, the Trust concredited not observed, Money illegally exacted, and Property invaded; and finally, no Hope left to have Things fairly remedied, subsuming, that Arms were necessary and lawful to remove ill Counsellors, and vindicate Liberties, though pretending the King's Name and Authority, until their Plot was ripe, and the moderate Men and they together ruined three of the best Kingdoms, and one of the best Princes in the World. How great the Opprobry of this Action was, is obvious to be cognosced by all the World. But suffice these Arguments subsequent to make it plainer, if any Need were, and that this great Cry was entirely without any Reason at all, and they who made it, ventured their Lives, and lost their Blood, only to have *Abner's* Elegy. Because,

1. Our Liberties had no Invasion: Some small Things might be, as are in the best Governments, but not worth minding nor speaking of; — only sending all over *England* to demand Money by Prerogative, without Parliament, and force the stubborn and rebellious, who refused to give to *Cæsar* the Things which were *not Cæsar's*, to suffer Confinement for their Pervicacity. Moreover, our Religion was not in Jeopardy, nor our Laws transgressed, inasmuch, as albeit some Hundreds of Popish Recusants were liberated from legal Durance, and likewise the Pope's Nuncio was here actually resiant,
and

and Plots discovered, and offered to be deponed, against the King's Person, and Government, and Laws, by the *Romans*: Moreover, albeit that the Queen was a zealous Propugner of their Religion, and likewise mortally averted the Protestants Name and Thing, and was so entirely trusted, as to obtain and dispose blank Commissions, of which Use bad enough was made, yet still we behoved to contradict our own Senses, and in no wise believe, that either our Laws or Religion were indangered.

Furthermore, It ought to be well adverted, what sore Mischief Moderation wrought in the Councils and Actions of that Age, seeing those enlisted moderate Men, the *Trimmers* of that Dispensation, were even more noxious and obnoxious than others openly enlisted, as was observed in the Reigns by-gone, and shall be in that succeeding. They were in the *State*, for capitulating with Sovereignty, preserving Liberty, their great *Diana*; nor thought it damnable to keep their own by any lawful Means, or refuse to part with it, saving in a parliamentary Way. In *Church*, for Accommodation and Moderation, and rather inclining to favour the Dissenter than the Catholick, — accordingly not over-fond of Additions or Superstructures, or Refinings on the Ceremonies: They believed a Man might be saved by the *Merits* of *Jesus*, without *bowing* at his *Name* within Church, and swearing by it as soon as he came out: That it was not absolutely necessary to Salvation to have the Church-windows rendered devout, by darkening them with Pictures of the Trinity: That it was not a mortal Sin to call the *Altar* a *Table*; nor of the Effence of the Sacrament, to have *that* railed in: Nay worse, they believed a *Calvinist* might be saved, and dared hope as much of *John Calvin* himself (though many others would as soon be of *Origen's* charitable Opinion, that the Devil might.) Neither did they conclude all those were *Reprobates* who believed *Predestination*: They thought, by Dr. *Heylin's* Leave, it was lawful, yea, even praise-worthy, to keep the Lord's Day as a Sabbath, and that Time as well full out employed in reading God's Word, and singing Psalms, as in playing at Foot-ball or Morrice-dancing: Nay, to lay open the very Core of those fanatical Pustles and Blains that infected the sick Nation, they would have been condescending to amove, or leave indifferent the Cross and Surplice themselves, to save the Souls of their weak Brethren, and induce Peace and Unity in the Church. What need we name all who promoted these pernicious Designs, and avowed the by-named Principles? Who more noticed that Way than the puritanical *Usher*? — Of whom need we any worse Character, than that the *Dissenters* *honoured and loved him*? Who was nothing else, as Dr. *Heylin* so much his Superior equally in Learning, Piety, Gravity, and good Nature, tells the World, *but a walking Bookseller's Shop, with a deal of old Lumber in his Head*, and who was notoriously puritanical in most Points of their before-mentioned Creed. Of the same Batch was the Bishop of *Lincoln*; the Name — and — Thing Man, Bishop *Downham*, *Prideux*, Bishop of *Worcester*, Bishop *Wilkins*, who might as soon get to the Moon in one of his own Chariots, as accomplish the less improbable Project of Union with these Dissenters, to whom

he was himself too near allied. One fanatical Principle more I had even slipt, to which all these before-mentioned, and Numbers of the same Leven, were almost sworn; namely, That *his Holiness was Antichrist*, and his Metropolis, the famous City of *Rome*, meer *Babylon*: Wherein he that cannot *smell* a notorious *Plot* against the very Root of all Government, has no *Nose*: For his Holiness being, it is well known, a great *temporal Prince*, this reflecting upon him in that Capacity, does so likewise upon *all others*; on which Account no wise Prince would suffer those in his Dominions, who defend such a dangerous Maxim. Let me add the reviving that unmannerly Position in the late Disputations against the Catholicks, after it had been given them so frankly by so many great Doctors, the asserting and vindicating, and *almost quoting the Homily for it*, could bode no Good to the Church, but too plainly indigitate that some Designs were hatching, which have since been produced into Maturity.

But to return from this Digression, while I am describing to my unwary Countrymen the *Plots* and Designs of bad Men in this Reign, and the brooding Mischiefs of *fatal Moderation*, let not those excellent Persons be forgot, who stemmed the Tide against it, or rather rushed down the Stream, and over-bore all Opposers; like good Soldiers, very generously letting the Ship split all to Shivers, and sink to the Bottom, rather than *suffer any interloping*.

Shall those great Names, *Sibthorp* and *Manwairing*, be ever forgotten, or how bravely and freely, like Kings, they gave to the King? It is true, it was what was none of their own; but there's the Rarity; it is mean and vulgar, only to give what is so: But to give Rights of Kingdoms, Power of Parliaments, Liberty of levying what Taxes he pleased, without the old dull Formalities of saying, *By your Leave* to the Lords and Commons, and of the other Side preaching the People into Damnation, if the stingy Wretches should refuse even to send their *Heads in a Bandbox*, if it were their Sovereign's Will and Pleasure to ask for them. This, in good Truth, was worth both *giving and taking*, and really deserved, between Man and Man, as good a Deanry or Bishoprick, in Consideration, as any in *England*.

Of the other Side, the making so many Compliments, kind Faces and Cringes, to his *Holiness at Rome*; the leaning that Way in a just Detestation of *fanatical Zeal*, which swagged to the other; the pressing the very highest Pinnacles, nay, *Vanes*, of what one meetly enough terms *Sesqui-conformity*; the abominating, and almost excommunicating all foreign Churches; the running down Law, *Ignoramus Lawyers* (*Selden*, and such like) and the saucy Tribe of *Jack Gentlemen*. These were some of the noble Expedients by which those worthy Men opposed the Faction, and took such effectual Care to prevent and cure the Schism in Church and State, and all deplorable Effects thereafter arising.

Among those memorable Persons, signally instrumental therein, let us by no Means forget the grave, ingenuous, and good-natured Dr. *Heylin*. How much is really owing to his Pains and Honesty, we have already occasionally accounted, though too much can scarce be said on such a Subject, of whose
truly

truly remarkable Works, and those two especially, *his History of the Reformation, and the Presbyterians*, we may, without invidious Reflections or Comparisons, boldly affirm, that hardly ever were two Books written like them, and that they deserve only to be compared with another one. And while the sensible Part of Mankind, and all those who are *firm and right*, are but satisfied of it, let the *Dissenters and Trimmers* in *England* bark on at them, and rail at the *Discovery* of their frequent *Plots* therein contained, and insinuate, as they will scarce fail, that it is a great Question if he belies, and abuses the Church of *England* more in one, or themselves in the other. But notwithstanding all this Heap of Calumnies, and others of the same Kind, in a *late History of the Reformation*, enviously cast upon him by a little Scribler, whom the Vicar of *Cosmus-Bene* has soundly jerked up for his Pains; I say, in Spite of this, and a thousand Times more, the *Doctor* is by all unprejudiced Persons acknowledged to be one of that undoubted Veracity, that they no more question one Iota of the Truth of either of those Histories, than they do the same Author's famous Account of St. George, who killed the Dragon, and the seven Champions of Christendom.

But graver and sadder Matters exact more Seriousness. These perillous Persons, the Subjects of the *present Discovery*, carried Matters yet much higher, and having first seduced a vast Body of the *Church of England* into their Cause, and much the larger Part of both Houses of Parliament, at that Time to take Arms for the Vindication of those *Liberties*, and that *Religion*, they, you see how unjustly, pretended in so much Danger; nay, having insinuated (*as they are certainly a very cunning Sort of People*) some of their own Principles into the King himself, who had formerly assisted the *French* Protestants against the Oppressions and Contraventions of their own King; and so fully imbibed him with the Lawfulness thereof, that to the *very Day of his Martyrdom*, after the severest Examination of his closest Thoughts, and acknowledging some Evils, which Reason of State had, he thought, pushed him on formerly; he yet never was known to look on this as any Sin or Error, in Word or Writing, though grantedly so pious a Man, and of so tender a Conscience.

After they had, by these Methods, and a long War, ruined the *Royal Interest* and Family, they consummated all in the most execrable of Villainies; erecting a pretended Court of Justice, whereon, by a Process for that End intended before by them, they condemned, and (I had almost said) crucified their Lord and Master. They will deny this, without Doubt, as confidently as they were innocent; charge the guiltless Catholics as guilty of contriving, effecting, and rejoicing at it; and pretend their Detestation of a Fact so devilishly barbarous and inhuman. For Defence of the poor Catholics against their Calumnies, suffice it, they have no solid Argument to make good their Assertion, only that, during the War, more Papists were in the Rebels Army than the Royal Side, as appears by a publick Proclamation under that *Martyr's* own Hand; that his Death was before consulted and agreed on, at *Rome* and in the *Sorbonne*; that several known Priests were actually present, some disguisedly,

disguisedly, even in Office, and assisting at that *execrable Villainy*; that there was publick Joy and Triumph thereupon, and a Sword flourished over his Head, by a *Jesuit*, when it was accomplished. But these are Arguments must be blown away, instead of being answered.

And under the same Class may we rank the Excuse of the Party against their having any Hand in this *innocent Blood*. They urge, forsooth, that the Ends of War attained, they were now, and had been, openly for Peace; were satisfied with the King's Concessions, embraced a Treaty, even agreed on Terms, expected to have made themselves and him happy; that the House of Lords, Commons, City, and Country, were all of this Mind; that it was only the Usurper and his Army who acted what was thereafter done; yet not daring to attempt it until the City was disarmed, the House of Lords dissolved, the Commons purged and altered; that when the *Usurper's* Intent was perceived, seventy odd of their Ministers went in a Body to him, dissuaded him from it, remonstrated against it; and when the fatal Blow was over, regretted it as deeply, bewailed it as truly as a Mother would have done the untimely Death of her only Child; that there were of their Number, who, after all Entreaties, Caresses, and Persuasions, absolutely refused ever to see him more; that for this, and other as pregnant Reasons, they no more think the Body of them either indiscriminately or eminently concerned in the Action, than in all the wild and wicked Blasphemies and Immoralities of the *Ranters*, and other Enthusiasts of that Age, which thereafter pestered and exposed the Nation, and which, with just as much Reason, are by their Enemies most injuriously charged upon them. But all this, as in the Case aforesaid, it is not worth the while to attempt to answer.

It is Time now to remind my loving Countrymen of what many of them, as well as I myself, if they will take the Pains of Reflection, cannot chuse but remember, *to wit*, the restless Endeavours and Intrigues of that Party, who, you see, have been *Plotters* from their very Cradles, since the happy Period of the Restoration; at which Time, the Expectations of the Factions and their Friends could not but be great, and their Hopes extremely sanguine, to attain their long desired Ends, of *confounding* the Church by *uniting* unto it; or, as they and theirs would rather phrase it, happily closing the long-bleeding Wounds of these Kingdoms.

And how all Things seemed that Way disposed, had not Providence, and some good Catholick Friends, ordered it otherwise, is a melancholy Reflection to any true Lover of his Country and Religion; for the long and fatal Mischiefs, the Sins and Scandal, and Shame and Opprobry, and yet uncured Wounds given and taken of all Sides, for what was not worth half the Cost and Pains, had inclined many considering Men to desire an End of them, by taking away the very Root of these Distempers, *to wit*, our unhappy Divisions, with which none but were sufficiently tired. Thereupon fair Advances were made, and strong Inclinations, even in the Heads of Parties, to make an End of what they were so much ashamed of.

Followed

Followed next the Conference at the *Savoy*, wherein, ten to one but the Work had been accomplished, many deep Heads being laid together on the Design; which, had it been done, who can guess the Mischiefs had there-upon succeeded inevitably? The poor Catholicks must never have hoped to have breathed, or had one Push more for *Holy Mother*. Trade had flourished, *England* had been strong, famous, and invincible. (What to do, but to make it proud and factious?) The *Most Christian King* had never arrived to that Height of Grandeur and Glory in plundering, burning, massacring his own, and all other Nations in *Europe*, and letting in the yet *more Christian Turk* on the other Side of *Germany*, had we been all well at Home, and fit to keep our antient Station, the Balance of *Europe*; all those Heats and Ferments amongst us had been avoided, and a great deal of brave Blood unspilt, or made better Use of; (but as for that, being such as inclined to this Party, you will say no great Matter;) Peace, Quietness, and eternal Security had been entailed on these Nations to future Ages, instead of still remaining Spight, Malice, and such Animosities, as God knows when we shall see the End of them. (But what then had become of *Doctors Commons*?) So that, after all plausible Pretences, you see there lie very heavy Inconveniencies of the other Side; besides some yet to be named, to over-balance this Union then plotted. How nimble were Bishop *Wilkins*, and others, pretendedly ours? How concerned and intent on this fruitless *Embrio*? And how handsomely were they and the Hopes of the Faction disappointed by that Means, and for these yet further weighty and subsequent Reasons?

Had it come to Maturity, and the People of *England* had Leisure to be all intent on the common Good, both here and Abroad, in Probability, a certain Favourite could not have grown so great and topping as he afterwards did, on the Ruins of his Country's Liberties and Glory.

Moreover, neither had the Royal Power been exalted, nor Prerogative extended, to signify what the King and his Judges thought meet; or those Rights, which cost our foolish Ancestors so much Blood, and so many thousand Lives, generously sacrificed to our Resentments, had not the Breach been left open, and Opportunity still to play *Party against Party*, when thought necessary by State-Ministers.

The prudent Means used to hinder what would certainly have obstructed these great Ends, were near one and the same on both Parties; that is to say, exasperating former Sufferers, rubbing their old Gauls and Wounds, foretelling future Repetitions of the same, encouraging both Sides to stand upon higher Terms than of themselves inclined to, assuring them they should be granted, Smiles on those who were most averse to Union, of the stiffest, sourest, straitest-lac'd Consciences or Humours, Frowns and Sights on the contrary, who might look for their next Preferments in Heaven; by which happy Methods the *Plot* was prevented, the *Schisms* perpetuated, and all broken in Pieces.

See but what Councils this threw the moderate Men upon soon after; how it exasperated and enraged them; and what Calumnies they invented on the State,

State, in succeeding Times, to bring about their Ends ; one of the most notorious of which was, the two Royal Brothers being reconciled to the See of *Rome* before their Return. It was, Truth is, an unlucky Motto placed on the Pedestal of the then Duke of *York's* Statue, at their triumphant Entrance into *London*, in the Year 1660, out of the Poet, *Magnæ Spes altera Romæ* ; The second mighty Hope of *Rome*. It is also as unhappy a Circumstance, that we have the *Word* of this second Hope (that *Word* never yet forfeited) that the first made good the implied Character, and died, as he had in his Heart lived, in the *Roman Communion*. But yet again, we have his own *Royal Word* so often, of his being cordial in the *Protestant*, that it must still remain a *Moot-case* whether of the two we are to believe.

Other as pernicious Insinuations they had, were, that the Nation grew sensibly and notoriously debauched, and such as would not be courtly enough to kick their Wives out of Bed and House too, and take a Thing genteeler in their Room, were counted and named *arrant Fanaticks*, and Enemies to the Government ; no good Church-men, loyal, nor any Thing else that was good, or fit for Preferment ; yea, that the Influence and Poison of those cursed Practices, to make Men Villains and Atheists, that they might be fit for Slaves and Papists, prevailed so strongly, and was rooted so deeply, that it is not yet eradicated ; and is like to find Work for one Age more, as it then produced a Fire and Plague, both too weak to conquer it.

The last of which, the *Fire*, they are so impudent to charge on the *Papists* ; albeit, they have not a Syllable for it, but some old Bundles of Depositions there anent before the House of Commons ; the positive Confessions of Parties engaged in it, and a disaffected Inscription on the *Monument* since razed ; but on the other Side, two or three whole *Observers* contrair thereunto. By the Way, see a certain Mark who are in this *Plot* all along discovered, namely, whoever believes the *Papists* burnt the City, and the Duke had any Hand in it : And all who dare be so impudent, deserves as sound a Fine as *he that now holds his Head so high*.

The next Method they had to blacken the *Government* and innocent *Catholicks* together, was the *pretended popish Plot*. As for *Coleman's Letters*, whereof they so much flourish, how easily might they be forged by that Party ? Or which is more likely, he himself a *Fanatick* ; or what is more dangerous a Beast, a Trimmer in his Heart, contriving all only to disgrace his good Master, and being hanged for nothing but *the Good of the Cause* : And for all the rest of the *Plot*, *Roger's Writing*, and *Oats* his *Whipping*, has sunk it so deep, that it must never expect to rise more, till King *James* comes back to *Whitehall*.

To let pass their *Plot* to exclude their lawful Sovereign, and when that failed, their infamous Conspiracy to blunderbuss the King and all the Royal Coach-Horses at the *Rye-house*, which they, as well as the *Jesuits*, had Impudence enough at their Deaths to profess themselves as innocent of as the Child unborn. To omit that, and their contumacious Refusals to deliver up *Charters*, and all the musty Liberties of their Forefathers. Go but into King *James*

James the Second's Reign, and if you do not see enough of their Practices to surfeit you, never believe *Heylin*, *Roger*, or me again.

How eagerly those *Gudgeons* leaped at the *Toleration*, how greedily they swallowed it, what *universal*, unanimous *Addresses* they made, how many Masters of Misrule left off their *ordinary Occupations* of Tinkers, Glovers, and Coffee-men, and took up the *extraordinary Vocation* of Test-menders, Government-patchers, and Regulators, who has yet forgot? Or how eagerly and universally they sided with their Enemies to destroy the Church?

What matters it, if they pretend in their Defence, that their *accepting* the *Toleration* amounted to no more, than not plainly telling the King they would not take it; whereas they ought to have petitioned him to have set the Rabble once more a pulling down their *Meeting-houses* about their Ears. Or further, that they were *Flesh and Blood*, and being surprized with unwonted *Ease*, after what is better *forgotten* than recounted, should some few of them run too far before they stopped to see where they were going: That those who went thorough with it, were for the most Part only the meanest of their Rascality; scarce a Man of Name or Credit engaged, and all their Body plainly disapproving it: That the *Addresses* were nothing but *Words* without *Hearts* and *Hands* either, unless a very few, and those *dirty* ones, and such as wrote more *Marks* than *Names*: That they honoured and revered the Clergy established, for their vigorous and noble Defence of both *Law* and *Gospel* by their *Writings* and *Sufferings*, and no Persons in *England* more sincere and hearty Rejoicers at the *Delivery* of the *Bishops*, or more satisfied with their Behaviour. This, I say, is their *Plea*; but there is an easy Way of answering it altogether; for it might be troublesome to do it by *Piece-meal*, and that is, *over-ruling* it, and there is an End of it. After adding, that the moderate Men notoriously joined them in *Disobedience* all this Reign. The *Bishops* before-mentioned, — *Maudlin College*, — *Oxford*, — *Cambridge*, Towns and Corporations, refusing to give Liberties and Religion, plotting in Concert with *Fanatics*, and not *fearing the Wrath of the King*.

It is now high Time, and no Doubt the Reader greedily expects it, to enquire what further Steps they have made in their continued Conspiracy since the last great *Turn of Affairs*, which is here my particular Province to declare and *depone*, if Need be, and for which Intent principally I undertook this present Task.

That their old *Plot* is still on Foot, to accomplish those by-named Designs, no honest Man but firmly believes, as much as I myself do; it is the general Discourse of both City and Country. How far they have proceeded therein, and the Methods they have lately used, and do so at present, to bring it to Perfection; a grateful and useful Work, deign to accept, O Reader! from one who has had the Misfortune to know but too much of that Affair.

The main Stroke of their Design was to infect all Degrees of the Nation with their *by-gone Maxims* concerning *Government* and *Allegiance*, whereunto we are indebted for all the late and present *Hurly-burly*; for had the People still continued in their old *governable* Opinion, that their *Throats were to be cut*
for

for God's Sake, and they were by no Means to lift up their Hands against his Anointed, though to repel the Stab of a Villain commissioned by him; had they but remained possessed with that *furious Desire of Martyrdom* some of the primitive Christians were, and run their Necks into the Noose as fast as they themselves, upon Racks, Wheels, and wild Beasts; had we still believed a King to be *such an Image of the Divinity*, that he could no more cease to be what he is, than that can; but that the Obligation of all the rest of Mankind, to the First-born of *Adam*, and so downwards in the *Patriarchal Line*, by *Fergus* the First to King *James*, were inviolable and eternal, and an *unpardonable Sin*, on any Account whatsoever, to oppose or infringe it; then, undoubtedly, we had still continued, I say, not in the same, but a much less pitiable Condition than we were before *our great Deliverance*, as it must be called. It was the parting with these Principles made Way for what since happened, and indeed drove the King away more effectually than either his *own Conscience* or the Prince's Army. Now whence came this Alteration, but from such Principles as before-named, industriously disseminated, we may know by whom, and now, alas! embraced by every Body?

Oh! Where is the Glory of *passive Obedience*! The Honour of *Non-resistance*! The Decency, the Utility, the Bravery of those *Particularities* and *Characteristicks*, of which our Enemies began very tartly, but a little too early, to wish much Good might they do us! What a small Sacrifice had it been, to have two or three hundred Thousand Hereticks small Brains beat out, or *Weasons whittled*, and all the Churches in *England* whipt out of their heretical Pravity into *Catholick Mass-houses*? And how much better and more acceptable had this been, than thus for the *moderate Men* to run Hand in Hand with Fanaticks, and loaded us with so many Dung-carts full of Shame and Ignominy, that we shall hardly ever be sweet again?

But observing there were many of their Party, after Things were come to a Kind of a Settlement, who seem contrary to all Government, discontent, and murmuring at this, and all Affairs not managed the Way that pleased their Fancies; restless and uneasy, neither fearing nor loving God nor the King; for a Commonwealth, or rather Anarchy, and nothing at all; of too good and keen Memory as to others Faults, and the *most forgetful Things alive of their own*; desirous to embroil all again, like a troubled Sea, ever working, muddy, and uneasy; finally, downright against Monarchy, and the Government established in *Church and State*; and, in a Word, for all or none. Cunningly adverting, I say, there were such Persons amongst them, and such as often made a great Noise, and were noticed by all who valued their own Liberties, as Persons dangerous, and to be suppressed; lest these should be thrown on the whole Party, and thereby injure and oppress them all, which they now began to apprehend, they totally disclaim, and loudly protest against such Persons and Actions; most *uncivilly* refusing to own them or their Tenets, acknowledging there are so many of them, they could be very well spared, and heartily wishing any other Party had them; also concluding, they could no where go, but they must meet some of their Fellows.

But

But the main *Hinge* of the Design, the very *Poison and Point of it*, is that which follows: They are desirous of having several *essential Nails and Pins* pulled out of the Ecclesiastical Model, which they have been often enough told is of such an exact and nice Constitution, as the least Alteration therein would infallibly ruin all the Building. *And if this be not a Plot, there was none to kill the King at Newmarket.* In this they had as many Abettors as there are *Latitudinarians* in the Kingdom.—Some notorious ones they had in the last Reigns, not now alive to help them, particularly Judge *Hales*, who was dipt in this Plot *over Head and Ears*, and so lost to any Sense of Honour and Religion, as to be acquainted with *Baxter himself*. Several living both then and now—*All the moderate Divines*, once well met in a Lampoon, lashing them so smartly, that the Blood almost came thorough Gowns, Cassocks, and all, although they (*as their Way is*) aver, that Vengeance fell on him who made it, being a little after accidentally killed in a Quarrel, (which is a Truth we cannot deny.)

Could we but *purge the Convocation*, how many of this Kidney might be *garbled out of it*? And especially, How thin would the *Upper House* remain? To tell Truth, there is hardly *any Distinction between these moderate Men* and those *Plotters* themselves, their Desires being the same, whether in the Church or out of it; *namely, to have Alterations*; whereafter, the Minds of Men are of late so notoriously gadding, that it may be good Service, and a pardonable Digression, to insert sundry of the *closest* and most remarkable Arguments, which have or may be urged against them, to confirm all that are not quite lost, of the *Mischief and Unreasonableness of Moderation*.

1. Because any such Thing would mortally disoblige all *good Catholicks*. Scandal is not to be given; they have had too much already, as was touched in the *Reign of Queen Elizabeth*.—Some, it is true, believe we ought to take more Care of *disobliging our Friends* than Enemies, and that we are not quite so distant from them as from the Papists; since three Articles are not so many as almost all nine and thirty; and if those could care for them, *how much more we*? And that on one there is no Hope of doing any Good, as there is on the other.—But this it may be said the second Argument takes off.

2. Because the Parties complaining will never be satisfied; — and so they say all, protest, and resolve, *Man, Woman, and Child*.—Whatever offers have, may, shall be made—*never talk — propose, — argue*.—Here could we put in a Word, some would ask two or three short Questions—*When? Where? What?* And till those were answered, dispute no further. Let them alone, and on unto the next.

3. Because there are several good Men which ought to be, and cannot be present at such Alterations, therefore they would not be legal. If any says, who hinders them?—They are very impertinent to ask such a Question as No-body can answer. *But there are more yet, as,*

4. Because by *reasonable Ease*, formerly promised them, is meant *none at all*; for if all they desire be *unreasonable*, why then a *due Temper* is such a one as all Things were in before. Although it be extremely probable, this

neat Interpretation was not thought on when the *Promise* was made, any more than at present approved by such as then made it; yet all must confess it was a dextrous Turn, and as handsome a Trial of Skill as any in that excellent Author, who lately made Use of it. [*The pretended History of the Convocation.*]

5. Because one may safely pronounce of every individual Word, Syllable, and Letter in Controversy, that it cannot, shall not, nor ought to be amended.

The two first Branches of the Argument, it is acknowledged, are the strongest, it cannot—Because all Things are so *consummately* perfect, as to deny any Addition or Subtraction. It shall—that shews Power, and what more great than—*sic volo*—on which Account, not much need of the last. It ought not—for several under Causes and Reasons.

(1.) Should we begin, there would be no ending; that is to say, there is no Difference between *staring and*, &c.

(2.) It would argue Weakness—In other Terms, would convince us *fallible*, and as *mere Men* as our Forefathers; — a most egregious *Imputation*!

But there is one dormant Reason stronger than all these, and a thousand more, which none but Friends are admitted to hear.

6. Because the late King *shall enjoy his own again*; — which is so clear by its own Light, there needs no further Illustration; and if all these weighty ones prevail not to dissuade from *lukewarm Moderation*, I know not what will. — *But do an Enemy Justice*; let us therefore, to evite Partiality, account what Arguments the Party have for *Moderation* and *Accommodation*; in which, Reader, you will still perceive more of the Venom of that *Plot* they are now engaged in.

These momentous Arguments, which they think carry Demonstrations in their Bellies for Moderation, and compromising Differences, are only such weak ones as follow: The Glory of God, the Interest of *Europe*, the Good of *England*, and all the King's Majesty's Dominions in general, and of all Parties, even particularly taken.

They pretend that God's Glory is engaged in it, because it would prevent sundry Scandals and inevitable Mischiefs in Religion. The *Atheist* would no more argue, that the great Duties of natural and revealed Religion, and Vice and Vertue themselves, about which there was such a Noise and Clutter, were nothing but Trick and politick Contrivance, not believed by such as teach others to obey them; because he saw them as earnest, and more, for small Trifles, what they themselves acknowledged, but the Gawds and Trappings of Religion. Were this *Schism* cured, where-ever the Fault lie, or whether of both Sides, the People would be, they think, more solicitous about Matters of more Concern, their Care and Study taken off from what is less considerable, and true saving Christianity, and a good Life, much more heeded, now almost totally neglected; since it is impossible for the Mind of Man to be at once equally intent upon two different Objects. Furthermore, many heinous Scandals avoided; whereas different Parties now snatch up, and keep alive, whatever ill Things they hear of one another, not valuing how much common Christianity is injured by their so doing, the very Office of the Ministry rendered vile and con-

contemptible to the World, all sacred Mysteries slighted and ridiculed; yea, as different Parties are under or at the Top of the Wheel, this murmuring and repining at them above, that pressing and crushing such as are below; which Mischiefs they think it is impossible to evite, considering the Passions and Weaknesses of even the best of Men, as long as there are different and separate Interests and Communions.

And the next Thing they urge (like subtil Plotters as they are) is the Interest of *Europe*, pretending all *Christendom* to be affected with *England's* Concerns, that Island having been always accounted its Balance, unless when we ourselves break the Beam. Were we united here, how would the Ravishers of *Europe's* Liberties tremble, who already are not very secure? This has been *touch'd* in another Reign, but deserves, they think, deeper Consideration. What one Thing would *France* wish like a War within our own Bowels, to divert us from piercing into those of his own Country? Which, if Matters continue as they are, the contrary is rather to be wished than expected. Next to that, a Division of our Councils, Interests, and Designs, whereupon ill Men would still work to widen them, and distract us, must needs hugely gratify him and all our Enemies.

And what would more conduce either to our Profit or Glory they further urge? For even making Allowances for the Vanity every Nation has for itself and for its Force, as well as a particular Weakness that Way wherewith we are charged by our Neighbours, how unjustly let others determine: One Thing is certain, that in the Field there is not a braver People under the Sun; and Number for Number, we make our Party good against any Opposers whatsoever; I will not say as one did, while *God stands neuter*, but may while he does *not fight against us*. Not to instance in our late Rencounters with our Slaves the *Irish*; for they seem only made to be kickt, beaten, and run away, all other *indifferent Judges* acknowledge it; on which Account, and our happy Situation, none care to meddle with us if they could help it. So that were this present Rub well over, whose happy Success in the common Course of Things nothing can hinder but ourselves; nothing here but our new sprouting cursed Animosities, Divisions, Fears, Jealousies, and Whimsies of one another, effectually making what we fear. Were this once well over, we might expect the Happiness, Tranquillity, flourishing, Wealth and Ease, which God only knows when we had, or now are like to have.

Moreover they pretend, it would be likewise the true Interest of every particular Party. Could this be proved and believed, without any Doubt we should be all Friends To-morrow; for ingenuously, after all, *there* is the great *Diana* that sets us together by the Ears, and, in Truth, worth a wise or honest Man's Concern; every one being obliged to provide for his own House, and secure his own Happiness, so it be by lawful Ways, and not contrary to publick Good. But there we generally slip, few but minding more what they feel than what they see. Unite these together, and the Business is done; to which they persuade themselves this plain Account will much conduce (albeit,

ten to one but it displeases all Sides) as these Moderators are the most unlucky Men in the World for that.

Let us consider, say they, the Church-man as established in his Possessions and Privileges, by the Law of the Land, the Inclinations, Promises, Oaths of his Sovereign, and Genius of the larger Part of the People, which, were there Need, this demonstrates: In late Elections, no *Dissenters* have polled on one Side, many Church-men of the other, together with all the *Dissenters*; yet the last out-numbered, where we have been so unhappy, they say, as to fall into Parties. His Interest is to preserve what he is legally instated in, and to get and keep the Love and Esteem of the People.

He apprehends all this in Danger from what has lately happened in *Scotland*; from the Distempers, Folly, and Wickedness of many, who are Professors of that tolerated Party which dissents from the established Form, whom he finds, hears, sees, and is assured to wish his Destruction, and his own Party's Exaltation; albeit he be morally certain, from his Life and Manners, that this cannot be Conscience whereupon he acts. On this he is, as he ought certainly to be, solicitous to preserve what he is in actual Possession of,—(Who blames him? —) and is assiduous to countermine those Designs, or rather Hopes, of ill-meaning Persons. — Nor is he to be discommended.—But then, ten to one he runs farther, breaks into a Passion, cries they are all such, and this is the Bottom of their Conscience and Pretences to Religion; is Tooth and Nail against any Moderation and Accommodation with them, and very probably wishes their Toleration again taken from them, of which he thinks they make so ill Use; and is resolved to promote the doing it. Now the Question is, If here he go not too far? Which will be presently answered by these Moderators, who will take upon them to prove he mistakes his true Interest, or rather over-runs it; for, say they, the Thing he desires is not oppressing others Consciences, but securing himself, and what he has, from such as either have none at all, or very large ones; and to this they will shew him the infallible Way. Take off what Objections such as are of undoubted Probity and Religion make against your Communion, lighten their Burdens, and *these Men will love you for ever*. Then the best, of most Name, Estate, and Honesty, are yours. The Remain a headless, witless, senseless, pretenceless Rabble, that must drop of themselves, and in a few Years all Things be peaceable again, and run in their own proper Channel. But then comes Interest, and says, What shall we do with their Clergy? We have (at least) enough of our own, whom they will take Bread from. Answer they,—But the Fleece will accompany the Flock, and many a *Golden Fleece* too will return with these Shepherds; more than enough to build new Churches, and maintain them sufficiently, for that there is no very considerable Number of their Pastors now left; for if in one Parish in this City there are Meeting-houses, and the Parish-church is already more than filled, guess what might be done by all those, or but the most considerable, if once united to the same Communion.

The

The Interest of the modest and moderate Dissenter is to live comfortably in this, and secure the other World hereafter, which he cannot do if he act contrair to his Conscience here, which, he says, he has endeavoured to satisfy concerning the Points controverted, but cannot think Compliance lawful, and therefore is sure, whatever it may be in those otherwise persuaded, it would be a Sin in him; and if this be true, of which God only can be Judge, who can justly blame him? Especially when he adds, and solemnly protests, that he thinks Schism a great Sin and Plague, and would part with any Thing but his Conscience to avoid it: That he would be very unwilling to have the Imputation of doing or not doing any Thing out of meer Contradiction to lawful Authority, which he thinks a silly, spiteful, and sinful Practice: That if he did not come into Church, were the Gates made but a little wider for him, without desiring to have them pulled down for that Purpose, he must of Necessity submit to be looked upon as one of no Principles, Conscience, Faith, nor Honour. And what seems fairer than all this? He thinks it, on the other Side, well worth his Care to consider of a Way of living for himself and Family, and would be willing to have some Security of what he enjoys, and suitable Provision made in other Circumstances: Still who can blame him? But the Mischief is, a warm Contribution, of sometimes 2 or 300 *l. per Annum*, is a very comfortable Importance, not easily parted with. Hence Desires of Union are apt to languish. The Heats of ill Men on the other Side charged on the whole Party, magnified into a Design to ruin them, or a malignant Spirit, at Enmity with God and the Gospel, and Conversion of Souls; and alledging, that *they only* make the Breach so incurable, and that they will never hope nor desire its Remedy more. He is, as well as all other Parties, too tender towards ill Men, who espouse his, though a Disgrace to any; and it is very possible, a little imposed upon by too sanguine Hopes, in Numbers here, and Success in other Places. There he does as certainly mistake, as others in other Things mistake him; or those Commonwealth's Men, who shrowd themselves under his Name, whom he no more approves, than he thinks the State ought to fear; since those that are of them, are for Number and Discretion much like *Venner's Gang*, and must believe *one shall abuse a Thousand*, to make their Cause sprout again: But however, secure once this troublesome Interest, and all will be well enough: And that is not impossible to be done; for if he has a Church and preaches in it, the most of his People have such a Respect for him, they certainly follow him, and who shall forbid them to drop as much in a Church-bason, as in a Plate at a Meeting-house? Or ought a little Difference here to out-weigh the Inconvenience of so many great ones in other Cases? Or were there but a hearty Desire of Union appearing, would not Authority take care of those Matters?

At this long, tedious Rate, do these neither Flesh nor Fish preach about their *Idol-moderation*. If as much as this cannot be accomplished, they are for the *next best* until that shall be attained; a Union in Hearts and Affections, cordial Kindness, Allowances, Forbearance, Meekness, and *I know not what Apostolical Cant*, to attain that Plot and those Ends they drive at.

They

They will say, that one Side is very immodest, if not content with Toleration granted by Parliament, assured by the King's Word; it grasps at either Half, or all that which is none of its own; murmurs at the Government, because it gives not on until it has nothing left; faint in their Allegiance, and give Colour to what their Enemies assert, that they will never be contented under any Government; or favour, or encourage those indeed of that Humour.

That the other Side is very unkind, as well as impolitick, if from Heats and Follies on both Sides, it should forget what it formerly promised in the Days of Adversity, what Kindness it then received from those who on Provocation enough were courted to destroy them; and had they entirely joined that Interest at that Time, whereto they had such advantageous Proffers, Things had been now in another Manner of Posture than they are. If because some would have too much, they would take away all that they have already given, and tread the Steps of one who took not very prosperous Counsels, to render Friends Enemies, and then make those Enemies desperate. And if they forget to consider, that the more Conscience a Man has himself, the tenderer he is of another's; while he that has none, is like the Debauchee, who because he has no Honour or Virtue himself, thinks nobody else has any, and deals with them accordingly.

So much for this P L O T.

The Price of the Abdication.

THAT the candid Reader may not stumble at the Threshold, I judge it necessary to advertise him, that by *Abdication* I understand not the King's voluntary resigning his Crowns; but, as in Fact it was, the Conventions declaring the Throne vacant, and electing a new King.

Before this, these Kingdoms enjoyed the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, the Confluence of an immense Wealth, by an uninterrupted Trade, and the entire Fruition of the Product of their Lands, and Industry without any Diminution by Aids, Taxes, or Polls, for the Space of eight or nine Years together.

Not only the utter Deprivation of the Subjects, of all Ranks, of these Benefits, may be the first Instances of the Price of the Abdication; but the innumerable national and personal Losses and Damages, which may be piled in the Scale, have increased the Items to a prodigious Charge.

The very Source of all which our fatal Ruins was the Expulsion of the King, whose Study and Desire was to have preserved his People in Peace, and Freedom of Traffick (as Mr. *Pepys* has demonstrated beyond all Cavil) during the Confederates War, which, to this Day, by an infinite Increase of Riches,

Riches, these Kingdoms might have enjoyed, as well as *Portugal*, the States of *Venice* and *Genoa*, the Duke of *Tuscany*, and the two Northern Crowns, if the *Dutch* Ambition, Circumvention, and Craft, and *English* Treachery, and Covetousness, had not prevented it.

To insert, by Detail, the Advantages we have lost by want of the Neutrality, and the Damages we have sustained by being engaged in the War, scarce falls within Computation. It may suffice in a Ruin so diffusive and epidemical, to suggest some general Heads, proportioned to the Design of an Abstract, leaving all, who have any Sense of their Country's Good or Evil, to enlarge their Reflections.

The *Spaniards* have a wise Proverb, *That Evil comes well, which comes alone*. The mischievous Abdication reached not only the King's Royal Person, but, at one Stroke, cancelled all the antient fundamental Laws of the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy, as my Lord *Nottingham* himself declared in his Speech at the Convention, even but two Hours before the Vote for the Abdication and Vacancy was carried but by two Voices in the Lords House: He then asserted, that if they owned there was an Abdication, and that the Throne was declared vacant, that it followed inevitably, *That the antient Government was dissolved, and that their Lordships were no more Peers*, but might be justly ranked among the *Plebeians*; the Consequences whereof remotest Posterity may bewail, as the very sapping our Mounds and Banks, which should fence the Throne against the frequent Inundations of Rebellion and Usurpation, unless the Example of the dismal Mischiefs this hath, and will further bring upon the Kingdom, makes them wiser and more cautious than we have been; who, many of us, have seen and felt the miserable, calamitous Condition of all Degrees of Men, during the Rule of the Long Parliament, their General, or his Bashaws.

How tyrannically they executed their new Ordinances, put strained Glosses on the old Laws, filled their High Courts of Justice with Executioners of their illegal Commands, fleeced the People by Assessments and Loans, and, after Successes had hardened them in Mischief, and Money from the Body of the People did not satisfy their greedy Worm, they sold the Crown, Bishops, Dean and Chapters Lands, and those they stiled Delinquents Estates; and lastly, after their Pardon and *Quietus est* to Compounders; *Oliver* found a new Way of Decimation, to make all who had 100 *l.* a Year, and had compounded, to pay an annual Tenth.

None who lived in that Age can forget these Things, or the Regal and Loyal Blood was spilt by their Civil or Marshal Courts: And our Posterity, when they peruse the Records of our Trials or Judgments, not only in Criminal, but Civil Matters, where those they stile *Jacobites* are concerned, the illegal Imprisonments, sentencing to Death, Fining, Pillorying, making them pay double Taxes, and Penalties upon refusing the Oaths, &c. will not find much Difference betwixt the former and latter Proceedings, or rather Tyranny.

The

The Penalties on the Clergy for not taking the new Oaths are parallel with the old Sequestration, only but so much the worse, as that no fifth Parts are allowed to their Wives and Children. Though the Convention allowed to twelve, some Share of their just Revenue ; yet the *Dutch* Statholder was not so merciful as to pay one Farthing of that designed Kindness. And the insatiable Thirst for Money, now that the Country is so exhausted, puts the Commons upon Sale of forfeited States, and without peradventure when our Fund fails, Church Lands may be in Danger ; and they, as well as Orphans Estates (a Project lately set on Foot) may be brought into the Exchequer, and the Clergy have Stipends only, as at this Day is practised in *Holland* and *Scotland*.

But a yet dearer Rate hath been paid for the Abdication, even the Hazard, without sincere Repentance, of the Damnation of the Souls of the much greatest Part of the Clergy : If wilful, or imposed Perjury, be in the Class of mortals Sin. Those all had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to their lawful King, enjoined and established by Act of Parliament.

And that the good Will of the Government might not be wanting to involve the whole Laiety in the like Guilt, they also are enjoined under severe Penalties to take the new Oaths ; which Act had a double Edge, not only to enforce the Compliers into a Combination to support the governing Power, but likewise to exclude from Places of Honour and Profit all such as conscientiously refused to take such Oaths, that they might be supplied by their own Creatures.

Hence it is we hear so many repine that the Clergy so generally took the Oaths, whereby the Opportunity was lost of filling their Cures with Dissenters : But they hope, e'er long, they shall compass an Oath of Abjuration, which, they assure themselves, will not only change the Majority of Gowns for Cloaks, but purge many out of Civil and Military Places, and so make Room for new Legions.

Such supplanting one another is a certain Concomitant of all Revolutions of this Nature, in which none can have any Security of his durable Station, but such, who equal the glibbest Fane that will vere with the smallest Breeze : For Ambition, Covetousness, Treachery, and Revenge, being the constituent Qualifications of all Men who co-operate in Revolutions of this Kind, it is not to be expected they will alter their Natures.

And hence it is, that neither Ministers of State, Officers in profitable Posts, Generals, or Admirals, must ever expect a Freehold in their Places or Employments under such like Governments, which, together with the great Arbitrariness or Corruptions those discover, when they have got Power, are the natural and genuine Causes why few usurped Governments are long lived.

But some may look upon the Alterations of Laws, and the Affrights of Damnation, as Matters of no great Moment ; since, as to the first, they believe all People ought to submit to such Laws as those make, who have Power to compel : And to the second Sort, they screen themselves under the
awful

awful Force of the Imposers, and the hard State either to venture future Damnation, or present starving; and most have the Faculty to put furthest off the evil Day, and are prone to say (whatever their reluctant Consciences suggests) that it is better to hope for God's Mercy to their Souls, than to trust rapacious Men with their Estates.

But it will puzzle a profound Casuist to resolve what Plea can be made at the supreme Tribunal, for those, who had Lands, or Money, competent for a ten Years Subsistence, for them and their Families, and so were not necessitated to perjure themselves for Bread.

I shall leave these therefore to their own Defences, and come to that, the Loss of which Mankind most concernedly bewail, and that is, the Price of the Abdication in *Pecuniis numeratis*.

If we peruse our Annals, Parliament-Rolls, or Records of the *Exchequer*, we shall scarce find any three or four of our Kings since *Henry IV.* nor all the Kings preceding him to the Conquest, exclusive, have, in their respective Reigns, had so much given by Parliaments, as hath been given in these five last Years; especially if we add the standing Revenue, which *Communibus Annis* used to be two Millions, as most Men have computed. And I have Reason to believe, that if all the Losses the Subjects have sustained in the same Compass of Years by this War, solely occasioned by the Abdication, could be computed, it would surmount what this Kingdom hath suffered by open War in two hundred Years.

It is well known, that Queen *Elizabeth* maintained a War near upon thirty-four Years against the Crown of *Spain*, then as much feared and envied, as *France* is now, and during that War expended great Sums in supporting her Interest in *Scotland*: By her Money, to the Value of 800,000 *l.* the Assistance of her Martial Men and Shipping, she gave the chiefest Maintenance, if not the Foundation and Being, to the United Provinces: She plentifully supplied the Duke of *Anjou*, the Princes of the Blood of *France*, and more especially King *Henry IV.* She maintained a long and chargeable War in *Ireland*, and was at great Charge in providing against the *Spanish* Invasion; yet, for the Support of all these, she had not, in her whole Reign of forty-five Years, as much as has been drained from the Subjects in some one of our late Years; and was so tender of oppressing her Subjects, that she remitted one Subsidy, if not more, and paid duly what she borrowed on Privy Seals.

We might have made an early Estimate what the Price of the Abdication was like to amount to, by the earnest Penny given to the *Dutch* of 600,000 *l.* more by 400,000 *l.* than they spent in the Expedition, and more by 500,000 *l.* than the Ransom of our famous King *Richard I.* cost. Yet, I believe, it is now obvious to all, that if the Interest of the States General, to hook us into the Support of them, and their War, and depriving us thereby of Trade, and the gaining of our Men, Money, Ships, and Ammunition, had not been a more prevailing Cause, than the pretended preserving us from Popery and Slavery, we might still have enjoyed our King, and our Money.

Had some unmerciful Leeches contented themselves with exhausting our vital Blood, [Money] in the Space of one annual Course of the Sun, we might have borne it with less Regret, as owed the Excesses of scorching Heat, or tempestuous Years: But we have seen a five Years successive, and annual Encrease of our Taxes and Polls, and no Prospect of Abatement, so long as the Government is able to squeeze, or our Veins run, and not one successful Exploit, much less Campaign, to encourage us to part with our Coin without Reluctance.

Those, who pretend nicely to calculate the Money paid by the Country, (for some Thousands go to Assessors, Collectors, and Officers of the *Exchequer*, more than is accounted for as clear Incomes,) together with the standing Revenue, find it, including this Year, to amount to 32 Millions, besides the vast Arrearages of Debts; so much the Price of the Abdication hath cost in Specie. But, if we tack to these the prodigious Sums the Kingdom hath lost, not only by the Obstruction of Trade, by which singly many Thousands of Families have been ruined, but by the Ships, and their Cargoes, taken by the *French*, or lost by Shipwreck, being compelled to steer dangerous Seas for avoiding Enemies; it will be found to fall little short of what hath been given in some Numbers of these chargeable Years.

So that our Posterity will be as much astonished, how the Subjects were able to pay such infinite Sums, as that ever an House of Commons should be so extravagantly prodigal in granting them, and will set an eternal Brand of Infamy upon those Members, (already in good Measure discovered) who, to obtain Offices, profitable Places, or quarterly Stipends, have combined, not only to vote whatever hath been demanded, but, that they may be thought worthy of their Wages, in some Things exceeded the Expectation of the Government.

I will not presume to calculate what hath been distributed to these Pensioners since the Revolution, though some reckon it at a Million; and there are, who can tell that Mynheer *B——ting* and *Guy of Heddon* are Captains of the Band, and when 150,000 *l.* was lodged for such secret Service, and since their Stipends out of the Treasury, hath discovered several of them, 20,000 Guineas at a Time, out of the Privy Purse, is intrusted with my Lord *B——ting*, the *Dutch* Almoner, to be distributed according to Order; so much more are these Stipendiaries preferr'd before the Soldiers, who adventure their Lives for the Government, and yet are some Months in Arrears for Subsistence; none being carested, but such as study and labour to augment the *Exchequer*.

It is remarkable, that such as have been hitherto detected, have had no other Plea, besides their Merits, in promoting the Abdication: One of which, rather than he would quit that Topick, cast a very undecent Reflection upon the Prince of *O——*, his first Declaration, wherein his Highness was careful to avoid all Expressions, as if he had the least Design upon the Crown. And yet this doughty Knight affirmed, that at *Exeter*, in Recompence of his Service in going to fetch, and accompany the Prince hither, to the Hazard of his Life and Fortune, he had promised him the Weeding, that is, the Underwood of the

the Forest of *Dean*; however, it seems the Prince, (who is not very liberal in Rewards for Services, how considerable soever, as my Lord *Churchil*, Admiral *Herbert*, and others can witness) finding it of 200,000*l.* Value, gave him 7000*l.* I pass by the Remainder, and the Lord, who got only a Reprimand, for endeavouring to stifle the Witness of his receiving 40,000*l.* because they are so notoriously known; and it is hoped, Mr. *Squib*, and others, will detect more, that Lists of them may be sent into every Parish of *England*, as a fit Mark of Infamy upon such Betrayers of their Trust.

This Sort of Claim of Merit not only opens a wide Gap to let in Swarms of other Pretenders, but manifestly shews, that the Price of the Abdication is never to be discharged, while such *Jackalls* are able to find Prey for the *Belgick* Lion; or till the People (when they are made sensible of such Combination) shall take some effectual Course to secure their Purse, which they ought more to endeavour, than against High-way Men, and their under-hand Setters, who fleece not whole Countries and Kingdoms, as these Pensioners do; surely we ought to learn something from Camels, and Dromedaries, Beasts of Burthen, who couch down to take up their Load, but when they find it more than they are able to bear, either refuse to rise, or else cast their Load. I leave the Application; though I know it will not be made by such as design to load us till our Backs are broke, and that by a seeming Contradiction, of laying the heaviest Burthen upon us, by taking all we have from us.

Neither is this profuse giving of Money all their Talent; but more mischievously they contribute to the Ruin of their Country, by obstructing, or rejecting all Bills for publick Good. It can never be expected, that any Bill for dissolving this, or the frequent Meeting of Parliament, shall pass, while the House is so pensioned and officer'd. They know their present Incomes, and if the House should be broken up, they might hap to be excluded the next: So that, till they be purged out, it will be in vain for any good Patriot to attempt such a Bill again; which ought to excite all true Lovers of their native Country, both within, and without Doors, to use their utmost Endeavours to trap such Vermin.

Our old Parliaments used to be very jealous of a standing Army, but such an officer'd House of Commons will constantly encrease it, and make the Country pay them; and seeing that the Government pay them so ill in the Camp, and thereby they run so much in Debt, that they are not secure from Arrests in the Head of their Troops, I wonder not that *Cutts*, *Matthews*, and other Men of the Blade, take such Pains to get Sanctuary in the House; and when once they grow so numerous, as to be able to carry a Vote, it is not to be doubted, but they will endeavour to make their Camp and Quarters Sanctuaries also, and then we shall be governed by Marshal and Military Laws of their framing for the Interest of the Mamalukes.

Neither is this to be looked upon as an ungrounded Jealousy, if we reflect upon the many Offers made towards it. What otherwise hath been the Meaning of the Denial of the Bill for frequent Parliaments the last Session, and the Industry used this Session to render it abortive? It is true, the great

Outcry of the Country, that the defeating of the Bill this Session was to be ascribed to the Influence of Pensions, caused such, as wanted the Courage to own it barefacedly, to struggle less against that *Touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*: But the denying the Royal Assent clearly proves which Party in the House is more valued and esteemed, and not only precludes all Means of vindicating the Honour of the House of Commons from the odious Names of Pensioners, but heightens the Suspicion, that such are preferred before the Innocent and Uncorrupted; who ought not to forget what was said to P—— *Lewis of Baden* by——— *That he believed, he had anger'd the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, as if he gloried in the Exploit, yet he knew how to please them; he knew the Aurum Potabile which would do it.*

What can the Country judge now of the Freedom of future Parliaments? The direct Opposite to Freedom is Bondage and Slavery; if our Parliaments be denied the Privilege of free and impartial Debates, there can be small Hopes that the Country, after all the preceding Impoverishments, shall not be reduced to absolute Slavery, when the Law-makers shall be at the entire Disposal of a Junto of Council, or a single Direction of a Pension-Pay-Master, or be governed by *Dutch* Deputies.

We must now expect no more burning of Pastoral Letters, or Titles of Conquest. Those, who from a Publick Spiritedness would labour to have Grievances redressed, must have Patience to another Reign; since at the Price of all the Millions and Myriads given, they have not been able to obtain one single Law of Benefit, abstracted from such as were not enacted directly for the Support of the Government.

In fine, If this Way of proceeding be not redressed, our Parliaments will signify no more than those of *Paris*, and be of no other Use, but to register Edicts of the Sovereigns, and impose the Taxes on the People; but I leave the further prosecuting of this Matter to the Wisdom of the sincere Patriots of their Country, who are not to be tempted with the Golden Bait.

If we cast our Eyes Abroad, we shall find Locusts to devour what these Palmer-worms and Caterpillars leave; nay, we are so kind, as to send more than we can spare to feed these Free-booters; from *Piedmont* to the *Swiss Cantons*, all North the *Rhine* to the *German Ocean*, along the *Mosell*, the *Maize*, and the *Scheld*, our Silver in Specie hath been transported. Though the Mines of *Potora* would not satisfy the Cormorants of those spacious Provinces, yet, lest they should unlink the Chain of the Confederacy, we are forced to fasten it with our Ingots, and lest we should not extend it to *Vienna*, a great General is sent to importune it. Thus our once fortunate Island is made a Prey not only to 80,000 blue Coats at Home, but to the Eagle and Eaglets, the *Batavian* Lion, and his Whelps Abroad; while we have nothing but the Feather in our Cap, that such Princes and States are not only indebted to *England* for the Assistance of our Auxiliary Troops and Fleets, but of our *Exchequer* also.

But

But to return to our own Country; let us take a View of the Miseries the Subjects since the Abdication have endured.

We have scarcely had one *Gazette* these three Months, in which the Scarcity of Bread, and the Apprehension of Famine in *France*, hath not been aggravated; while it is certainly known, that at *Paris*, it is cheaper than in *London*; and yet we find no such provident Care as the *French* King takes, to have it sold at cheaper Rates, by encouraging Importation from *Ireland*, where Wheat is now sold for 2 s. a Bushel, which here is 10 or 12 s. And when *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Hamburgers* bring Corn, in Hopes of a good Market, we publish them seized as Prize, being designed for *France*. They tell us a wild Story of the Troops drawn from *Piedmont* into *Dauphine*, to prevent the Insurrections of the People for Want of Bread; as if the quartering of such numerous Troops were likely to encrease the Grain, or that the *French* King should bring his Troops into barren Provinces; which were the ready Way to make them join in the Insurrection. But we never touch upon the actual Insurrections at *Worcester*, *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, *Stafford*, *Salop*, *Northampton*, *Sudbury*, and *Colchester*, and other Places, to prevent the buying up their Corn to be transported to *France*, as some maliciously gave out, when it was well known it was for *Holland*. But the Charity of the new Bishop of *E-y's* Wife is remarkable, who, when a Lady was condoling the Condition of the Poor here, by reason of the Dearth of Bread, and all Eatables, replied, *But, God be thanked, there is a greater Scarcity in France.*

It were an easy Matter to draw up a Book of the excessive Rates of all Things for the Belly and Back, which now are paid, in Proportion to what they were before the Abdication; because they are daily experienced by every House-keeper, to the necessary pinching of themselves and their Families. That Loaf of Wheat-bread, which was then sold for 3 d. ob. is now 9 d. ob. and so proportionable, or at least double, in other Food; that Silk, which was sold then by Retail at 13 s. the Pound, now at 30 s. the Muslins, and all *East-India* Commodities, three Times the Price.

You can scarce pass one Street in ten, in this populous City, where you shall not hear the Shop-keepers avouch, that where they take 1 s. now, they used to take 20 s. before the Abdication; yea, I am very certainly informed, that several Tradesmen, who, against *Christmas*, used to return in their Trade 100 l. a Week, this *Christmas* received not so much as would pay their Quarterly Tax. Several of the best accustomed Inns in the Town do avow, that their Cellars are fallen 3 or 4 l. in a Week short of their usual Vend. He must be a great Stranger in the City, who hears not every Week, or almost Day, of some substantial or other inferior honest Tradesman being blown up, or delivering themselves into the *King's-Bench* or *Fleet*, taking Sanctuary, or absconding.

Neither is the Condition of the Country any better. Upon the Road, and every Bating-place, you hear the Complaints of the Inn-holders, that they take not the twentieth Penny they formerly did; and in most Corporations and Market-towns, there are scarce three or four publick Inns, where there
used

used to be ten or twelve ; the Shop-keepers scarce take as much in a Week, as will pinchingly keep their Families ; and a Quarterly Tax is more difficult for them to provide, than formerly their Rents.

It would pity any one's Heart to see, upon this last Quarterly Tax, what Straits the poorer Sort have been reduced to for the Discharge of it ; some having their Bedding, or other Moveables distrained ; others, to avoid the Charge of the Distress, bringing their Pewter or Brass, all which were sold in the open Streets for half, or under Rates ; and this not in some few Places, but in Multitudes over the Counties of *England*.

In the Country, it is every Day's Discourse of some or other quitting their Farms, and betaking them to smaller ones, unless their Landlords settle their Rents, and give them Respite for them ; and many of them have run so much in Arrears in these late Years, that their Landlords would be well content to quit them for a Moiety in Hand : So that by Consequence, the Nobility and Gentry find a great Diminution of their usual Incomes, by the impoverishing of their Tenants ; which is solely to be ascribed to the Want of Trade, and Vend of our Manufactures, by which many Thousands of Families subsisted. So that those, who have kept their Half-score of Cows, a Team of Horses or Oxen, and Hundreds of Sheep, are forced to take up with a Cow, and little Parcels of Ground ; and such as have been able to maintain their Families with good Beef, Mutton, and Pork, are forced to live on Roots, and Offals of Meat, and eat Barley, Turnip, and Pease-bread, and their Beverage be Water, or small Drink : Cheese, Milk, and Butter, and coarse Rye, Barley, or Pease-puddings, are reserved for Festival Days. It is too well known in this great City, how many there are, who formerly lived in Fashion and Credit, who are now forced themselves, or by substituting their Wives or Children, either privately to beg Alms in a more genteel Way, or in the Streets, in a low Tone, with moving Importunity, to lay open their Condition to such as they judge have the Countenances of Compassion ; while others imprison themselves in their poor Lodgings, to feed on the Scraps the common Beggars furnish them with.

There are some, indeed, who, not having been bred to Callings or Labour, or having been well descended of creditable Persons, have taken a worse Course of the high Pad ; who, being apprehended, are sure to find no Mercy ; because they have a general Character of *Jacobites*, and on that Account, are sure of a Furlow, or Passport to the other World.

But to pass these as Criminals, whose Punishment carries a Face of Justice ; there are others, who are called State-criminals, and who may justly be added to the Rolls of the Impoverished or Ruined by the Abdication, not only by their chargeable Imprisonments, whereby they and their Friends suffer ; some being detained six Months, or more, and then nothing being proved against them, forced to give in Bail ; or if any Colour of a Crime appear, then be detained till an unmerciful Fine be paid. So that, by one Method or other, very few can escape Beggary or Undoing.

But

But over and above the before-mentioned Impoverishments of the Country, there is another Oppression from the Soldiers, which hath, and doth fall heavy on particular Persons. Some while, contrary to Law, they were quartered in private Houses, and paid nothing; and in their Marches left the Townships to defray the Charges of their Carriages and Horses. Now they are quartered in publick Houses, where they have for 4 *d.* Fire, Candle, Lodging, and two or three Meals a Day, for every private Centinel; so that the Host loseth Six-pence a Day generally by them, and are seldom paid but by Bills from their Officers, especially when their Subsistence-Money is in Arrear. And the Proclamation for Redress is clogged with so many chargeable Attendances, even at last to apply to the Treasurer at *London*, that most chuse to lose all, rather than complain; though the Soldiers are sure to have it deducted out of their Pay, as in the Case of their free Quarter in *Ireland* was notorious, though the Country never was paid. Into what By-pocket this Money goes is worth a Parliamentary Enquiry; to establish more punctual Payment to those People, who are the numerous Tenants to the Excise Revenue, and ought not to have this additional Oppression.

I pass their Insolences in their Quarters, their robbing and pilfering, and the arbitrary and illegal trepanning of Men for Recruits, or pressing for Seamen; the relating of whose Practices, if People made their several Grievances known, could not be contained in Quires of Paper.

At this Rate, we have purchased the Jewel of Abdication by selling, or having ravaged from us, all that we were worth to obtain it; which may very well be judged by the Difficulties the House of Commons find (the Majority of which have given full Proof of their Willingness to have ample Supplies provided) in Quest of the Ways and Means to procure such. By which it is evident, that we are come to scraping of the Ark, and that we shall have all our Projects for raising Money exhausted this Year; since some, who have made the nicest Computation, judge, that there is not much above six Millions of Money now in Specie in the Nation; of which two Thirds have undergone the *Dutch* Circumcision; so that, if any be sent out in Specie the next Year to the Confederates, we shall have a pitiful Pittance left.

Let us now quit the City and the Country, and take a Tour to the Camps, Garrisons, and Barracks of the Soldiery, and there we shall find what an Ocean of Blood, as well as Treasure, it hath cost to support this precious Abdication.

The Numbers of Men, (most Protestants I presume) who died the first Expedition into *Ireland*, in Monsieur *Scombergh*'s Camp at *Dundalk*, at *London-derry*, and the North of *Ireland* by the Plague, together with the *English* slain in Skirmishes, at the *Boyne*, where *Scombergh* fell, as his Son got his Death's Wound at *Marfiglia* in *Piedmont*, and those lost before *Limerick*, are computed at 60,000 Men. And of the King's Army in the several Battles, Rencounters, Sieges, together with those knocked on the Head, or shot in cold Blood, under the Notion of Rapparees, and famished to Death, or transported, are thought to exceed that Number; the whole Kingdom also, before

before the War, as plentiful as any Kingdom in the North of its Bigness, was in three Years reduced to a Famine of all Things, if *England* and *Scotland* had not supplied them; so that the Woods and Mountains were strewn with famished Carcases. I might add the cruel Proceedings against the miserable *Irish*, even after the Reduction of the Country, by Free-quarter, Plunder, and imprisoning by 500 at a Time; among which, decriped old Women 100 Years old, in a barren Island near *Dublin*, where no Tree grew, and scarce a Tussock of Grass in 20 Yards; where the Sands, or rocky Ground was their Bed, and their own Rags all the Covering they had; and their Food was only four Milk and Bread, to use the Expression of the Eye-witness Relator, as coarse as if made of Bran and Grains.

What a Price hath *Scotland* paid for the Abdication, by the Extirpation of Episcopal Government! As to the cruel Usage of the regular Clergy, the Plundering, Rapine, and Burning whole Towns during the Hostility, the barbarous Murther of the Clan of *Glenco*, after the Highlanders Submission, the Imprisonments, Booting, Fining, and Forefaulting, I must refer the Inquisitive to the several Treatises published on those Subjects. It being judged, that since the Revolution, that Kingdom has lost, of those slain in Battle in their own Kingdom, and in *Flanders*, above 40,000 stout Men. And as to the Support and entailing an expensive War upon them, they enjoy the Privileges of the Abdication in common with *England* and *Ireland*.

Let us now take a View of those Troops, who have the most strenuously maintained this Abdication, and we shall find, that though all the Taxes and Impositions, which have been extorted from the Country, have been for the Support of these, yet they have likewise had no cheap Bargain.

If, from the Relations of such who have returned yearly from *Flanders*, and our Navy, or by the annual Recruits sent to both, we may calculate the Loss of our *British* Soldiers there, no less than 70 or 80,000 have perished by the Edge of the Sword, or Diseases. And the new Troops voted, to be raised, if it can be accomplished, will be in a very fair Way to see the greater Half of their Number dead in Ditches and Highways, if they escape in Battle; unless their Officers have more Care of them, than those who hitherto have had the Conduct of our Country-men.

It were indeed some Encouragement for those, who, of Choice or Necessity, follow the Trade of War, if their Generals took care to provide Necessaries of all Kinds, and a constant Pay, which is their Goddess, and casts the Scale with them, as to the Justness of the Quarrel; but ours have been so inhumanly neglected in this Particular, as if they were *English* Dogs, (as the very Allies usually style them) rather than Men of Valour, or worthy of Regard.

It is too notoriously known, (though our liberal Parliaments have given to the full whatever have been demanded) that our Troops have been sometimes whole Years uncleaned; and some are so since their first Mustering, only they have some scattered Months Subsistence-Money, by which, and spunging at their Quarters, they keep Life and Soul together; and if one may believe

lieve the Officers come from *Flanders*, or residing here, the most of the Soldiers are 12 or 13 Weeks in Arrears for very Subsistence, where their Officers are not in Cash to advance something, or gain them Credit in their Quarter, till the Pay-day; while the *Dutch* and Foreigners, in the same Service, are punctually paid.

As to the Officers who have served in *Flanders*, they unanimously relate, that out of every 20*s.* they receive for themselves, 4 or 5 is deducted for Advance, Agent-money, Return of the Money by *Dutch* Exchange, Portage, &c. even though it be sent hence in Specie; and no Doubt but Subalterns and private Centinels share in this Deduction; so that the Commons must either take some Care to prevent such Abuses, and make strict Enquiry who have the Benefit of such Defalcations, or provide an Allowance for high running *Dutch* Exchange; unless they judge it only their Province to give, give, and never enquire into the Disposal.

But to add to the Discouragement of our Troops, not only the *Flemings*, and Catholick Confederates, but the *Dutch* themselves, openly express a Contempt of our Nation; and study all Manner of Ways to impose upon the Soldiers, by enhancing the Rate of whatever they need for Victuals or Necessaries, nor will deliver them any Thing without ready and broad Money; though they oblige them to receive what the *Dutch* hath circumcised, which they publickly do in their Shops, and from thence send it hither again, while we are as busy to execute such as have learnt the Trade of them. I pass by other Aggravations, and come to more important Matters.

There appears not any Likelihood that the Soldiers can be better provided for in future, since the best paid of them want 11 Weeks Subsistence; and it is certainly known, that there is besides this, (which will be 225,000*l.*) 4 Millions owing, and of all the Money voted, 500,000*l.* is all can be provided in three Months; so that the Creditors, or Soldiers, or both, are like to get a small Share; since it is demonstrable, that if all which the House has voted could be raised, which is like to fall short at least two Millions, there will not be left so much remaining as will pay the Debts already owing.

And to add to the utter Discouragement of our Men at Arms, if there be one Piece of Service more difficult than another, the *English* and *Scots* must be upon it; witness *Steinkirk*, where whole Battalions of the *Dutch* and Confederates, with Some-body, besides Count *Solmes*, in the Head of them, contented themselves to be Spectators, *how the English Bull Dogs*, (as they stiled them) *would behave themselves*; and would not adventure any of the more darling Confederates to sustain our shatter'd Troops, even to gain them any Sort of honourable Retreat.

How many *British* Officers and Soldiers, the very Flower of the whole Army, fell that Day, as Beasts destined for Slaughter, our Country-men ought never to forget, nor ever think they have the Satisfaction of Gentlemen of Arms, till they see their General put other Confederate Troops upon such like destructive Service, which indeed was in some Measure done at *Landen*; though it was done with a Mixture of *British*, *Spanish*, *Brandenburgh*, and

Hanover Troops, while the dear native *Dutch* were more safely posted, the more easily to make their Retreat.

But to return to the Business of *Steinkirk*: It would have melted the most flinty Breast, (to use the Expression of some Spectators) to have seen how those of the *English* and *Scots*, who got off, all covered with Blood, and martyred with ghastly Wounds, were piled into Carts and Waggon, by 6 or 800 Waggon at a Time, to be conveyed to *Brussels*, whereof several died by the Way; and when they arrived there, to see how they were promiscuously, Dead and Living, tumbled as Dung out of the Cart. Upon which inhuman Spectacle, some of their Wives became perfectly distracted, one or more, at the Affright, dropping their abortive Births in the Streets.

I might give an Account how ill the sick and wounded Soldiers are treated in Hospitals, and how hurried out, not half cured, to make Room for others; and how small Allowance is made to the unserviceable Invalids, to sustain them in their Return for *England*; and how many die by such Hardships; as also the ill Treatment of the Sea-men, but the Letter from *Dort*, and the Advertisement at the End, having given some short Touches of these Matters, for Brevity's Sake, I will omit them; but it cannot be passed over in Silence what an Officer assured many of, and offered to prove it by Oath, that at *Helversluis* 6 or 700 of those Sick turned out of Hospitals, died famished, neither being relieved by Charity or Care of their Officers. It may be worth Enquiry, why no cautionary Town is secured in *Holland*, or *Flanders*, where so many *English* perish for want of such retreating Places, and Hospitals, to accomodate the Sick and Wounded: Our wise Ancestors had that Foresight, and made such due Treaties for cautionary Towns in Queen *Elizabeth's*, yea, and in *Oliver's* Days.

I cannot but here further note, that though the Commons voted a Credit for borrowing 400,000 *l.* for the present Payment of the Sea-men, and victualling the Fleet, yet there was very lately but one hundred and twenty Thousand Pounds advanced, or owned to be received; and it seems, that either some other more pressing Occasion hath diverted it, for the Benefit of the Confederates, or else it's presumed, that the Tars are such good-natured Fools, as to take Promise of future for present Payment; it being it seems a fundamental Maxim in this Government, that Expectation is a firmer Tye of military Fidelity than Fruition itself. But whatever the true Cause is, that these Sea-men are not paid, they must be more obliged to the Charity of their Neighbours, than the Care of the Government, if their Wives and Children be not starved this Winter.

It's true, so many of their Element have not been slain as of the Land Forces; there have however Multitudes of them died by Sicknes, the speedy Dispatch of which dead, or dying, into the Sea, hath concealed their Numbers; yet not so, but by the yearly Pressings, the Reports of the surviving Ships Crew, they are computed at 20 or 30,000. And every Traveller is Witness what Numbers of the dismissed Sick they have met upon the
Roads

Roads in despicable Cloathing, with empty Paunches, like wandering Ghosts, which shews no great Care of such necessary Men.

What Encouragement therefore can it be for our Country-men, to send their Sons, Relations, or Servants, to such Shambles, to be ill treated, ill paid, and miserably exposed to Destruction, while their Officers are so inhuman to them, they gaining more by their Deaths than their Lives? By a general Connivance, they enjoyed the dead Men's Pay till the Spring following, when they are to perfect their Recruits, and when they promise the poor deluded Creatures all the fine Things imaginable; but it is not long e'er those trepanned Souls find what I have hitherto related true, if not much worse.

Upon this Head, I cannot pass by one Remark, that notwithstanding all the Care the Parliament hath taken to prevent false Musters, yet, it is obvious, that there is scarce one Company mustered, wherein from 10 to 17, or 25, unlisted Men are not hired at 2 s. 6 d. on a Muster-day, to supply the Defects; so that a third or fourth Part of the Money appropriated to maintain the private Centinels, goes into Officers Pockets, for 6 or 9 Months in the Year at least. A Matter worthy of a parliamentary Cognizance, and a feverer Law, or their absolute with-holding their Hands for supporting such armed and couzening Harpies.

Thus with all possible Brevity, Plainness, and Sincerity, I have laid down some Heads of the Price of the Abdication; being fully satisfied, that there is neither City, Town, or Village, in these three Kingdoms, which cannot justify one or other of these Particulars, and may not add other Instances of the exorbitant Price of the Abdication, and will resent the same accordingly, when they reflect how, by the Ambition of one, and the Treachery of others, a gracious King (whose great Design was to have enriched his Kingdoms, and preserved them in Peace) hath been forced to beg his Bread Abroad, and we reduced to the utmost Beggary at Home; and instead of a new Heaven and Earth, which some promised themselves, we have purchased an Hell and Purgatory, and in lieu of Redresses of pretended Grievances, have accumulated real ones, of the most oppressive Nature; and find all parliamentary Endeavour to redress them disappointed, or rejected with Scorn.

This appears manifestly in the Answer returned to the late *Representation* of the House of Commons. The House say, *They cannot, without Grief of Heart reflect, that several publick Bills, made by the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, have not obtained the Royal Assent; in particular one Bill, entitled, An Act touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament; which was made to redress a Grievance (as noisome as a standing Pool that corrupts) and take off a Scandal relating to the Proceedings of the Commons in Parliament, (the now confirmed Outcry against Pensionary Members) after they had freely voted great Supplies for the publick Occasion; which they impute to no other Cause than the Insinuation of particular Persons, who take upon them, for their own particular Ends, to advise the King contrary to the Advice of Parliament; and therefore cannot but look on such as Enemies to the King and Kingdoms: There-*

fore they desire him to adhere to the Advice of his Parliament, and not to the secret Advice of particular Persons, who may have particular Interests of their own, separate from the true Interest of him and his People.

It might have been expected, that a direct and categorical Answer should have been given to so home an Address; yet it seems the Houses, for all the Millions given, must be treated only with whipt Cream, or perfumed Air; which would not have satisfied, if the *Adepti* had not found their Account in a previous Treat of a 23,000*l.* Distribution. Let us, however, consider the gracious Answer; such, as if any of our preceding Kings had made upon a Petition of Right, or the like Occasion, it would have enraged an Hornet's Nest; and no less than the voting a fresh Address, or adjourning till they received a more satisfactory Answer, would have contented the House.

How can the People believe *no Prince ever had an higher Esteem for the Constitution of the English Government*, when neither our Statutes or Law-books know any other but that of *hereditary Monarchy*, to which *elective* is diametrically opposite? Such courtly Compliments were neither made by King *W. Rufus*, King *Stephen*, King *John*, *Henry IV.* *Richard III.* or *Oliver*, who have been Precedents of docking the Entail of the Crown.

How can any say *he hath a great Regard to the Advice of Parliaments*; when, at that very Instant, neither the Advisers of the rejecting the Bill are dilated, nor the Prayer of the Representation touched upon?

How can one be persuaded, *that nothing can so much conduce to the Happiness and Welfare of this Kingdom, as an entire Confidence between the King and People*, without explaining what People are intended? For the complex Body of the People and Pensioners have very different Interests, and the Majority of the Representative People were, at the voting the Representation at least, no such Confidants; neither when the *Le Roy adviser* was pronounced, could it be truly said, *that he would by all Means endeavour to preserve it*, when, contrary to Expectation and Interest, if the Maxim laid down be true, the Prince rejected so solemn an Advice.

Since therefore such apparent Flaws may be found in the assertory Part, it would be worth our Enquiry, how they are amended in the promissory Part of the Answer, in these Words: *And I assure you I shall look upon such Persons as my Enemies, which shall advise any Thing that shall lessen it.* Even Oracles never wanted Ambiguity. The Commons declare who were Enemies to the King and Kingdom; here those are characterized who must be reputed Enemies to the King only. It is not *Tanti*, whether they be Enemies to the Kingdom or not, so as they be fast Friends to the King; how dexterous soever the Advisers of the Answer thought themselves. The not complying with the Parliamentary Advice, and the so loose answering an Address of that Importance, will more than once rivet it in the Minds of the People, that a pensionary Party, however unfaithful to the Interests of the Body of the People, are only to be caressed, and have the Character of Friends; and the true Patriots of their Country must be calumniated with the Epithet of Enemies, who lessen the Confidence betwixt King and People.

However,

However, since the Golden Shower hath laid the Tempest, let us consider what we must expect upon the Calm? There may be Danger from Rocks and Quicksands, though the Storm be over. We talk much of Apprehension of a *French* Invasion; a Court Artifice, to hasten Dispatch of Money-bills, and that of Naturalization.

The Consequence of this latter Bill, if it pass, may more effectually enslave us to the *French Huguenots*, and Foreigners, than ever we can expect from the transmarine Arms.

We shall then find the provident Care of the Commons, in having the new-voted Troops to consist of, and be officer'd by the King's natural-born Subjects only, by this Naturalization transferred to these Foreigners, who must be the Janisaries, and Spahees, and Pretorian Band.

These shall then be armed, and the only People confided in, to prevent the Fear of any *English* Desertion. The Duke of *Leinster*, a naturalized Foreigner, is already dignified with the Title of General; the *French Huguenots*, as is well known, are daily and nightly disciplined in their Houses, or Out-fields, in small Bodies, to learn the Use of Arms; Reformade Officers to command them are in Readiness; and the granting Commissions for the new Levies is only suspended till that Bill pass. We shall then see those Refugees soon strut in their Buff and Feathers. This Act will not only be of infinite Damage to the trading Part of the Nation, but in the most effectual Manner subvert the *English* Freedom. Our Court, Councils, and Camp, will then be govern'd by such Confidants; and, that which will gall some, these will be the only Pensioners. These fresh, hungry, fluttering *French* Flies, will suck the very Marrow out of our Bones, and be like Snakes we have lodged in our Bosoms.

Then shall we feel the utmost Price of the Abdication: It behoves therefore not only all the Manufacturers of this great City, but the Body of the Kingdom, with great Vigilance, Industry, and Resolution, to prevent the endenizing and arming of such; unless they will tamely yield the Meat out of their own Mouths, the Cloaths from their Backs, and themselves and Posterities to be reduced to Slavery and Beggary.

A short and sure METHOD proposed for the EXTIRPATION of P O P E R Y, in the Space of a few Years. By a Person of Quality. 1690.

THE dreadful Revolutions, Plots, and Conspiracies, which have been promoted by the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* since the *Reformation*, are of that Nature, and have caused such fearful Convulsions in our Church and State, that it is a great Argument of the Goodness and Providence of God, that we have been able to bear so many Shocks, and to avoid so many

many deep Designs, as have now twice, within the Memory of Man, brought us to the Brink of Ruin.

We must be very impious, or very stupid, if our last Deliverance has not been able to make us adore the boundless Goodness of God towards us his sinful and unthankful Servants; he having defeated the Hopes, and totally overthrown the Contrivances of that restless, implacable, perfidious Faction, when they seemed to be in such a Condition, that they need fear nothing but the Almighty Power of God miraculously exerting itself, as in the Case of *Senacharib*, which they neither feared nor suspected.

The *Non-resisting* Doctrine had so ty'd the Hands of the *Church of England-men*, that they thought they might safely insult over us, and ridicule the Bond that bound us to our good Behaviour. The *Dissenters* were, as they thought, so obliged by the *Liberty of Conscience*, and the fulsome Applications they had made to them in many ill-writ Pieces, and by the Favours bestowed on *Pen* and *Lob*, the two Patriarchs, as they would have been thought, of that Party, that they not only suspected no Opposition from them, but really conceived they would have been more than *Scaffolds* in the ruining Design they had then on Foot. The Gentry were reduced to the utmost Degree of Contempt, and the Nobility, who only were capable of putting a Stop to such notorious and impolitick Encroachments on our Birthrights and Liberties, were not only closetted, examined, re-examined, turned out of their Stations, brow-beaten, ridiculed at Court, and, in short, driven into the Country; but they were also, by all the Arts that were possible, rendered odious to the Crown, contemptible to one another, and of no Use to their Inferiors.

The Army, which was the next great Engine to bring about their Design, was managed with more Art than is commonly considered; for first, there was a Party of *Roman Catholics* mixed with the common Soldiers, to be as it were Spies and Tempters, to creep into all the Places of their Resort, to observe their Words, Looks, and Actions, and to take the Opportunity of all their Needs, Crimes, Vices, and Follies; to pervert them, and draw them over to the Church of *Rome*; and in the mean Time, to secure them from contriving any Thing that might interrupt their Projects upon us. *Secondly*, They punished all who deserted the Service with the utmost Rigour and Severity, to keep up their Numbers. And, *Thirdly*, They sent them to quarter in those Places that had in any Degree refused to comply with their Wills, and not only suffered, but encouraged them to Outrage, and sometimes to murder their Hosts; but to be sure, in all Places they very much impoverished those that entertained them, and in the Interim, they kept all in Awe and Quiet, while these State-mountebanks practised upon their Lives, Consciences, Liberties, and Properties.

A People thus harrassed and beset, one would have thought had been consigned to Ruin and Destruction: For where could our Deliverance begin? The *Parliament*, which was our last Resort, was at the same Time practised on with all the Art and Address that the Wit of Men or Devils could invent; and he must be of a deep Reach, or a sanguine Complexion, who, in the
Beginning

Beginning of *September* last, could hope to see a free and quiet Parliament meet and sit one Month, to represent, with any Degree of Liberty, our deplorable State and Condition, much less to redress any of our Grievances.

We had one Hope, which if they had left us still, we had certainly been as quiet and as patient as *Job* himself; and that was, that the Princess *Mary of Orange* would, when God thought fit, succeed his Majesty, and then we promised ourselves a Day of Redemption from all our Calamities and Oppressions; so that our Posterity would at worst see better Days. To deprive us of this remote Comfort that Scene was laid, and the Lady of *Loretto* solicited, to procure a Prince of *Wales*, to reduce us to an utter Desperation of any Redress for ever. And now they thought they were so secure of the Day, that they might attack the heretical Bishops and the whole Body of our Clergy at once, and make them *eat their own Dung* in the Face of their respective Congregations. If they had complied, the whole Nation would have abhorred them, as a Parcel of Cowards; if they did not, the Ecclesiastical Commission was to have mowed them down by Wholesale; and when the People had been once deprived of their faithful and learned Shepherds, the Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing hoped to have had much better Success than hitherto; but the Bishops interposing, so united the inferior Clergy, that this Design proved abortive; and the declaring the Bishops Petition a *sedition Libel*, and so much the more dangerous, because penned with great Modesty and Humility, so far opened the Eyes of all Men, that the most ignorant saw nothing less than the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion was aimed at.

The Army however, which was the great Wheel in this most dreadful Machine, was for the most Part Protestant, and had expressed so much Joy at the Acquittal of the Bishops, in the Camp at *Hounslow Heath*, that they clearly saw, till it was new-modelled it could not be relied on; and therefore the *French* and *Irish* were to be invited over, and the Companies changed by Degrees. And when six of the Officers at *Portsmouth* had, with the greatest Humility imaginable, only desired Leave to fill up their Companies with such Men of this Nation as they judged most serviceable to the King; or otherwise, that they might be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to lay down their Commissions; for this Offence they were brought up Prisoners to *London*, and it was given out they should be hanged, as perhaps they had been, if Monsieur *De Avaux's* Memorial, given in at the *Hague*, had not come in that very Post, to enlighten our little Statesmen, and shew them their approaching Danger; and yet, after all, the Tenth of *September* last they were cashiered at *Windsor*.

And when the Storm from *Holland* seemed unavoidable, with what Insolence did they treat the eleven Proposals made by the Bishops, and the Petition presented the Seventeenth of *November* last, by the Bishops and Peers about the Town? So that, till the Army began to go over to the Prince of *Orange*, and the greatest Part of the Nation had declared for him, no Parliament was to be thought of, and the *Dispensing Power* was the most Sacred of all the Prerogatives of the Crown.

That

That we may not imagine all this was undertaken and entered upon, without good Consideration of the Difficulties the *Roman Catholicks* were to meet with, I would desire my Reader to peruse a small Piece by them published in the Year 1685, during the first Sessions of Parliament of *James II.* titl'd, *Salus Britannica*, or, *The Safety of the Protestant Religion, against all the present Apprehensions of Popery*, in Folio. "The Design of which, as the " Author himself tells us, is to examine what National Operation or Influence, a real Popish crown'd Head can ever have over the Lives, Liberties, or Estates of *English-men* as now enjoyed, and the Religion of the Kingdom, as at present established, and by confuting even the most substantial of their imagin'd Dangers, to dissipate those false Fears of Popery," &c. Pag. 1. And in Truth, I believe no Man can deny but he has very effectually proved, that it is utterly impossible for a Popish Prince, who has none but these three Kingdoms, to set up Popery in this Nation, and that all he can gain by the Attempt, will be the Ruin of himself. And certainly they could not but apprehend this might possibly, if not probably, be the Event; yet, after all, King and Kingdom was at last to be sacrificed to the Holy See of *Rome*; and on they went, when they had proved it impossible to succeed.

I need be the less exact in setting down what they have done, it being within the Space of four Years last past, that they have had the Management of Affairs, and so all Things are as fresh in all Men's Memories, as if they had been acted but Yesterday: I think then, that I may from these Premises safely conclude, that a more daring, restless, and implacable Faction never appeared under the Sun than this is; and that it is the Interest of every true *English* Protestant, of what Persuasion soever he be, to do his utmost to free this miserable Nation from the Danger and Fear too, (if it be possible) of ever feeling again the dire Effects of Popish Zeal, or rather Fury.

Our wise Ancestors, for above these three hundred Years, have been labouring to restrain this *Demoniack*, by *Laws*, *Oaths*, and *Tests*; and when all the Methods of Severity failed, we have tried the Charms of Kindness, Trust, Friendship, and Reliance; we set up a Prince of their Communion, and opposed all those that would have excluded him, with a Zeal, which made us look a little too much in Love with one, who seemed designed to be our Scourge by Heaven itself. When he had declared his Religion, and some of his Party, amongst whom *Nevil Paine* was one, had given us clear Indications of their Rage against us; yet we in Parliament, not only attainted, and thereby ruined the late Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party; but when some Gentlemen proposed to have the Security of the Protestant Religion taken into Consideration, the House declared, they would intirely rely upon his Majesty's Promise for the Security of their Religion, which they valued more than their Lives. And before this, when *Charles* the Second, the 30th of *April*, 1679, to avoid the Exclusion-bill, proposed very advantageous Restrictions of the Authority of a *Roman Catholick* Prince, the *Church* of *England-men* rejected them, for fear they should too much weaken and expose the regal Authority,
not

not to mention the Favours shewn to all the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, during the fierce Prosecution of the Popish Plot in that Prince's Reign: Well, what could have been done more than was, to oblige Men or Christians to treat us like Friends, when they had an Opportunity to express their Gratitude? No, stay you there Gentlemen, we *Roman Catholicks* have but one Friend in this World, and if you are not for him too, stand off; expect nothing from us but Ruin and Desolation. Will you *Repeal the Penal Laws and the Tests*? Why? I cannot betray my Religion; then make Room for one that will turn out; *procul, procul ite Profani*. And we all know what followed; and I suppose no Body in this Generation will have so little Wit as to pretend any more to oblige a *Roman Catholick* by any of these Things.

Well, will Oaths bind them? No: They have a *Pope*, and a Maxim that will frustrate that Ligament, whenever it is for their Convenience to be free; and of this we have seen and felt too much already. Will Laws? If you catch and hang the Priest, the Traitor, the Cut-throat, he is made a *Martyr*; his Crime is denied, palliated, excused; or it may be justified and defended, as Occasion serves; and yet, after all, they shall have the Satisfaction of clamouring against you for a persecuting Church, and a bloody Nation.

Well, what is to be done? Why, for my Part, I can see but one possible Method to quiet the Nation; and that is, once for all to clear it of these Monsters, and force them to transplant themselves, not out of the *English* Dominions, but out of this Island: As long as they continue amongst us, they neither can nor will be quiet; Priests they must and will have, and that Ferment will suffer nothing near it to be at rest. The Remembrance of what is past will irritate the Minds of Men, and make them jealous of future Evils; so that no Care of the wisest and best Governors can long keep the Nation in Tranquillity and Peace, if these Men-catchers are suffered to nestle amongst us. But then I would have this extended only to *England* and *Scotland*, because *Ireland* would be laid desolate by such an Expedient; and if the *English* Nation, which has not above 40,000 *Roman Catholicks*, were once cleared, it would very easily suppress and revenge any Attempt that could be made in that Kingdom.

Besides this, all Feme-coverts, all Persons above sixty or fifty Years of Age, all Day-labourers, and Handy-crafts-men might be excepted; these can maintain no Priests, nor much embroil the Peace of the Nation, or at least for no long Time; but then all the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants, and rich Tradesmen of that Religion, I think ought to be sent packing, and for the future a Law be made to disfranchise them, and make them incapable of possessing, purchasing, inheriting, or transmitting any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, to the Value of forty Shillings *per Annum*, or upwards.

To make this the more easy yet, it were fitting that every individual Person should be asked, whether he had rather leave his Country or his Religion? And all that would promise the latter upon Oath, to be excused; but so as

to forfeit their Estates if they relapsed after the Oath so taken, or brought up their Children in that Religion.

Secondly, To allow all that would transplant themselves the full Value of their Estates, both real and personal, their Debts being first paid and deducted. This would enable them to live in as great, or a greater Equipage and Grandeur in our Plantations, as they ever had here in *England*; and if they removed into *Germany* or *France*, *Italy* or *Spain*, their Estates would make their Lives easy, and their Banishment honourable. The World is wide, and if I were one of them, I should never stay for an Act of *Parliament*, but would certainly sell what I had and be gone, that I might enjoy my Religion and my Estate in a warmer Climate.

But, alas! they love their Country too dearly to leave it. What is it in *England* they love? The Civil Liberties they had brought to the utmost Limits of Destruction; the Religion of *England* they hate above all other; the Earth is not more fruitful, and the Air is much colder than that of other Countries; and I am confident the *English* Humour is so far exasperated against Popery, that half an hundred Years will not allay the Fever the last four Years have raised in the *English* Blood against Popery; so that they have nothing to attach them to *England*, but the sullen Hopes of being a Plague and a Terror to us.

But it will be said, the transporting so much Wealth out of the Nation will too much impoverish us. This ought well to be considered, and a true Estimate made both of the Estates and Debts of the *Roman Catholics*, and of the Methods of returning their Effects beyond the Seas, and then perhaps it would rather increase our Trade than abate our Wealth; and as for the weakening us by the taking off so many of our People, this I am sure is a meer *Chimera*; two or three thousand Persons would be the utmost that we should lose; and those who bought their Estates would be better Subjects and Neighbours, than ever they will be as long as they continue *Roman Catholics*.

It is not to be imagin'd, that all, or any considerable Part of this Wealth will be transported in *English* Money in Specie, but Merchandise, Bills of Exchange, &c. So that I am confident we have more sent away to the *Jesuits* College beyond the Seas in seven Years, than would be carried out in Specie on such an Occasion; and hereby we should at once rid ourselves of one of the greatest Plagues that any Nation ever struggled so long with.

Nor would it be only profitable but *just*; they have given us the greatest Provocation that ever was given by Men to Men. Did ever 40,000 Men in any other Part of the World ever before endeavour to do what they themselves had proved to be impossible? Did ever such an Handful of Men before, by Fraud and Violence, design to enslave a free, to impoverish a rich, to subdue a valiant and generous Nation? What could they mean by the *Force* they in Print and common Discourse intimated, that was, to compel us to give up our Laws, if fair Means would not do, but a *Massacre*, or a *French* Invasion? Let them consider how they have treated those of our Religion in *France* and *Piedmont*; and then tell me, and all the World, if we have treated them

them in the same Manner, when we have sent them away with all they can justly call their own, only that we might not be forced to ruin them by a slower Prosecution.

The Facility is equal to the Justice of this Method ; they are few in Number, hated by all the rest of the Nation ; and besides all their former Misdemeanours, have, by the late Attempts upon the Religion and Liberties of *England*, so far encreased the Aversion of all Degrees of Men amongst us, that they will find very few to pity them, and not many to speak for them.

The only Objections I can foresee, are, first, That it will impoverish *England* to suffer them to carry away their Estates, and look too like Popish Cruelty, to turn them out despoiled of what they have, or of a great Part of their Fortunes. Now this Objection must be considered in Parliament, because no one Man can make any Thing near a true Estimate what the Value will be, their Debts being deducted, till a true Account is given of their Estates and Debts ; and then I verily believe it will be found much less than it seems at first.

The second Objection is, That it will weaken us, and strengthen our Enemies, to lose so many of our People. To this, I say, it is apparently otherwise ; for if those Estates were in the Hands of Protestants, they would much more contribute to the Union and Strength of *England*, than the Persons of these *Roman Catholics* can do, of whom we can make little or no Use in Civil or Military Affairs, at Home or Abroad, in Peace or War : And if they were added to any other Country, the Peace and Union they would leave us in, would infinitely over-balance the Loss of their Persons, and as I believe, of their Estates too.

But now, on the contrary, if they be continued still amongst us, we may still struggle with all those Inconveniencies, which have necessitated our Ancestors to make so many Laws against them ; and the Severities which must be used to keep them under, will by Degrees, when the Memory of the late Transactions is worn off, beget Compassion ; and that will grow greater, as they grow fewer and less dangerous ; and yet at last, one single *Jesuit* may destroy the best of our Princes, and two or three Gentlemen of Estate may disquiet and enjealous a whole County ; and when all is done, no Hopes are left that any lasting Peace can be made with them ; so that as long as there is any of that Religion in *England*, there is a Ferment in the Veins of the Nation, which will cause dreadful Paroxysms:

Their Emissaries will also sow Dissentions between us and the Dissenters, and exasperate the Parties against each other ; so that the good Correspondence which is now between us and them, will, in a short Time, be turned into Hatred on both Sides, if all the Care imaginable be not taken on both Sides of these Incendiaries, which will never be wanting whilst we have a Popish Nobility and Gentry, how small soever it be in Number.

The Seminaries at *St. Omers*, *Doway*, &c. are kept up by the Nobility and Gentry of that Communion, and tend very much to the imbroiling and weak-

ning *England*, and the advancing the Interest of *France*; but will soon dwindle away if they had no Supplies from *England*, as they could have little if we had no Popish Nobility or Gentry, and the Lands of *England* were only in the Hands of Protestants.

The retiring of his late Majesty into *France* is another strong Inducement; as long as he or the *Child* is living, they will have a Pretence to plot and cut Throats, and they will have some to pity, and others to applaud them; so that, if there were no other Reason, this alone were sufficient to determine the Question, unless we are resolved to shew ourselves as careless of a Protestant Prince, as we have been over-fond of a *Roman Catholick*; which will be an ill Recompence for our Deliverance.

A SECOND LETTER to a FRIEND, concerning the FRENCH INVASION: In which, the Declaration lately dispersed, under the Title of His Majesty's most gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects, commanding their Assistance against the Prince of Orange and his Adherents, is entirely and exactly published, according to the dispersed Copies; with some short Observations upon it. By Dr. Sherlock, Dean of St. Paul's, and Master of the Temple. 1692.

S I R,

HAVING in the Conclusion of my Letter promised you, if you desired it, to give you an Account of the late King *James's Declaration*, I will make no Excuses, but, like a sincere Protestant, will keep my Word with you.

This Declaration has been industriously scattered about both in *French* and *English*, by the Enemies of the present Government. Now to save them any farther Trouble of this Kind, and that the World may see we dare venture it, with all the Charms that are by some thought to be in it, among the People of *England*, I have thought it the fairest Way to print the Whole, *verbatim*, Paragraph by Paragraph, with some short Observations upon it; and only desire you to remember, that my principal Design in it is only to strengthen the Arguments of my former Letter, and to make it appear, from this very Declaration, how little Reason *English* Protestants have to promise themselves, that the late King will be kinder to them than he was before, should he now return with a *French* Power.

D E-

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS the most Christian King, in Pursuance of the many obliging Promises he has made Us, of giving Us his effectual Assistance for the recovering of Our Kingdoms, as soon as the Condition of his Affairs would permit, has put us in a Way of endeavouring it at this Time; and in order to it, has lent us so many of his Troops, as may be abundantly sufficient to untie the Hands of Our Subjects, and make it safe for them to return to their Duty, and repair to Our Standard; and has notwithstanding for the present, according to Our Desire (unless there should appear further Necessity for it) purposely declin'd sending over Forces so numerous, as might raise any Jealousy in the Minds of Our good Subjects, of his intending to take the Work wholly out of their Hands, or deprive any true Englishman of the Part he may hope to have in so glorious an Action, as is that of restoring his lawful King, and his antient Government; (all which foreign Troops, as soon as We shall be fully settled in the quiet and peaceable Possession of Our Kingdoms, We do hereby promise to send back, and in the mean Time to keep them in such exact Order and Discipline, that none of Our Subjects shall receive the least Injury in their Persons or Possessions, by any Soldier or Officer whatsoever.) Though an Affair of this Nature speaks for itself, nor do We think Ourselves at all obliged to say any Thing more upon this Occasion, than that We come to assert Our just Rights, and to deliver Our People from the Oppression they lie under; yet, when We consider how miserably many of Our Subjects were cheated into the late Revolution by the Art of ill Men, and particularly by the Prince of Orange's Declaration, which was taken upon Trust, and easily believed then, but since appears notoriously false in all the Parts of it; consisting no less of Assertions that have been evidently disproved, than of Promises that were never intended to be performed. To prevent the like Delusions for the Time to come, and to do as much as lies in Our Power to open the Eyes of all Our Subjects, We are willing to lay the whole Matter before them in as plain and short a Manner as is possible, that they may not again pretend Mistakes, or have Ignorance to plead for any false Steps they shall hereafter make towards the Ruin of their own, and their Country's Happiness.—

OBSERVATIONS.

It begins with a Thing very surprizing and memorable, that the French King hath once in his Life made good his Word, and kept his Faith; for so the late King James tells us he hath done with him, in Pursuance of the many obliging Promises he had made him, of giving him effectual Assistance for the Recovery of his Kingdoms, &c. Effectual Assistance is a big Word, and more than the greatest and most puissant King is able always to make good: However, I am glad to see they begin to endeavour to perform their Promises to one another; it is a good Quality, and it is to be hoped they may in Time extend it further. But this satisfies me, that the French King thinks it

it his *Interest* to restore the late *King James*; for he was never known to keep his Promise against his own Interest; and it is somewhat surprizing, that the *French King* and *English Protestants* should have the same Interest.

He seems sensible that *French Troops* would not be very welcome in *England*; and therefore to qualify this Matter, he says, that the *French King*, at his Desire, has purposely declined sending over Forces so numerous, as might raise any Jealousy of a French Conquest, (for that is the plain English of it;) that they shall be kept under exact Discipline while they are here, and that he will send them Home again when he is fully settled in the quiet and peaceable Possession of his Kingdoms. But I thank God, with all my Heart, that there is no Danger now of these *French Troops* coming into *England*; which is a much greater Security to us than both these Kings Promises for their good Behaviour here, or for their Return Home again. It is certain that one of them could not keep his Word if he would; and it is as certain that the other would not, as it is that it would not be his Interest to do it; for there is not the same Reason for the *French King* to keep his Promise of sending Troops into *England*, and to keep his Promise of sending no more than the late *King James* wants, or of calling them Home again when he wants them no longer. But before I proceed to more particular Observations, it will not be amiss (and the Conclusion of this Paragraph requires it) briefly to consider what is not in the Declaration, which the People of *England* had all the Reason in the World to have expected in it.

Now I can find but very little in it, I might with great Truth say, nothing, which a reasonable Man, who remembers the late Reign, especially the Conclusion of it, would have expected in such a Declaration.

If the Design of such a Declaration be to give Satisfaction to the Minds of his Subjects, it ought at least to have contained as good Words, and fair Promises, as a Prince could give. He knew very well what it was that had alienated his Subjects from him; that they apprehended their Laws, their Religion, and their Liberties to be in great Danger; and could not but know, that he had given them too just Occasion for such Jealousies and Fears; and it is wonderful that he should think of publishing a Declaration, and not think fit to give the least Satisfaction about these Matters; not to say one Word about Popery and arbitrary Power, nor to give any express Promise that he would remove these Fears.

The only Thing he appeals to, is the Justice of his Cause; and does not think himself obliged to say any Thing more upon this Occasion, than that he comes to assert his own just Rights, &c. But this was not the Controversy between him and his People; they did not dispute then his Right to the Crown, (tho' they have some Reason to do it now) and yet were willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; and if he knew what made them so, and hoped to return again by their Assistance, and with their Good-liking, any one but those of his own Council would have thought him obliged to say something of it.

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The Prince of Orange's *Declaration* put him in mind of this, which he says *cheated his Subjects into the late Revolution*; and it had been much more to the Purpose, to have discovered the *Cheat* of that *Declaration*, or to have said nothing of it, than to affirm, without any Proof, that now *it appears to be notoriously false in all the Parts of it*; for *English Protestants* know nothing to this Day, but that it is all true still. Were there not in the late *Reign* open and bold Attempts made against the *Laws*, the *Liberties*, and the *Religion* of these *Kingdoms*? Was not the *Dispensing Power* set on Foot for those Purposes? Were not the *Judges* tamper'd with, to obtain a Sentence in Favour of the *Dispensing Power*, and placed and displaced, till they could find fit Tools for that Work; Men who would sacrifice the *Laws* and *Religion* of their Country to the Will of their Prince, or to their own Covetousness and Ambition? Were not the *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Test* dispensed with upon this Pretence, and Men unqualified by Law, put into *Ecclesiastical*, *Civil*, and *Military* Preferments, to the apparent Danger both of *Church* and *State*? Was there no *Ecclesiastical Commission* set up, no *Popish Chappels*, *Monasteries*, and *Convents* erected and endowed contrary to *Law*? Were not the *Nobility* and *Gentry* closetted and examined about the Repeal of the *Test*, and those disgraced and turned out of all Offices and Employments who would not comply? Were not the *Bishops* sent to the *Tower*, and tried in *Westminster-Hall*, for their humble *Petition* to him against reading the *Declaration*? Was not the Administration of Justice, and the greatest Military Trusts put into the Hands of *Papists*? Were not the *Charters* of *Cities*, *Towns*, and *Corporations* seized into the King's Hands, and so new-modelled, that the King might chuse what *Burgessees* he pleased, and have a *House of Commons* of his own Creatures? Were there not visible Grounds of Suspicion concerning the Birth of the pretended *Prince of Wales*? And has there been sufficient Satisfaction given the Nation about it to this Day? These are the Grievances complained of in the *Prince's Declaration*, which were believed then, not upon the Authority of the *Declaration*, but because they were seen and felt; and are believed still, because they are still remembered by those who saw and felt them; and how they have since *been evidently disproved*, I cannot guess. But if such Things as these are not thought fit to be owned as Mistakes in Government; if it was not thought fit to promise the Redress of any one of them, no not in his *Declaration*, whereby he commands and invites his *Subjects* to assist him in recovering his *Kingdoms*; I can easily guess, that they will not be thought Faults, much less be redressed, if he should return: They must be his very *Loving Subjects* indeed, that can be thus imposed upon.

DECLARATION.

And therefore, to take the Matter from the Beginning, it cannot be forgotten, that as soon as We had certain Notice of the Prince of Orange's unnatural Design of invading Our Kingdoms, with the whole Power of the United Provinces, We first
took

took the best Care We could to provide for Our Defence; which We seem'd effectually to have done, when We had put our Fleet and Army into such a Condition, that tho' his most Christian Majesty, who well saw the Bottom of the Design against Us, against himself, and indeed against the Peace of Europe, offered Us considerable Succours both by Land and Sea; We did not think it at all necessary to accept them, at that Time, as resolving to cast ourselves wholly, (next to the Divine Protection) upon the Courage and Fidelity of our English Army, which had been with so much Care and Tenderness formed and obliged by Us. And having thus prepared to oppose Force to Force; We did, in the next Place, apply Ourselves to give all reasonable Satisfaction to the Minds of Our good Subjects, by endeavouring to undeceive them, and to let them see betimes, and whilst the Mischief might easily have been prevented, how fatal a Ruin they must bring upon their Country, if they suffered themselves to be seduced by the vain Pretences of the Prince of Orange's Invasion; however, so great was the Infatuation of that Time, that we were not believed till it was too late. But when he was obliged to throw off the Mask by Degrees, and that it began to appear plainly, that it was not the Reformation of the Government, (which yet was a Matter that did not at all belong to him to meddle with) but the Subversion of it, that he aimed at, that so he might build his own ambitious Designs upon the Ruins of the English Nation: And when the Poison had insinuated itself into the vital Parts of the Kingdom; when it had spread over Our whole Army, and so far got into Our Court and Family, as not only to corrupt some of Our Servants, that were nearest Our Person, and had been most highly obliged by Us, but not even to leave Our own Children at that Time uninfected; when Our Army daily deserted on the one Hand, and on the other Hand, Tumults and Disorders encreased in all Parts of the Kingdom; and especially, when shortly after the Revolution came on so fast, that We found Ourselves wholly in Our Enemies Power, being at first confined by them in Our own Palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it under a Guard of Foreigners; We could not then but be admonished, by the Fate of some of our Predecessors in the like Circumstances, of the Danger We were in, and that it was high Time to provide for the Security of Our Person, (which was happily effected, by Our getting from the Guard that was set upon Us at Rochester, and Our Arrival in France, the only Part in Europe, to which We could retire with Safety) that so We might preserve ourselves for better Times, and for a more happy Opportunity; such as is that, which, by the Blessing of God, is at present put into Our Hands.

OBSERVATIONS.

To begin with the certain Notice of the Prince of Orange's Design, is not to take the Matter from the Beginning. Had he intended to give any Satisfaction to English Subjects, he should have begun where their Complaints and Grievances, occasioned by his arbitrary and illegal Government, began; that is, where the Prince's Design, and his own Abdication began. That he took the best Care he could for his own Defence, no Man questions; and had he

he taken less, it would not have been taken ill by the Nation. That his *Christian Majesty* saw this *Design* was against himself, long before the late King was sensible of it, appears from the *Memorial* printed at the *Hague*, September 9, 1688, by *Monfieur de Conte d'Avaux*, the *French King's Ambassador*: But when he says it was against the *Peace of Europe*, I confess I know not how to understand it, unless, by the *Peace of Europe* his *Most Christian Majesty* means an *universal Desolation*, which he was making as fast as he could. For this cannot be denied to be a most certain and effectual Way of settling a Country in Peace, to lay it waste, and to destroy and drive out the Inhabitants; to prevent which indeed was the Bottom of this *Design*; and the most effectual Way to do it, was to divide *England* from the Interest of *France*.

That the *French King*, to prevent this, did offer King *James* the Assistance of his Forces, is very probable from the same *Memorial*, which threatens the *Dutch* with it; and how this Assistance came to be refused, we learn from my Lord *Sunderland's* Letter, printed in the *History of the Desertion*; which, and some other Counsels, (that thwarted the *Papish* Designs) cost him his Religion, and soon after the Favour of his *Prince*, and his Preferments at Court.

That he had no such great Confidence in the Fidelity of his English Army, was too evident, in the daily Reformatations he made in it; exchanging Protestants for Papists, and English-men for Irish; which occasioned that memorable Accident at *Portsmouth*, which gave such a general Disgust to the Army, in a very lucky Season, as greatly disposed them either to go over to the *Prince*, or at least not to fight against him.

That he did many Things in the Time of his Distress to sweeten his Subjects is true; but he was much mistaken, if he thought this sufficient to give reasonable Satisfaction. He undid many Things, which he had illegally done; but he did this so late, and it was so apparently a Matter of Force, owing to the Change of his Fortune, not of his Inclinations; and then too, done with so ill a Grace, that I could observe No-body that was then satisfied with it.

He restored the *Charter of London*, and of other Cities and Corporations; he dissolved the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, restored *Magdalen College*, but never owned the Illegality of these Proceedings; would never renounce his dispensing Power; would never be persuaded by the most humble Petitions, and earnest Importunities of his Lords and Bishops, to call a free Parliament, and to refer the Redress of all Grievances to them, till he seems to have formed a Design of leaving *England*; and then his issuing out of Writs, which he resolved should never be executed, could do him no Hurt, and would have a good Appearance; as if he had been willing to have referred all to a Parliament, had not the growing Power of his Enemies made it more necessary for him to consult the Safety of his own Person.

The Case of *Magdalen College* convinced all Men that these were extorted Favours, and would last no longer than it was safe to recall them.

King *James* had given his Orders to the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Visitor of that College, to recall Dr. *Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society;

and he accordingly went down to re-instate them; but upon the News that the *Dutch Fleet* had suffered much in a Storm, and probably could not sail till the next Spring, his Lordship had new Orders sent to call him back; but that News proving false, his Lordship was permitted to return, and to pursue his first Orders. This, it seems, was *all the reasonable Satisfaction* that could be given, what his Graces and Favours to *Protestants* were, and how long they would last.

As for what concerns the Prince of *Orange*, now our gracious King, I know of no Mask he had on, nor that ever he threw off, or that he afterwards appeared to be any other than his *Declaration* had represented him. He came not for the Crown, but to reform Abuses, and to secure the Succession, which the Right of his Princess, and his own Right and Interest, the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion*, and of the Liberties of *Europe*, gave him Right and Authority to meddle with. But besides his Expectation, and original Intention, he has the Crown, which he came not for; he has deceived Nobody in it; but if any one be deceived, King *James*, and the People of *England*, have deceived him; the one, in leaving his Crown; the other, in placing it on his Head; where indeed it ought to be, both in Right of his Princess, and for his own Merits; for he who saves a Nation, had he no other Claim or Title, may very well deserve to wear the Crown; especially when it was with the free Consent of the Princess, our most gracious Queen, and upon the Desire of the Estates of the Realm, and still necessary to save the Nation.

In the next Place, he justifieth his leaving *England*, for the Security of his Person, being wholly in the Enemies Power; at first confined by them in his own Palace, and afterwards rudely forced out of it, under a Guard of Foreigners. But if he has forgot it, others have not, that before this happened, he had privately withdrawn his Person, disbanded his Army, dissolved his Government, flung his Broad Seal into the *Thames*, and had never had this Pretence for his Escape, had he not been stopped by a Mistake; for No-body intended to stay him; and all this while he was in Treaty with the Prince, and that upon such equal Terms, that he could be under no just Apprehension of ill Usage.

He excuses his going to *France*, because it was the only Part in *Europe* to which he could retire with Safety; which is a Confession, that he alone was in the *French Interest*, against all *Europe* besides; and that he durst not trust his Cause with any other Princes in *Christendom*; which argues either a great Jealousy of his own Cause, or of their Justice and Honour, even to distress'd Princes. But I am sure *France* was the only Place in *Europe* he ought to have avoided; and if he had no other Place to go to, he ought to have ventured himself at Home, or to have gone to *Rome*, which had been a Kind of second Home, unless he intended to resign his Crown. He knew what Opinion *English Subjects* had of his Most Christian Majesty; and might have known, that they would never fetch him from *France* again, nor willingly receive him with a *French Power*. What a happy Opportunity he now has to recover his Kingdoms again by *French Troops*, I suppose by this Time he begins to discern;

discern; and I hope it may prove a very happy Opportunity for his *dear Ally* to lose his: He has shewed him, by his own Example, what to do in such Cases; and the *English* Parliament has taught the *French* what Name to give it.

DECLARATION.

Upon what Foundation of Justice or Common Sense the Prince of Orange's Faction in England were pleased to treat this Escape of Ours out of the Hands of Our Enemies in the Stile of an Abdication, (a Word, when applied to Sovereign Princes, that was never before used to signify any Thing but a free and voluntary Resignation of a Crown, as in the Cases of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and the late Queen of Sweden;) and what a strange Superstructure they raised upon this weak Foundation, that a Company of Men, illegally met together, who had not Power, even by their own Confession, at that Time, (for it was before they had voted themselves a Parliament) to charge the Interest of the meanest Subject; should yet take upon them to destroy the whole Constitution of the Government, to make an antient hereditary Monarchy become elective; and then, assuming to themselves the Right of Election, should proceed to settle the Succession in so odd and extravagant a Manner, are Transactions that need not be repeated; they are too well known to the World, to the great Reproach of the English Nation; and the Grounds upon which they are built are too vain and frivolous to deserve a Confutation. Every Freeholder of England is, in this Case, able to make his own Observations; and will, no Doubt, examine a little better than hitherto he has done, what Assurance any private Man can have of keeping his Estate, if the King himself shall hold his Crown by no better a Title.

OBSERVATIONS.

His leaving the Kingdom for the Safety of his Person, *and to preserve himself for better Times, and for a more happy Opportunity*, he says, was no *Abdication*, as that signifies a *voluntary Resignation of his Crown*; nor do I say it was: But his withdrawing his Person and Authority was an actual quitting of the Government. Whatever it is in Law, I am sure, in common Sense, the Throne is actually empty when No-body is in it; and No-body is in it when there is no Authority in the Nation to administer the Government; and when the Throne is empty, the Estates of the Realm (who are the only supream Authority when there is no Monarch) must fill it again, unless the Government must dissolve, and then there is an End of all Rights and Claims; and this they have done, not by turning an antient hereditary Monarchy into an elective, but by placing the next *undoubted* Heir on the Throne. And he never intended to give up his Right and future Claim, yet he has done what he never intended to do. When the Throne is empty it must be filled;

and when it is declared vacant, and filled by the supream Authority of the Nation, there is no Room for him there.

As for the Convention of Estates : When there was no King on the Throne, we do not pretend that they were a formal Parliament ; for that must have a King at the Head of it ; and therefore, as is observed in the Declaration, they could impose no legal Taxes on Subjects, nor did they attempt it ; but yet they were not a Company of Men illegally met together, without Authority to do any Thing ; but they met at the Request, and under the Protection of the then Prince of *Orange*, upon the fundamental Reasons of the Constitution itself, as the sole Judges of all Disputes relating to the Crown. Such Disputes will sometimes happen, and if there be no legal Judges of it, the Sword must decide it ; and that is a State of War, not of Civil Government, which all Governments are supposed to provide against ; and yet, if the Convention of the Estates are not the proper Judges in such Cases, it is certain there are none ; and then the Civil Government is dissolved ; we are in a State of War, and must submit to the *longest Sword* : But this is so fully and plainly stated in the late ingenious *Reflections on the Case of Allegiance to a King in Possession*, from p. 26, to p. 34. that to shorten this Letter as much as I can, I shall refer you to that Author for further Satisfaction.

So that Freeholders are not at all concerned in this Matter. A Convention of Estates without a King, cannot meddle with their Properties without a Dissolution of the Government ; but when there is no King, or it is a Question whether there be or not, or who is King by the fundamental Constitution of the Government, the Convention of the Estates are the sole and proper Judges of it ; in whose Determination all private Subjects are bound in Conscience to acquiesce. And the late King need not complain of this, as if it made the Titles of Princes to their Crowns very uncertain and arbitrary ; for he had an unquestionable Title to his Crown, and might have held it to this Day, if he himself had not undermined it, by breaking in upon the Laws, and even upon the Constitution itself, upon which his Right was founded. This occasioned such a Revolution as forced him to abdicate, and to leave it to a Convention to declare his Throne *vacant*, and to fill it.

DECLARATION.

But since some Men, who could not say one Word in Defence of the Justice of these Proceedings, would yet take great Pains to shew the Necessity of them, and set forth the extraordinary good Effects that were to be expected from so very bad a Cause ; We do not doubt but the Nation has by this Time cast up the Account, and when they shall have well considered what Wonders might have been performed with less Expence of English Blood, than that which has been unnecessarily trifled away in this Quarrel ; that such a Number of Ships of War have been lost and destroyed in the three Years last past, as might alone have been sufficient to have made a considerable Fleet ; that more Money has been drained out of the Purses of Our Subjects in Compass of that Time, than during the whole

whole Reigns of many of Our Predecessors put together; and that not as formerly, spent again, and circulating among them, but transported, in Specie, into Foreign Parts, and forever lost to the Nation: When these and many other Particulars of this Nature are cast up, it must certainly appear at the Foot of the Account, how much worse the Remedy is than the fancied Disease; and that, at least hitherto, the Kingdom is no great Gainer by the Change.

OBSERVATIONS.

I doubt his late Majesty is misinformed; for there are not only *some*, but a great many, who have more than *one Word* to say, both for the *Justice*, and the *Necessity* of these Proceedings, and the whole Nation already feels the *extraordinary good Effects* of them, notwithstanding the Expence of Blood and Treasure, of which he complains; for we know whom we are to thank for that; and the best Way to prevent the Effusion of more Blood, and the Expence of more Money, is to keep out his *French Troops*, and to know when we are well. Revolutions are and will be bloody, and chargeable, and therefore one *Revolution* is enough for one Age; the *Dutch* are already paid, and we do not desire to pay the *French* too; which is a much longer Account, and we shall get less by it; we have hitherto had something for our Money, and something that is very valuable; our *Laws* and *Liberties*, and *Religion*; but I believe the Nation will think it a hard Bargain to pay ten Times the Price for *French Popery*, and *Slavery*.

The Nation, as he says, has *cast up the Account*, and I believe above nineteen Parts in twenty, have considered the Matter so well, that they are come to a fixt Resolution to oppose the intended *Invasion*, to the utmost of their Power.

As for the Loss of the *Ships of War*, it now appears, (God for ever be praised for it) that *their Majesties* have a *Fleet* still left, considerable enough, and faithful too, (notwithstanding all the Arts and Endeavours of our Enemies, to debauch them from their Allegiance) to deal with, and even to destroy the *Naval Power* of *France*.

DECLARATION.

The next Consideration is, what may reasonably be expected for the Time to come; and as to that, no better Judgment can be made of any future Events, than by reflecting upon what is past; and doubtless from the Observation of the Temper and Complexion, the Methods and Maxims of the present Usurper, from the Steps he has already taken, when it was most necessary for him to give no Distaste to the People, as well as from the Nature of all Usurpation, which can never be supported but by the same Ways of Fraud and Violence by which it was first set up, there is all the Reason in the World to believe, that the Beginning of this Tyranny, like the five first Years of Nero, is like to prove the mildest Part of it; and all they have yet suffered is but the Beginning of the Miseries,
which

which those very Men, who were the great Promoters of the Revolution, may yet live to see and feel, as the Effect of that illegal and tyrannical Government, which they themselves first imposed upon the Kingdoms.

OBSERVATIONS.

There is no Answer needs to be given to this, which may always be said of the best Beginnings of the best Government: We for our Part find no Fault with his Majesty's Government yet, and see no Reason to suspect it for the future: Taxes are the only Cause of Complaint now, and yet few complain of them but *Jacobites*, who out of their great Zeal for the late King, pay double Taxes to the present Government to keep him out, which does him more Mischief than *Jacobite* Oaths could do; and yet, Thanks be to God, we have a hopeful Prospect of the End of these Taxes, and have been so well repaid of late, that we shall not grudge to clear the Account, that we may have something to call our own; but of all Men in the World, (excepting always *his Most Christian Majesty*) the late King should not attempt to frighten us with the Dangers of Mis-government, for a good Reason, in which himself is too nearly concerned, and which all *English Protestant Subjects* very well know. As to what relates to the *first five Years of Nero*, this certainly is a Piece of the Secretary's own *Pedantry*, to shew his great Reading, and to impart to us one of the choicest Secrets in the *Roman History*. All Comparisons of Princes with *Nero* are very odious; but I know not how he could have made one more to the Advantage of King *William*, than to compare his *Reign* hitherto with the *five first Years of Nero*, which the *Roman Historians* tell us may compare with that of the best of their Emperors; but however, this I am sure of, that it is better to begin a *Reign* as *Nero* did, than to begin where he ended, as *two other Kings* have done, and to go on to improve and perfect that ill *Pattern*; to which, if God had not mercifully prevented it, they were, not above a Month ago, just ready to have given their *last Hand*, and the *finishing Strokes*.

DECLARATION.

*And yet the Consideration must not rest here neither; for all wise Men ought, and all good Men will take Care of their Posterity; and therefore it is to be remembered, that if it should please Almighty God, as one of his severest Judgments upon these Kingdoms, for the many Rebellions and Perjuries they have been guilty of, so far to permit the Continuation of the present Usurpation, that We should not be restored during our Life-time, yet an indisputable Title to the Crown will survive in the Person of our dearest Son the Prince of Wales, our present Heir-apparent, and his Issue; and for Default of that, in the Issue of such other Sons, as We have great Reason to hope, (the Queen being now with Child) We may yet leave behind Us; and what the Consequences of that is like to be, may easily be understood by all that are not Strangers to the long and bloody Contentions between
the*

the two Houses of York and Lancaster; and whoever shall read the Histories of those Times, and there shall have presented to him, as in one View, a Scene of all the Miseries of an intestine War; the perpetual harassing of the poor Commons by Plunder and free Quarter; the Ruin of many noble Families, by frequent Executions and Attainders; the weakning of the whole Kingdom in general at Home, and the losing those Advantages they might in the mean Time have procured for themselves Abroad, cannot but conclude, that these are the natural Effects of those Strugglings and Convulsions that must necessarily happen in every State, where there is a Dispute entailed between an injured Right and an unjust Possession.

OBSERVATIONS.

This will need but a very short Answer; for as to the Civil Wars he threatens our Posterity with from the Pretences of the *Prince of Wales*, I must needs say, I had rather, if it must come to fighting, that they should fight for the Crown twenty or thirty Years hence, than now. Give Peace in our Days, O Lord. I had rather our Posterity should enslave themselves, if they shall have a Mind to be enslaved, then that we should enslave ourselves, and our Posterity with us. There is no such Haste of bringing in *Popery* and *Slavery*; and it is to be hoped, if we be true to our Religion and Liberties, our Posterity may grow wise by our Example; but I must observe, that whereas the *Prince of Wales* in this *English Declaration* is called the *Heir-apparent*, in the *French Declaration* he is called only the *Presumptive Heir*. Perhaps *Presumptive Heir* in the *French Law* may be the same with *Heir-apparent* in ours: If it be not, what did Sir E. H. or whoever was the Penman of this Declaration, mean by it? Will they set aside the Pretences of the *Prince of Wales*, if the late Queen Mary (who is said to be with Child) in good Truth bring forth a Son. This looks very suspiciously, as if they did not believe they had given sufficient Satisfaction about the Birth of this pretended *Prince of Wales*; but however, we must presume him *Prince of Wales* till they have another, whom they can by better Proof make out to be the unquestionable Son of the late Queen Mary.

DECLARATION.

There is another Consideration that ought to be of Weight with all Christians; and that is the calamitous Condition of Europe, now almost universally engaged in a War among themselves, at a Time when there was the greatest Hopes of Success against the common Enemy, and the fairest Prospect of enlarging the Bounds of the Christian Empire, that ever was in any Age since the declining of the Roman: And so far from the Hopes of a general Peace before our Restoration, that no rational Project of a Treaty can be formed in order to it; but that once done, the Thing will be easy, and we shall be ready to offer our Mediation, and interpose all the good Offices we can with his Most Christian Majesty for the obtaining of it.

OBSERVATIONS.

This whole Period is a sharp and perpetual *Satyr* against the *French King*; for who has been the great Disturber of the Peace of *Europe*, but his Most Christian Majesty? With whom are all the Princes of *Europe* at War but with him? Who else has hindered the Success against the common Enemy, and the enlarging the Bounds of the Christian Empire? Who invited the *Turk* into *Europe*? Who encourages him to continue the War, after so many fatal Defeats, which may probably prove the Ruin of his whole Empire? In a Word, what other Christian Prince is the *Great Turk's* Ally and Confederate in this War? And is not this War continued and encouraged by all the Power and Interest of the *French King*, on Purpose to disturb the Peace of *Europe*, that while the *Imperial* Forces are otherwise employed, he may make a Prey of his weaker Neighbours? It is decent to spare crowned Heads, and such as have been crowned; but the Penman of this Declaration deserves his Reward for putting in so many notorious Falshoods, as may justly call the Truth and Sincerity of the Whole in Question. I know but one Excuse for him, that he has made it almost all of a Piece; and though he has had little Regard to Truth, yet he has so ordered the Matter, that he can deceive No-body but those who have a great Mind to be deceived; and it is not amiss that such should be gratified.

Who but the late King could hope to persuade the World, that to restore him to his Kingdoms is absolutely necessary to the Peace of *Europe*; that before his Restoration no rational Projects of a Treaty can be formed in order to a Peace? He may be mistaken in this; for the *French King* may quickly be glad to make Peace, and leave him and his Restoration out of the Treaty; for Things are come to that Extremity now, that it is in vain to think of Peace, till *Lewis the Great* be reduced to such a State as to accept it, and unable to break it; and then this Argument returns upon him; for the Peace of *Europe* is a necessary Reason why he should not be restored, as I observed in my former Letter.

But he who could fancy himself to be a proper and effectual Mediator for a Peace, if he were restored, must have Liberty to fancy any Thing; and it is happy for him that he has so comfortable an Imagination: I do really pity him too much to endeavour to dispossess him of it; because that would be to undo him more than he is already undone.

DECLARATION.

Since therefore We come with so good Purposes, and so good a Cause, the Justice of which is founded upon the Laws both of God and Man; since the Peace of *Europe*, as well as of Our own Kingdoms, the Prosperity of present and future Ages is concerned in the Success of it, We hope We shall meet with little Opposition, but that all Our loving Subjects, according to the Duty and the Oath of
their

their Allegiance, and as We hereby command and require them to do, will join with Us, and assist Us to the utmost of their Power.

OBSERVATIONS.

I can say little to this; the Event will best shew, whether the People of *England* will think his Cause so good, and the Reasons for his *Restoration* so pressing, as to assist him in it.

DECLARATION.

And We do hereby strictly forewarn and prohibit any of Our Subjects whatsoever, either by collecting or paying any of the illegal Taxes lately imposed upon the Nation, or any Part of Our Revenue, or by any other Ways to abet or support the present Usurpation. And that We may do all that can be thought of to win over all Our Subjects to Our Service, that so, if it be possible, We may have none but the Usurper and his foreign Troops to deal with; and that none may be forced to continue in their Rebellion by Despair of our Mercy for what they have already done, We do hereby declare and promise, by the Word of a King, That all Persons whatsoever, how guilty soever they may have been (except the Persons following, viz. The Duke of Ormond, Marquiss of Winchester, Earl of Sunderland, Earl of Bath, Earl of Danby, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Newport, Bishop of London, Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Delamere, Lord Wiltshire, Lord Colchester, Lord Cornbury, Lord Dunblane, John Lord Churchill, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwel, Sir James Oxendon, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruffel, Richard Levifon, John Trenchard, Esquires; Charles Duncomb, Citizen of London, Edwards, Napleton, Hunt, Fisherman, and all others who offer'd personal Indignities to Us at Feversham; except also all Persons who, as Judges or Jury-men, or otherwise, had a Hand in the barbarous Murder of Mr. John Ashton, and of Mr. Cross, or of any others who have been illegally condemned and executed for their Loyalty to Us; and all Spies, and such as have betrayed Our Counsels during Our late Absence from England) that by an early Return to their Duties, and by any signal Mark of it, as by seizing to Our Use, or delivering into Our Hands any of Our Forts, or by bringing over to Us any Ships of War, or Troops in the Usurper's Army, or any new-raised and armed by themselves, or by any other eminent good Service, according to their several Opportunities and Capacities shall manifest the sincerity of their Repentance, shall not only have their respective Pardons immediately passed under the Great Seal of England, but shall otherwise be considered and rewarded by Us, as the Merit of their Case shall require. And for all others who, after the Time of Our landing, shall not appear in Arms against Us, nor do any Act or Thing in Opposition to Our Restoration, the Persons before mentioned only excepted, We shall provide in Our first Parliament (which We intend to call with all convenient

nient Speed) by a general Act of Indemnity, that so the Minds of all Our Subjects may be as quiet, and as much at Ease, as their Persons and Properties will be secure and inviolable under Our Government.

Provided always, That all Magistrates, who expect any Benefit of Our gracious Pardon, shall immediately, after Notice of Our landing, make some Publick Manifestation of their Allegiance to Us, and of their Submission to Our Authority; and also publish and cause to be proclaimed this Our Declaration, as soon as it shall come to their Hands; and likewise that all Keepers of Prisons immediately set at Liberty all Persons committed to their Custody upon the Account of their Allegiance and Affection to Us, or be excluded from any Benefit of Our Pardon.

And We do hereby further declare, That all Officers or Soldiers by Sea or Land, now engaged in the Usurper's Service, who shall, after Notice of Our landing, at any Time before they engage in any Fight or Battle against Our Forces, quit the said illegal Service, and return to their Duty, shall not only have their respective Pardons, but shall likewise be fully satisfied and paid all the Arrears due to them from the Usurper: And that even the Foreigners themselves, who have been as well in Troops as single Persons drawn into this Kingdom, in order to list them as there should be Occasion for the opposing Our Return, and continuing Our People in the Oppression they lie under, may not be altogether driven to despair, We do promise, that all such of them as shall, as aforesaid, before they engage against any of our Forces, lay down their Arms, and claim the Benefit of Our present Declaration, shall have their Arrears satisfied, and Care shall be taken for their Transportation to their respective Countries, or elsewhere, as they shall reasonably desire.

OBSERVATIONS.

Let us now consider the Grace and Favour promised in this Declaration. For Grace and Pardon, &c. are very good Things, when we need them; but yet no Man would chuse to need them if he could help it. If the late King's Restoration were desirable upon other Accounts, and nothing hindered Subjects from returning to their Duty and Allegiance but Fear of Punishment for what is past, the Promise of Pardon would be a very good Argument to encourage Subjects to assist him in his Return; but merely that we shall be pardoned, is no Argument to bring him back; because, we shall need no Pardon if we don't; and that is always the surest Side, to need no Pardon, much surer than any Promise of Pardon the late King can make.

And yet he has used that great Caution in his Promise of Pardon, as if he were afraid we should expect more than he intends to give, and should charge him with a new Breach of Promise, when we come to Tower-Hill or Tyburn.

We see whom he has excepted, but 'tis not easy to know who is pardoned; the Truth is, he has put all the Subjects of England under a Necessity of forfeiting their Pardon, when he recovers his Throne, or of being hang'd or mobb'd, at least of venturing both, before he can be in a Condition to pardon. All are excepted from this Pardon, who shall either appear in Arms against him, or do any

Act

Act or Thing in Opposition to his Restoration. Now, to collect or pay any of the illegal Taxes, or any Part of the Revenue of the Crown, are expressly forbid, as abetting or supporting the present Usurpation; and therefore, to pay Taxes is one of the *Acts or Things* which excludes from Pardon; and this excepts the whole Nation at once. And for the Comfort of the Clergy, to pray for King William and Queen Mary, and for the Success of their Arms, especially after the late King is landed, will certainly be doing an *Act or Thing in Opposition to his Restoration.* And all Magistrates are in a very hopeful Condition, who are excluded from Pardon, unless they shall immediately, after Notice of his Landing, make some publick Manifestation of their Allegiance to Him, and of their Submission to his Authority, and cause his Declaration to be proclaim'd as soon as it shall come to their Hands.

This is a very gracious Pardon, which Men must purchase at the Price of their Necks, and yet how far this Pardon will extend we know not; it may be only to Life, for here is no Mention of Fortunes or Honours; and yet it is but a meer Pardon; here is not one kind Word given to the Protestant Nobility, Gentry, or Clergy; no Promise to employ them in his Councils, or any Civil or Military Trusts; and when we know how he has hitherto kept his Promises, we have little Reason to expect that he will now do more than he has promised.

But besides the Exceptions from Pardon in general Words, which upon one Account or other do involve the whole Nation, there are some Things very remarkable as to the Persons by Name excepted. Most of them, I believe, are not sorry for it, because they know their Case would have been the same had they not been excepted; and possibly others may hope their Case may be the better for being excepted. But why Sir St. F. and Sir. S. Gr? They are both of them very worthy and honest Gentlemen, and I dare almost be their Compurgator as to having had any hand in *Revolutions*: But I must confess both of them have Estates very worthy to be accepted. And some such Reason probably there may be for excepting Sir J. O. and Sir B. D. of Kent; for it cannot but come into every body's Mind, how conveniently their Estates lie to make a Compensation to Sir E. H. for his great Merits and Sufferings. But why descend so low as to except poor Hunt, the Fisherman? This I take to be a true stroke of Secretary Melfort's Popish Bigotry, and put in on purpose to let us know, that effectual Care will be taken, that the late King, whenever he returns, shall have so exact a Memory, that the Merits of the meanest Man in England shall not be forgotten. You see what the Pardon is, and those who like it may merit it, if they please.

DECLARATION.

And We do hereby further declare and promise, That We will protect and maintain the Church of England, as it is now by Law established, in all their Rights, Privileges, and Possessions: And that upon all Vacancies of Bishopricks, and other Dignities and Benefices within our Disposal, Care shall be taken to have them filled with the most worthy of their own Communion.

OBSERVATIONS.

Here he promises to protect and defend the *Church of England*, which will be a great Favour indeed from him, if he should return with a *French Power*. But the *Church of England* is protected already by *Princes*, who think it their Duty to do it: And we think ourselves much safer in the *Inclinations* of a *Protestant* King and Queen, than we can be in all the *Promises* of a zealous *Papist*. And therefore this can be no Argument in our Case; because it offers us a worse Security for our Protection than what we already have; for it is always great Odds on *Nature's* Side. And yet this Promise to the *Church of England* seems fainter and cooler than some he has formerly made, which is all the Reason we have to expect it will be better kept; especially there being not the least Intimation of the Breach of his former Promises, nor any Excuse made for it. And it is fit to be observed, that whereas he promises, that upon all Vacancies of *Bishopricks*, and other Dignities and Benifices within Our Disposal, Care shall be taken to have them filled with the most worthy of their own Communion; there is not one Word said of *Universities* and *Colleges*; though the Case of *Magdalen College* is so very notorious, and so fresh in every Man's Memory, that there is hardly a *Yeoman* or *Artificer* in the Nation, that has not a lively Remembrance of it. *Church of England-men* then shall at present have the *Churches*, and *Papists* the *Colleges*, to breed up a *Roman Catholick* Succession of honest *Obadiah's*.

DECLARATION.

And whereas more Tumults and Rebellions have been rais'd in all Nations upon the Account of Religion, than on all other Pretences put together, and more in England than in all the rest of the World besides; That therefore Men of all Opinions in Matters of Religion may be reconciled to the Government, that they may no longer look upon it as their Enemy, but may therefore think themselves equally concern'd in the Preservation of it with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, because they are equally well treated by it; and being convinc'd in Our Judgment, that Liberty of Conscience is most agreeable to the Laws, and the Spirit of the Christian Religion, and most conducing to the Wealth and Prosperity of Our Kingdoms, by encouraging Men of all Countries and Persuasions to come and trade with Us, and settle amongst Us; For these Reasons We are resolved most earnestly to recommend to Our Parliament the settling Liberty of Conscience in so beneficial a Manner, that it may remain a lasting Blessing to this Kingdom.

OBSERVATIONS.

In this Paragraph, for the Peace of the Nation, and for the Advancement of Trade, he promises earnestly to recommend to the Parliament the settling Liberty of Conscience: But this is no Argument to the *Dissenters* to help forward another Revolution, because they have it already in as full and ample a Manner

as

as it can be given them. All that he can add to this, is Liberty of Conscience for *Papists*, and the *Repeal* of the *Test*, which cost him so much *closetting* to no Purpose, and now is promis'd as a *Favour*: What *Protestant Dissenters* will think of it, I leave them to consider.

But when he says, *We are convinc'd in Our Judgment that Liberty of Conscience is most agreeable to the Laws, and to the Spirit of the Christian Religion*, methinks these two Kings treat one another with great Freedom. For what handsomer Compliment could have been made to the Most Christian King, then to intimate that his Persecution of his *Protestant Subjects* is not at all agreeable to the *Laws* or to the *Spirit* of the *Christian Religion*? This is plain-dealing if the *French King* can bear it: But, I suppose they are agreed, that K. J. shall declare as is most fit for his Purpose, and the *French King* do what is most convenient for his own.

DECLARATION.

Lastly, It shall be Our great Care, by the Advice and Assistance of Our Parliament, to repair the Breaches, and heal the Wounds of the late Distractions; to restore Trade, by putting the Act of Navigation in effectual Execution, which has been so much violated of late in Favour of Strangers; to put Our Navy and Stores into as good a Condition as We left them; to find the best Ways of bringing back Wealth and Bullion to the Kingdom, which of late has been so much exhausted; and generally we shall delight to spend the Remainder of our Reign (as we have always design'd since Our coming to the Crown) in studying to do every thing that may contribute to the Re-establishment of the Greatness of the English Monarchy upon its old and true Foundation, the united Interest and Affection of the People.

OBSERVATIONS.

What these *Breaches, and Wounds of the late Distractions* are, he does not tell us; and therefore we must suppose they are such as are here mentioned. As for *restoring Trade*, it has not been lost yet; the *Custom-house* does not complain of it, which is commonly the first that feels it. The *Navy* is in a much better Condition than he left it, if we may guess at that by its late Exploits: But if he be so well skilled in *restoring Navies*, he ought, both in Charity and Gratitude, now to stay a little longer in *France*. As for his *bringing back Wealth and Bullion into the Nation*, I believe, the Nation would have been better pleased, if he would have promised to send none out. And as for his *concluding Promise*, in these words, *And generally We shall delight to spend the Remainder of Our Reign (as We have always design'd since Our coming to the Crown) in studying to do every thing that may contribute to the Re-establishment of the Greatness of the English Monarchy upon its old and true Foundations, the united Interest and Affection of the People.* This is plain-dealing, and surest to be made good of any thing in the *Declaration*. And if he does this now, as he always designed

to do it (for he could not then do all that he *designed* to do) here is a renewed Promise of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*: And those are unpardonable Infidels, who will not take his Word for it.

DECLARATION.

Thus having endeavoured to answer all Objections, and give all the Satisfaction We can think of to all Parties and Degrees of Men, We cannot want Ourselves the Satisfaction of having done all that can be done on Our Part, whatever the Event shall be; the Disposal of which we commit with great Resignation and Dependance to that God who judges right: And on the other Side, if any of our Subjects, after all this, shall remain so obstinate, as to appear in Arms against Us, as they must needs fall unpitied under the Severity of Our Justice, after having refused such gracious Offers of Mercy; so they must be answerable to Almighty God for all the Blood that shall be spilt, and all the Miseries and Confusions in which these Kingdoms may happen to be involved, by their desperate and unreasonable Opposition.

Given at our Court at *St. Germain*, this present 20th of *April*, 1692, in the *Eighth* Year of our *Reign*.

Per ipsum Regem manu propria.

OBSERVATIONS.

Thus the *Declaration* ends, and it is Time for me to end too. After these *Observations*, you will be able to comprehend both the wise Design of this *Declaration*, and how likely it is to have its Effect, provided it can but gain these two easy Points: First, to persuade King *William* to quit the Crown for fear of losing it; and then prevail with the People to believe, that *two other Kings*, whom I will not name, will, for this once, put off their Natures, and out of a particular Respect and Kindness to the *English Church* and Nation, quit all Thoughts of introducing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* here in *England*.

Once more, Sir,

Farewel.

The

The State of the Church of ROME, when the Reformation began, as it appears by the Advices given to PAUL III. and JULIUS III. by Creatures of their own. With a Preface leading to the Matter of the Book.

The P R E F A C E.

THE Opposition that *Luther* made to Indulgences at first, and soon after to other Abuses in the *Roman Church*, awakened many to enquire into the Reasons of several Things in which they had hitherto acquiesced without particuar Examination; which Liberty, so dangerous to the Interest of the *Roman See*, soon brought upon *Luther*, who was so notable an Example of it, no little Trouble from thence; insomuch that he found himself constrained to appeal to a General Council; an Expedient no less hated by the Court of *Rome*, which had not yet forgotten the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, than it was generally desired by all the better Sort of Men, as before for the reforming of Abuses, so now for the quieting of Controversies in Religion.

Leo the Xth being dead, who had not been wanting, for his Part, to suppress these Beginnings of a new Inquisition into the Authority of Popes, was succeeded by *Adrian VI.* about four Years after *Luther's* Declaration. *Adrian*, like an honest Man, ingenuously confessed, that this Distress was justly come upon the Holy See, as a Punishment of those Abominations that had been committed in it, and promised to the World a Reformation; but the *German Princes* insisted to have a free and general Council called, which was by no Means well taken to the Court by *Rome*; whereupon the secular Princes sent their Manifesto to the Pope of the *Centum Gravamina*, or the hundred Grievances which they had suffered from that Court. But *Adrian* died (not without vehement Suspicion of foul Play) before he had sat two Years in the Chair; and with him died almost all that was honest and good in the *Roman Court*.

Clement VII. comes next to the Papacy, who of all Things could not endure the Thoughts of a General Council, in Times, wherein he was sure the Pope's Authority would be called in Question; he therefore laboured against it with all imaginable Industry and Artifice: But it being impossible to satisfy those that had not yet openly withdrawn themselves from the Obedience of that See, without seeming to condescend to the general Desire of *Christendom* in this Matter, he tried at length to pacify them, by making Promises of calling a Council,

Council, which it was plain to wise Men he never intended to perform ; since at first he would neither say where, nor when it should be held, and at length, when the Emperor pressed hard upon him, he absolutely insisted, that the Council might be held in *Italy* ; a Condition, which (as Things then stood) he was sure would not be submitted to.

Then comes *Paul III.* as great a Dissembler as ever lived, who knew no less than his Predecessors, how fatal such a Council as was desired must necessarily be to the Gentlemen of the *Roman See*. He found, that it was but more passionately desired for being refused, and was indeed put to the utmost Stretch of his Talent to keep a Temper in so difficult a Case ; but being the fittest Person in the World to do what was possible in this nice Juncture, he put off, for some Time, the Indiction of a Council, under the Pretence of an earnest Desire to call one ; but when that Artifice was stale, he delayed the opening of it, after it was called ; and when nothing else would do, he knew the best Ways how to manage and govern it, and to make the World believe all the while that it was unconstrained and free.

But in the third Year of his Popedom, the Clamour of the World being upon him for neither calling a Council, nor so much as performing his Promise of reforming the Court and the Church himself, he was forced to make some notable Semblance of the latter, that he might a little longer keep off the former. To this End, he required four Cardinals, and five other Prelates, to draw up, in the most impartial Manner, a formal Catalogue of Abuses that needed a Reformation : Which accordingly was done in the former of the two following Advices that are here published.

The Trick was to make the Christian Princes believe, that he that requir'd, and they who gave this Advice, were in good Earnest. And so it was sent into *Germany*, where it produced quite other Effects than were hoped from it ; for all Mens Mouths were opened against the Court more than they were before ; and the Court soon shewed, that this solemn Advice was but mere Artifice and Collusion to amuse the World, and to keep off the so much dreaded Council, as long as it was possible. As for the Pope himself, how well he was disposed to follow the Rules of this Advice, appeared by the whole Course of Things afterwards ; for his Business all along was to support the Absoluteness of the *Roman See*, and to maintain, “ That all Judgment in Matters
“ of Religion ought to be referred to the Apostolic See, and that divine and
“ human Laws, and the Consent of Ages, had given to the Pope the supreme
“ Authority, as of calling Councils, so of determining and ordering Things
“ that regard the Unity and Advantage of the Church ; ^h” as he told the Emperor roundly, in a Letter to him, about seven Years after.

As for the Courtiers that gave the Advice, one of them was the *Theatine* Cardinal, *John Peter Caraffa*, who was eighteen Years after Pope, by the Name of *Paul IV.* and who therefore had it in his Power to put the Counsel he gave to *Paul III.* into Execution, if any such Thing had been in his

^h *Padr. Paul. Aug. 5*, according to some Copies, 24, 1544.

Mind. But nothing could be more inconsistent with his Counsel than his Practice was: The Advice acknowledged, that the unbounded Licentiousness of Popes in breaking Laws, and doing whatever they had a Mind to do, had reduced *Christendom* to its deplorable Condition. But this Man yielded not to any of his Predecessors in Pride, and lawless Liberty; he vouchsafed not to allow secular Princes fit to be his Companions; he began his Papacy with breaking the Oath of Capitulation, usually made in the Conclave, and upon that Occasion, declared it to be an Article of Faith, that the Pope could not be bound: He made himself so odious to the World, and especially to the Citizens of *Rome*, by Perfidiousness and Oppression, that the Rage of the People against his Name and Family could not be appeased, but by doing the most publick Disgraces to him after he was dead.

Now whether *Paul IV.* when Cardinal, gave some good Advice for Fashion-sake, or having had some good Purposes once, laid them all aside when he came to be Pope, I shall not dispute; but it is a plain Case, that these Men have confessed most horrible Scandals against themselves; and that at a Time when their Obligations to reform them were the greatest that the World could lay upon them, they moved not one Step towards a Reformation in good Earnest, but made it their Business to baffle the Desires and Hopes of all good Men; which shewed it to be the vaineſt Thing imaginable, to expect afterwards any Reformation by a Council under the Influence of the *Roman* Court; which, by their own Confession, was guilty of all the Disorders of the Church; or of such Popes as those, who, by their own Confession, had been the chiefest Malefactors. The Decrees of an *Italian* Council, under the Direction of such Managers as these, were not likely to be very holy ones; nor were Matters of Doctrine in a fair Way to be sincerely deliberated upon, and determined truly, by those who could not be brought to mend the most notorious Faults they confessed against themselves; nor such Points of Doctrine, to be sure, as served to support those Abuses in Practice, which they were resolved not to reform.

Certainly there could be no other Reason to imagine, that the Grace of the Holy Ghost should be present with such a Council, excepting this only, that the Managers were brought to it with as much Difficulty, as if they had been sure to meet the Holy Ghost there.

The Bull for Intimation of the Council was not published till five Years after the Advice, nor was it resolved, that they should begin till two Years after that, when the Pope furnished his Legates with Powers to dissolve it, if it should not be an obedient Council; for no Man could certainly say with what Dispositions, or in what Numbers, the *German*, *French*, and *Spanish* Bishops might come; and it was good to provide against the worst. It was yet about a Year before the Council was opened, and the Proceedings were then retarded by artificial Difficulties as well as accidental ones; and with all the Management it did not thoroughly please; and so, after frivolous Pretences, was in two Years

History of Council of Trent, P. 112.

Time, by a Majority of Voters, translated to *Bolonia*, the *Imperialists* remaining still in *Trent*. The *Papalins* must have it nearer Home, that they might tend it the better. But do what they could, they were obliged three Years after to re-assume it at *Trent*; the Loss of which Point was therefore to be supplied with other Arts.

Pope *Paul* dying at this Time, was succeeded by *Julius III.* who thought fit to suspend the Council for two Years; the Effect of which was, that it came not together till ten Years after. As for the Motives that influenced these Councils, and the Artifices that brought them to Effect, and the Intrigues with Princes, and the Advantages which the Court made of their opposite Interests, for bringing the Council to a good End; all this is to be seen in Father *Paul's* History, but the Particulars are too many to be touched here.

It was to *Julius III.* that the three Bishops at *Bononia* addressed the second Advice, as *Vergerius* relates this Matter, who best knew it, not to *Paul III.* as *Wolffius* delivers in his *Lectiones Memorabiles*, who, though he quoted *Vergerius*, had lighted upon a false Copy, in which that Passage at the End of the Advice, concerning our Queen *Mary*, was left out; which would have discovered that Mistake of his, from whomsoever he had it, that it was found in the Palace, after the Death of *Paul III.* Certainly the Discovery of this Advice was the most fatal Thing that ever happened to the Reputation of the *Roman* Cause; and if it had not been upon the File against them now for above an hundred Years, I make no Question but the Popish Gentlemen of this Age would run it down for a *sham* Advice, forged by *Vergerius*, or some other Heretick, against the Church of *Rome*.

The Difference between that Advice of Nine to *Paul*, and this of Three to *Julius*, is in some Respects very considerable; particularly in this, that the Nine seemed to be serious, and were not; the Three were serious, and seemed not to be so; which makes the Advice of the former look like Sincerity, and that of the latter to look like Wit; whereas, in Truth, the one was very gravely given, without any Intention to have it followed; the other, with that Pleasantness and Confidence that uses to be amongst Friends, but with Design of executing what was advised. But in this they agree, that as the Advice of the Nine represents the corrupt Practices of the *Roman* Communion, with the main Reasons thereof, so that of the Three justly shews what Kind of Faith theirs is, and how it is to be supported.

Neither the one nor the other, that I know of, have yet had their Turn in *English*; but they are so very instructing, especially the latter, that I thought a few Hours spent in translating them into our Language would not be thrown away.

They are so plain that they need no Comment; and the Use that is to be made of them is so ready, that I need not make any Inference from them in Behalf of the meanest Reader; only it seemed reasonable to give some short Account of the Circumstances of the Times in which these Things were done; which is all the Light that was requisite for those who may be Strangers to the History of these Affairs.

The Advice given to Pope PAUL III. by four Cardinals, and five other Prelates; whose Names are underwritten, in order to the Amendment of the State of the Church.

Most Blessed Father,

WE are so unable to express what mighty Thanks the whole Body of the Church is bound to pay to Almighty God, who has in these Times raised up you to be the supreme Bishop and Pastor of his Flock; and gives you likewise that Mind which you have, that we have no Hope, so much as to conceive how great they are. For that Spirit of God, by which, as the Prophet speaks, the Heavens are made firm, has decreed, as we cannot but see, by your Hand to support the Church, now that she is not only leaning, but just falling headlong into Ruin; nay, to advance her to her ancient Eminence, and to restore her to her former Beauty.

It is no uncertain Conjecture of this Purpose of God, which we are enabled to make, whom your Holiness called to you and required, that without any Regard had to you, or to any one else, we should signify to you what those Abuses are, and most grievous Distempers, wherewith the Church of God, and especially the Court of *Rome*, has for a long Time been affected, whereby also it has come to pass, that these pestilent Diseases, growing to their Height by little and little, the Church, as we see, is upon the very Brink of Ruin. And because your Holiness (being taught by the Divine Spirit, who, as *St. Austin* says, does, without Noise of Words, speak in the Heart) very well understands this to be the Original of these Mischiefs; that some Popes, your Predecessors, having itching Ears, as says the Apostle *Paul*, heaped up Teachers after their own Lusts, not to learn from them, what they ought to do, but that they should take Pains, and employ their Wit, to find out Ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleased: To which we may add, that as the Shadow follows the Body, so Flattery follows Greatness, and Truth can hardly find any Way to the Ears of Princes; hence it has come to pass, that there have been Doctors ever ready to maintain, that all Benefices being the Pope's, and the Lord having a Right to sell what is his own, it must necessarily follow, that the Pope is not capable of the Guilt of *Simony*; inasmuch, that the Pope's Will and Pleasure, whatever it be, must needs be the Rule for all that he does; which doubtless would end in believing every thing lawful that he had a Mind to do.

From this Source, as from the *Trojan Horse*, those so many Abuses, and such mortal Diseases, have broken forth into the Church of God, which have reduced her, as we see, almost to a State of Desperation: The Fame of these Things having come to the Ears even of Infidels (let your Holiness believe us speaking what we know) who deride Christianity more for this, than for any thing else; so that thro' ourselves, we must needs say through ourselves, the Name of *Christ* is blasphemed amongst the Nations. As for you, most Holy Father, for so in truth you are, besides that Prudence which you so long since have obtained, being also instructed by the Spirit of God, when you gave yourself wholly to this Care, that the Church of *Christ*, wherewith you are entrusted, might be healed of her Distempers, and recover a good State of Health, you saw, and you saw aright, that where the Disease grew at first, there the Remedy must begin: And following the Example of the Apostle *Paul*, you intended to be a Dispenser, and not a Lord, but to be found faithful in the Lord, like that Servant in the Gospel, whom the Lord set over his Family, to give them their Food in their Season; and in order to this, you resolved at no hand to will that which is unlawful, nor to desire the Power of doing what you ought not. For these Reasons you called us to yourself, who, how unqualified soever we may be, in Point of Skill, for so weighty an Affair, do not yet want a good Affection towards the Honour and Glory of your Holiness, and above all to the Reformation of the Church of *Christ*. You enjoined us, with most serious Expressions, that we should go and bring together all those Abuses, and lay them before you, protesting, that, if we proceeded herein negligently, and unfaithfully, the Account that should be given to Almighty God of this Matter committed to our Trust, should be upon ourselves. And that all Things might be more freely handled by us, and opened to you afterward, you bound us by an Oath, and under the Penalty of Excommunication, that we should discover no Part of this our Trust to any one whatsoever.

We therefore, in Obedience to your Command, have brought together those Distempers, in as few Words as may be, and their Remedies, the most effectual, at least, which we, for our Part could think upon. And now we rely upon your Goodness and Wisdom to mend all those Faults, and supply all those Defects of the Performance, which are left in it, by reason of our Incompetency for this Undertaking.

But to reduce all our Thoughts to some certain Heads; since your Holiness is both the Prince of these Provinces, which are the Ecclesiastic Estate and Territory, and withal the Governor of the Universal Church, and likewise the Bishop of *Rome*; we have not taken upon ourselves to speak of those Things which concern that Principality, which by your Prudence is so excellently governed as we see. We will touch upon these Matters only that belong to the Office of the Universal Pastor, and some also that are proper to the *Roman* Bishop.

First of all then, we think, most Blessed Father, according to what *Aristotle* says in his *Politicks*, that, as in every other Common-wealth, so in the Ecclesiastic Government of the Church of *Christ*, it should be esteemed the principal Law of

of all, that Laws should be observed as much as is possible; and that it be not lawful to dispense with the Laws, but for a Cause urgent and necessary. For no Custom, introduced into a Common-wealth, can be more pernicious, than in Observance of Laws, which our Ancestors thought were religiously to be kept, and doubted not to call their Authority Venerable and Divine. All these Things you know, most Excellent Pope; you have read them long since in the Philosophers and Divines: But one Thing there is of Moment next to this, or rather of far greater Consequence, as we think, that it is not lawful for the Pope, who is *Christ's* Vicar, to make any Gain to himself of the Use of the Keys, of the Power of the Keys we say, which *Christ* hath committed to him. For this is the Commandment of *Christ*: *Freely ye have received, freely give.* These Things being in the first Place provided for, since your Holiness has the Care of *Christ's* Church upon you, so that it may be furnished with divers Ministers, by whom that Trust is to be discharged; and that these are all the Clergy to whom divine Service is committed, the Presbyters especially, and those of them chiefly that have the Care of Souls, and above all the Bishops; it follows, that in order to a right Proceeding in this Government, the first Care that is to be taken, is, that these Ministers be such that are fit for the Duties of their Function.

And here the first Abuse in this Kind, is, that in the Ordination of Clerks, especially of Presbyters, no Manner of Care and Diligence is used; but everywhere the most uneducated Youths, of the vilest Parentage, set out with nothing but evil Manners, are admitted to Holy Orders, even to Priesthood itself, though that be the Character which expresseth *Christ* more than all others. From hence grow innumerable Scandals; from hence comes the Contempt of the Ecclesiastick Order; and hence it is, that the Reverence of God's Worship is not only diminished, but well nigh extinguished. We think therefore the best Way would be, for your Holiness to appoint two or three Prelates of Learning and Probity to look after this Matter, who should govern the Ordinations of Clergymen, and then to enjoyn all Bishops, under the Penalty of Censures, to take the like Care in their Diocesses. Nor should your Holiness suffer any to be ordained but by his own Bishop, or with the Licence of his Bishop, or such as are deputed in the City. And every Bishop should provide a Master in his Church, for the Instruction of the inferior Orders of the Clergy, in good Learning, and good Manners, as the Law requires.

Another Abuse, of a most grievous Nature, is in the Collation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, especially with Cure of Souls, and above all of Bishopricks; the Manner having been, that good Provision is made for those who have the Benefices, but for the Flock of *Christ*, and the Church, none at all. In bestowing therefore these Benefices with Care, and chiefly Bishopricks, it is highly requisite, that they be conferred upon good and learned Men, who are able by themselves to discharge the Duties belonging thereto; and who withal, are most likely to be resident; for which Reason, a Benefice in *Spain* or *Britain*, is not to be given to an *Italian*, nor the like; which Rule is to be observed both in Collations, when a Vacancy happens by the Decease of the Incumbent, and in Cessions too; whereas now, no Regard is had to any thing else, but the Will
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and Advantage of him that resigns: We think therefore it would be very well, if one or more honest Men were appointed to govern this Business. Another Abuse is, when Benefices are conferred, or resigned to others, that Pensions are to be paid out of the Revenues; nay, and sometimes he that resigns, reserves all the Profits to himself: In which Matter it is to be observed, that Pensions ought not to be allotted upon any other Account, but as certain Alms, which should go for pious Uses, and for the Relief of the Poor: For the Revenues are annexed to the Benefice, as the Body to the Mind, so that of their own Nature they belong to him that has the Benefice, that, according to his Rank, he may live honestly upon them, and be able to bear the Charge of divine Service, and to repair the Church, and the Houses belonging to it; and that he should spend what remains in pious Uses: For this is the natural Employment of such Revenues.

But, as in the Course of Nature, some Things are done otherwise than according to common Rules, and besides the Inclination of universal Nature; so, as to the Pope, who is the universal Dispenser of ecclesiastical Benefices, if he sees that the Portion of Priests, which ought to be laid out in pious Uses, or some Part thereof, may be employed for some particular good Uses; and that it would be most expedient it should be so, he may, without Doubt, provide accordingly. He may therefore very lawfully set a Portion upon a Benefice, for the Relief of an indigent Person, especially a Clergyman, that he may be able to live, in some measure, according to his Order. But it is a great Abuse that all the Fruits should be reserved, and that wholly taken away which is to serve for the Maintenance of Divine Service, and the Support of the Incumbent: And that Pensions should be given to rich Clergymen, who can live conveniently enough upon the Revenues which they have, is surely a great Abuse, also, and both of them are to be removed.

There is another Abuse also in the changing of Benefices, upon Contracts that are all of them *Simonical*, and in which no regard is had to any thing but Gain. Another Abuse, to be taken away all altogether, has prevailed in this Court, by the Knavery of certain Persons that are shrewd in their Way: For whereas the Law provides, that Benefices cannot be given away by Will, because they are not the Testators, but the Church's Fee; and that the Church's Patrimony should be continued as a common Provision in the Behalf of all good Men, but never grow into a private Estate: No little Pains have been taken, in which more of worldly Wisdom than Christian Honesty is to be seen, to find out divers Tricks for the eluding of the Law. For Bishopricks, and other Benefices are resigned, first, with a Condition of resuming them; to which is added, a Reservation to collate the Benefices belonging to them; with another Reservation to administer and govern. And so here comes to be a Bishop, who has not so much as one Right of a Bishop, while the other is no Bishop at all, who claims all the Right belonging to one. Your Holiness may see to what a Pass Things are brought by the Flattery of making every Thing lawful that is resolved to be done: For we would fain know what this is, but to make a private Inheritance of a Benefice? Another Cheat besides this

this is invented, that Bishops, upon their Petition, have Co-adjutors granted to them, not so well qualified as themselves; so that, unless a Man be resolved to shut his Eyes, he must needs see, that the Co-adjutor is, by this Trick, made Heir to the Bishoprick. Again, it is an ancient Law established by *Clement*, that the Sons of Priests should not succeed their Fathers in their Benefices; and this, least the common Patrimony of the Church should become a private Estate: But as we hear, this venerable Law is dispensed with; and we must not conceal what every prudent Person will, by himself, discern to be a great Truth, that no one Thing hath raised more of that Envy against the Clergy, from whence so many Seditions have already happened, and more are at Hand, than this turning of Ecclesiastical Profits and Revenues from being a common, to a private Thing. All Men had some Hope before this; but now they are reduced to Despair, and sharpen their Tongues against this holy See. It is another Abuse, that Benefices are disposed in Reversion, and Occasion is given to the Expectant to desire another Man's Death, and to be glad when he hears of it; by which Means also, when a Vacancy happens, they that deserve best are excluded; besides the Law-suits that are hereby caused. All this we think ought to be mended. By the same Craft, a farther Abuse is introduced; for whereas some Benefices are by Law *incompatible*, and are so called, our Ancestors intending to admonish us by the Signification of the Word, that they ought not to be conferred upon one Person; this too is now dispensed with, and not only two, but more of these Benefices; and, which is worst of all, Bishopricks are enjoyed by the same Man: Which Custom, brought in by Covetousness, we think, ought to be turned out again, especially as to a Plurality of Bishopricks. What shall we say to the Union of Benefices for a Man's Life, to avoid the Incompatibility of them under this Colour, is not this a meer Fraud upon the Law? Another Abuse has prevailed, that Bishopricks, not one only, but more are collated upon the most Reverend Cardinals, or given them in *Commendam*: Which we, most blessed Father, believe to be no slight Grievance in the Church of God; in as much as, first of all, the Office of a Cardinal, and that of a Bishop are incompatible in the same Person: For the Cardinal's Province is to assist your Holiness in the Government of the Catholic Church: But that of a Bishop is to feed his Flock; which he cannot do well, and as he ought, if, as a Shepherd, he dwells not with his Sheep; besides, Holy Father, the Example of this Custom does a World of Mischief: For how can this Holy See guide others, and correct their Abuses, if she suffers such Abuses in her principal Members? For we do not think, that because they are Cardinals, it should be more lawful for them to transgress the Laws, but that they should least of all presume to do it, since their Lives are to be a Law to others; nor are they to be like the *Pharisees*, who said, but did not; but to our Saviour *Christ*, who began to do, and then to teach. And besides this, Licentiousness being the Fewel of Avarice, the Use of it is prejudicial to the Counsels they take in Church-Affairs. Moreover, for the obtaining of Bishopricks, Cardinals do court Kings and Princes, their Dependance upon whom afterwards, hinders them from speaking their Minds freely; at least, if they were bold

bold and willing enough to speak, yet they would easily be perverted into a wrong Judgment by Affection and Interest. We could wish therefore, that this Custom were broken, and that all the Cardinals might have an equal Revenue, which would maintain them handsomely according to their Dignity; which Provision, we think, might easily be made, if we would be willing to serve *Mammon* no longer, and would serve none but *Christ*.

These Things being set right, which refer to the Appointment of your Ministers, who are, as it were, the Instruments for the right performing of God's Worship, and the well-ordering of the People in a Christian Life. We must now come to those Things which relate to the Government of Christian People: As to which Matter, most holy Father, there is an Abuse in the first Place to be corrected; and the greatest Care is to be taken, that Bishops, especially, no nor Curates, be absent from their Churches and Parishes, unless for a weighty Cause, but keep their Residence; but especially the Bishops, since they are the Husbands of the Church committed to their Care. For we appeal to God, that no Sight can be more lamentable to a Christian Man going through *Christendom*, than this Solitude of the Churches. Almost all the Pastors are withdrawn from their Flocks, which are almost every-where entrusted with Hirelings: There ought therefore to be a great Penalty upon Bishops above all, and likewise upon Curates, who are absent from their Flocks, and who ought not only to be censured, but not so much as receive the Revenues of the Church, unless for some short Time the Bishops obtain Leave of Absence from your Holiness, and the Curates from their Bishops. Let some of the Laws and Decrees of Councils in this Matter be read, whereby it is provided, that a Bishop shall not be absent from his Church above three Lord's Days.

It is also an Abuse, that so many of the most Reverend Cardinals are absent from this Court, and do not so much as in Part do any thing of that Office which belongs to a Cardinal. We think, indeed, that it is expedient for some few Cardinals to live in their Provinces; since they are, as it were, the Root of the Papacy, that by shooting out its Strings abroad in the Christian World, contains the People in their Obedience to the *Roman* See. But yet we think it were very much for the Interest of your Holiness, to recal them, though not perhaps every one, to their Residence in this Court: For besides, that by this Means they would execute the proper Office of Cardinals, the State and Retinue of your Court would be provided for, and the Want of those many Bishops would be supplied, who ought to leave the Court, and return to their Churches.

Another great Abuse, and by no Means to be endured, since it is a Scandal to all Christian People, arises from the Hindrances and Restraints that are upon Bishops in the governing of their Flocks, and chiefly in the punishing and correcting of wicked Persons. For first, there are ill Men, and especially Clergymen, who, by many Ways, exempt themselves from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinary: But then, if they are not exempt, they betake themselves easily to the Penitentiary, or to the Datary, where they presently find a Way to protect their Impunity, and which is still worse, by giving of Money. This Scandal, most holy Father, does so disturb Christian People, that it is not to be

be expressed. We beseech your Holiness, by the Blood of *Christ*, wherewith he hath redeemed his Church, having washed the same in his Blood, that these foul Blemishes be taken away: Let these Mischiefs be removed, to which, if in any Republick, or Kingdom, Allowance were given, it would in a little Time fall headlong into Ruin, and would not, by any Means, be able to subsist long; and yet we think it is lawful for us, so that we have the doing of it ourselves, to see these Monsters brought into the Common-wealth of *Christendom*.

In the Orders of the *Religious*, there is another Abuse to be corrected, that many of them are so degenerate, that they are grown scandalous, and their Examples pernicious to the *Seculars*. We think the *Conventual* Orders are to be abolished, not by doing to any Man that Injury of dispossessing him, but by forbidding them to admit any more; for thus, without wronging any one, they would soon be worn out, and good *Religious* might be substituted instead of them; but at present it were best, that all Children, who are not yet professed, should be taken from their Monasteries.

We think also, that as to the *Preachers* and *Confessors* that are sent out by the Fryars, there is Need of Animadversion and Amendment, that great Care should be taken by their Chief, that they be fitly qualified; and then, that they be presented to the Bishops, to whom chiefly the Church is intrusted, to be examined by them, or by fit Persons; and that without their Consent, they be not admitted to the Exercise of those Offices.

We have already said, most holy Father, that it is by no Means lawful to make any Gain by the Use of the Keys; in which Matter the Words of *Christ* stand firm and sure; *Freely ye have received, freely give*. This does not only belong to your Holiness to take notice of, but to all who share in this Power; and therefore, we desire that it may be observed by your Legates and Nuntios: For, as the Custom which has much prevailed dishonours this See, and makes the People clamorous, so the contrary would be exceedingly for the Ornament of the one, and for the Edification of the other.

Christian People are disturbed by another Abuse, which concerns *Nuns* that are under the Care of the *Conventual* Fryars, wherein most Monasteries, publick Sacrileges are committed to the intolerable Scandal of the Citizens. Let your Holiness deprive the *Conventuals* of this Care, and give it to the Ordinaries, or to others as you shall see Cause.

The publick Schools are most perniciously abused, especially in *Italy*, where many Professors of Philosophy teach that which is wicked; yea, in Churches themselves, there are most ungodly Disputes; and if any of them are pious for the Matter, yet divine Things are handled very irreverently as to the Manner, and that before the People. Therefore, where there are publick Schools, the Bishops should be required to admonish the Readers not to teach Impiety to young Men; but to shew the Weakness of natural Light in Questions concerning God, concerning the Lateness, or the Eternity of the World, and the like; and to direct them to pious Belief. And as no publick Disputations about such Questions should be permitted; so neither concerning Matters of Divinity, which by this Means would lose very much the Esteem and Re-

rence of the People: Those Things should be disputed privately, and other Questions in Natural Philosophy be chosen for publick Disputations: Which Caution is to be given to all other Bishops, especially of the greater Cities where such Disputations use to be held. The same Care is to be taken about the Printing of Books; and all Princes are to be written to, not to suffer any Sort of Books whatsoever, without farther Examination, to be printed in their Territories. The Care of which Thing should likewise be given to the Ordinaries. And because *Erasmus's* Colloquies are now-a-days wont to be read to Children in Grammar Schools, in which there are many Things apt to dispose uneducated Minds to Impiety; therefore the reading of those Colloquies, and the like, in such Places, ought to be prohibited.

Now, besides these Things which refer to the appointing of your Ministers in this Care of the whole Church, and then in the Administration and Government thereof, your Holiness may please to take notice, that there are other Abuses introduced likewise.

The first concerns Apostate Fryars, or *Religious*, who, notwithstanding their solemn Vow, draw back from the Religion of their Order, and obtain Leave not to wear the Habit of it: No, not the least Appearance thereof, but only some handsome Habit of a Clergyman. We say nothing now of Lucre; for we noted at first, that Merchandise was not to be made of the Power of the Keys received from *Christ*: We now say, that this Kind of Dispensation is not to be used: For the Habit is the Sign of the Profession, to which these Apostates ought to be held; nor has the Bishop Power in this Case; so true it is, that this Liberty ought not to be given to these Men. Neither, when they have broken away from their Vow to God, should they be suffered to enjoy Benefices, or Cures.

There is another Abuse in the Collectors for the *Holy Ghost*, for *St. Anthony*, and others of this Kind, which put Cheats upon Rusticks, and simple People, and entangle them in a World of Superstition. These Collectors, we think, ought to be taken away.

Another Abuse there is, in dispensing with a Person in Holy Orders to marry, which is not to be allowed to any, unless it be for the Preservation of human Race in any Nation, where the Cause is weighty, and of publick Concern. This is especially to be observed in these Times, in which this Liberty is violently contended for by the *Lutherans*.

We conceive it also to be an Abuse, to dispense with the Marriage of those that are in the second Degree of Consanguinity, or Affinity, unless it be for a weighty Reason. Nor should Dispensations be granted without other Degrees, but where the Cause is honest, and still without Money; unless the Parties were married before, in which Case it is lawful to impose a pecuniary Punishment, in order to Absolution from Sin already committed, and to convert it to pious Uses, such as your Holiness promotes. For, as where there is no Sin in the Use of the Keys to be done away, no Money can be demanded; so where Absolution from Sin is desired, a pecuniary Mulct may be laid, and designed for pious Uses.

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In the Absolution of a *Simoniackal* Person, there is another Abuse, and it is a dismal Thing to consider, that this Plague reigns in the Church to that Degree, that some are not afraid to be guilty of Simony, and to go presently for Absolution. The Truth is, they buy their Absolution, and so they keep the Benefice they bought before.

We do not say, that your Holiness wants Power to forgive that Punishment which is by positive Law appointed for this Crime, but that you ought not by any Means to do it; that so horrible a Wickedness may be more effectually suppressed, than which there is none that breeds more Mischief and Scandal.

Neither is Liberty to be given to Clergymen, unless for an urgent Cause, to dispose of the Goods of the Church by Will; lest that which is for the Relief of the Poor be converted to private Pleasure, and the Luxury of Building.

But neither are Faculties to receive Confessions, with the Use of a portable Altar, easily to be granted; for thus Ecclesiastical Affairs grow cheap, and that Sacrament also, which is the Principal of all the rest. Nor are Indulgences to be given above once a Year in every greater City. Nor ought a Commutation of Vows to be lightly yielded to, but where the Good is equivalent, and will bear it out.

It has been a Custom also to change the Wills of Testators, who have left a certain Sum of Money for pious and charitable Purposes; which, by the Authority of your Holiness, is transferred to the Heir of the Legatee, under Pretence of their Poverty, &c. and this is gained by Money too. Surely, unless a great Change happens in the Estate of the Heir, by the Death of the Testator, so that the Testator himself, in all Likelihood, if he had foreseen that Change, would also have changed his Will, it is an impious Thing to depart from the last Will and Testament of the Dead. Of filthy Lucre we have spoken so often, that we must mention it no more.

And thus, according to our Capacity, having summarily described all those Things which belong to the Duty of the Supreme Bishop of the Catholick Church, it remains, that we say something of that which belongs to the *Roman* Bishop. This City of *Rome* is both the Mother of the Church, and the Mistress of other Churches; wherefore the Worship of God and Purity of Manners should flourish there most of all: But yet, holy Father, all Strangers are scandalized, when they go into *St. Peter's* Church, and see what slovenly, ignorant Priests say Mass there, so habited and cloathed, that they could not appear cleanly in a nasty House. This is so mighty an Offence to all, that the most Reverend the *Arch-presbyter* and the *Pœnitentiary* are to take care of this Thing, and remove the Scandal: And the like Order is to be taken in other Churches.

Nay, in this City, Whores walk about as if they were goodly Matrons, or they ride upon Mules, and are at Noon-day followed up and down by Men of the best Account in the Families of Cardinals; and by Clergymen. We see no such Degeneracy in any other City but in this, which is to be an Example to all others. These Whores live in splendid Houses: It is a filthy Abuse, and ought to be mended.

In this City also, Malice and Animosity reign amongst private Citizens ; to bring whom to a right Understanding, and to make them Friends, is a main Part of the Bishop : Wherefore some of the Cardinals, who are fittest for this Service, should be appointed to take up Quarrels, and to reconcile the Citizens to one another.

There are Hospitals, Pupils, and Widows in this City ; the principal Care of which belongs to the Bishop and Prince : Wherefore your Holiness may please to take a fit Care about all this, by some Cardinals that are Men of Probity.

Now these are the Things, Most Holy Father, which we, for the present, have brought together, as our Capacity would permit ; that, as to us it seems needful, they may be corrected ; but you, in your Goodness and Wisdom, will make a more perfect Judgment of every Thing. We indeed, though we have not answered the Greatness of the Concern, which is too hard for us, yet at least have satisfied our own Consciences ; and cannot but conceive great Hope, that under your Government we may see the Church of God purged, fair as a Dove, at Harmony with itself, and united into one Body ; to the never-dying Honour of your Name. You have taken to yourself the Name of *Paul* ; we hope you will imitate the Charity of *Paul*, who was a chosen Vessel, to carry the Name of *Christ* among the Gentiles. We hope that you are chosen to restore the Name of *Christ*, forgotten by the Nations, and even by us of the Clergy ; that hereafter it may live in our Hearts, and appear in our Actions, to heal our Diseases, to reduce the Flock of *Christ* into one Sheep-fold, to remove from us that Indignation and Vengeance of God which we deserve, which is now ready to fall upon us, which now hangs over our Heads.

The Names of the Cardinals, &c.

Gaspar, Card. *Contarene*.

Job. Peter, Card. *Theatine*, afterwards *Paul IV.*

James, Card. *Sodelet*.

Reginald Pole, Card. of *England*.

Frederick, Archbishop of *Brundisium*.

Job. Matthew Gibet, Bishop of *Verona*.

Gregory Cortese, Abbot of *St. George at Venice*.

Fryar Thomas, Master of the Sacred Palace.

The Advice given, by some Bishops assembled at Bononia, to Pope JULIUS III. concerning the Way to establish the Roman Church.

Most Holy Father,

YOUR Legate at Bononia has given us to understand, that 'tis your Pleasure, that we, the *Bishops* lately assembled in this City, by your Command, should, three by three, separately consult about the most effectual Means of *establishing* and *advancing* the *Apostolic See*, which is at present so much troubled, assaulted, and weakned by the perfidious *Lutherans*; and that we should deliver in Writing our Opinions of this Matter, that *your Holiness* may compare them together, and deliberate with yourself about them as you desire. We therefore, the three *Bishops*, whose Names are to this, though neither our Prudence, Learning, or Experience in Business, does avail much, will yet in Obedience to your Will, distinctly declare our Opinions, with such Submission, that yet all shall be referred to the Judgment of *your Holiness*.

But in the first Place, with all Reverence imaginable, we would admonish *your Holiness* to take care lest the same Thing happen to this our Advice, which we remember lately happen'd in another Case, when some Cardinals, with select Bishops, Nine in all, consulted about this very Thing, viz. *The Way of reforming the Church*, and presented a Paper, in which they offer'd their Opinions: For the Things there, that ought to have been suppress'd and conceal'd, presently stole Abroad, and were scatter'd and dispersed even as far as *Germany*; and so all our Councils were discover'd and laid open to our Enemies the *Lutherans*. And these Things were of wonderful Advantage to them in the Opposition they made against us; and 'tis incredible, what hatred of us they rais'd by the Books they published upon those Advices, affirming, that we ourselves confess there are many Errors and Abuses in the Church, which we are so far from being willing to correct ourselves, that we do not stick to defend and maintain them by force, and persecute with the utmost Rigour any one that dares but to open his Lips about the necessary Amendment of them.

The divulging that Council, most holy Father, believe us, was a great disadvantage to our Affairs; God forgive him, by whose Fault or Negligence it happened: But truly there ought to be all Care and Diligence used, that this our Advice never come Abroad; otherwise we shall add Affliction to Affliction, and heap Evil upon Evil; for we strike at Things of the highest Concern, and freely, without any respect of Persons, we fall directly on the main Cause; first, shew the Disease, and then offer a convenient Remedy. But these, we say, are to be kept as Secrets.

When

When we had well, and long considered, what was the State of this weighty Controversy, recollecting all Things from the Beginning, (for we should always run back to the first Principles) we at last found it to be this: The *Lutherans* hold, and confess all the Articles of the Apostles Creed, that of *Nice*, and *Athanasius*. This is very certain; for we ought not to deny (especially amongst ourselves) what we all know to be so true. And these *Lutherans* refuse to admit of any other Doctrine, but that alone, of which the *Prophets*, *Christ*, and his *Apostles* were Authors; and wish likewise, that all Men would be content with those few Things that were observed in the Apostles Time, or immediately after, and would imitate the Primitive Churches; nor think of receiving any Traditions which it is not apparent, as the Light, were delivered and instituted by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and his Apostles. Thus do our Adversaries judge; but indeed they judge ill: We, on the other hand, following the Opinion of your Holiness, would have all Traditions, Constitutions, Rules, and Ceremonies, which have hitherto been brought into the Church, by the Fathers, Councils, or any private Man, (with a good Intention) believed, and received as Doctrine necessary to Salvation: But particularly as to Tradition, we believe, as an Article of Faith, what the Council of *Trent*, lawfully assembled, with the Holy Ghost, has decreed in the 3d Session, *viz.* That our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and his Apostles, delivered more Precepts, relating both to Manners and Faith, by Word of Mouth, than are in the Scriptures; and that these, without writing, were handed down to us; And although we can't prove this clearly, (for amongst ourselves we plainly acknowledge, that we have no Proofs, but some sort of Conjectures, to make out what we teach concerning Tradition) yet we confess this to be true, because the *Roman Church* maintains it. This, in short, is the Hinge on which the whole Controversy turns; hence these Tumults and Contentions proceed. But, we ought to venture all to keep their Doctrine from spreading any farther, although it has got too far already, which, in Truth, can never enough be lamented: For 'tis no Trifle that is under debate, but the Safety and Welfare of your whole State, and of us, who are all your Creatures and Members, is now at Stake. For in the Days of the Apostles, (to tell you the Truth, but you must be silent) and for several Years after them, there was no Mention made of either Pope or Cardinal; there were none of these large Revenues belonging to Bishops and Priests; no sumptuous Temples were raised; there were no Monasteries, Priors or Abbots, much less any of these Doctrines, these Laws, these Constitutions, nor this Sovereignty which we now exercise over People and Nations.

But the Ministers of all Churches (as well that of *Rome* as others) were willingly obedient to Kings, Princes and Governors. Let your Holiness therefore judge how hard it would go with us, if, by ill Destiny, we should again be reduced to the Primitive Poverty and Humility, again subjected to the wretched Servitude of being under the Command of others: This is therefore, as we said before, a Matter of the highest Moment.

Moreover,

Moreover, this, in our Judgment, is the only Way of avoiding this grievous Danger. We find, upon full Examination of the Matter, that the Glory, Authority, and Power of the Church first arose, when shrewd, discreet, active Bishops began to preside over it, who used their Opportunities to obtain from the Emperors, that they would, by their Authority and Power, establish the Primacy and supreme Power over other Churches, in this See. And this Pope *Boniface III*, amongst others, is said to have received from the Emperor *Phocas*. We observed likewise, that the Affairs of the Church began more and more to flourish every Day, when Cardinals were created, the Number of Bishops was increased, and so many, and so goodly Orders of Monks and Nuns were first founded. Nor can we doubt, but those Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Monks and Nuns, have, by their Cunning, their Inventions, Rites and Ceremonies, turn'd away the Church from that ancient Doctrine which kept her so poor and humble, and have, by these Arts, procured her Favour and Authority. We ought therefore to take the same Measures to preserve her in that State to which they have raised her; that is, all kind of Application and Wit is to be employed; the Number of Cardinals, Bishops, Monks, and Nuns is to be encreased, and to speak particularly, your Holiness is in the first Place to take this Course.

France, Italy, and Spain (notwithstanding the *Lutherans* boast that the greatest Part of *Europe* is in their Interest) are content with your Empire, the last of which does most religiously observe all your Laws and Constitutions, does not change or innovate in any Thing. And as for that Nation, you need not be solicitous; for you can find but few amongst the *Spaniards*, who have not an Abhorrence for the Doctrine of *Luther*: But if there are any Hereticks amongst them, they are such as rather deny that the *Messiah* is yet come, or that Mens Souls are immortal, than question the Power of your Holiness. But, without doubt, this Heresy of theirs seems to us more sufferable than that of *Luther*; and the Reason is plain, for these *Marani*, though they believe nothing of *Christ*, or a future State, are yet wont to hold their Tongues, or at most, laugh amongst themselves, and in the mean Time are not at all wanting in their Duty to the *Roman Church*.

But the *Lutherans* do not behave themselves thus; they openly dissent from us, and endeavour what they can to weaken and ruin our whole State. *France* and *Italy* seem plainly to affect Innovations; and most of these Nations, according to the Copy that *Germany* has set them, are ready to lay hold on the next Occasion to fall off from us: Moreover, there are many eminent Cities in those two Provinces, who have no Bishop of their own, but are subject to the Bishops of the greater and most powerful Cities. Now your Holiness should chuse out about a Hundred of these, and create so many new Bishops to govern them; then add fifty more to the present Number of Cardinals, and out of all these Bishops, I say, and Cardinals, as well old as new, select thirty or forty of the most subtile, and most versed in Courts and Business, who are skilful in the Cannon and Civil Laws; keep these about your Person, let these be your Counsellors and Ministers in your most weighty Affairs, and private

vate Concerns; and send all the rest, as well those Bishops that are Cardinals, as others, into their respective Dioceses; and order them to entertain the People with Plays, Shows, and all Manner of Diversions; and let them present themselves to the People both in the Church, and riding frequently about the City, in as much Pomp and Splendor as they do at *Rome*. So will it come to pass, that the common People, who admire these Pomps and Ceremonies, and are wont to make much Money, where there are many rich Men, will at last be brought over, either by Courtesy, or their own Advantage, to favour your Side; and we need not fear for the future, what *Luther*, *Brentius*, *Melancthon*, or that late Heretick *Vergerius*, shall write. Oh! how much did it concern us, that he should not have escap'd from us, but have here been either clapt into Prison, or thrown into the *Tiber*? For he who was brought up in your publick and private Affairs, is acquainted with a great deal of our Concerns, and of all our Councils. But your Holiness has long Hands, and in your great Wisdom will find a Remedy for this Evil; for it is, and ever will be lawful to take all Ways to free ourselves from the Snares of our Enemies; nor did we think fit to name those Men, but for a very good Reason; a Word to the wise: Then let your Holiness take care that these Cardinals and Bishops that reside in their Dioceses, bestow Benefices on the Children of their Citizens; for this is an admirable and ready Way to keep their Minds steady in the Faith; and we know many of your Subjects who would long ago have embraced *Luther's* Doctrine, but for this one Reason, that either they themselves, or their Brothers, or their Sons, enjoyed some Ecclesiastical Preferment. Nor would it be amiss to send a great many of those Priests that they call *Chietini* and *Paulini*, into *France* and *Italy*: For, to say the Truth, these common Priests and Monks do really abuse the Mass too much, which they say with little or no Devotion, chopping it up in haste, and making a publick Sale of it; besides, they live such dissolute, profligate Lives, that Men deservedly give no longer Credit to them, nor suffer themselves to be persuaded (though our Sophisters take great Pains about it) that a wicked, bebauched Fellow can draw *Christ* out of Heaven to the Altar, free Souls from Purgatory, and obtain Forgiveness of Sins, both to themselves and others, and all this by the *Works done*; therefore these new Priests, the *Chietini*, because they say Mass slower, and with greater Gravity, take no Hire, but are content with their Meat and Cloathing, and in the course of their Lives carry a greater shew of Goodness, will restore Mass to its Primitive Authority, and recover its Reputation. You should likewise make it your Business to get new Orders of Monks founded every where; for they, believe us, do great Service in the Establishment of your Dominion; for you may consider how they have encreased it by the Confessions, Preaching, and Worship which they have brought into the Church; besides, we are taught this by long Experience, that the Sect of the *Lutherans* has been less able to intrude itself there, where there are the greatest Numbers of Monks (especially *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*) who have ever stoutly maintained your, and overthrown the Adversaries Doctrine.

Likewise give Orders to the Cardinals and Bishops who reside, as well as to the Priests and Monks, that they institute new Fraternities, as they call them,
in

in Honour of this and that Saint. For our Brother *Thomas Stella*, or *Todeschin*, boasts that he contributed much to the Establishment and enlarging of your Empire, by preaching the People, in many Parts of *Italy*, into a Zeal for these Fraternities, especially that of *Corpus Christi*. Moreover, let them make Supplications with the greatest Show and Pomp imaginable; let them cause new Statues and Images to be made; burn Lamps and Candles before them; and use all Sorts of Instruments and Organs in their Temples; these are the Things, I say, with which the People are chiefly delighted, and for whose Sake they have almost forgot that Doctrine which was so destructive and pernicious to us.

Nor are these, which we have mentioned, the only Things to be observed, but the most Reverend the Cardinals and Bishops ought likewise to be mindful of this.

That they themselves sing Mass with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence they can possibly, and also consecrate Fonts, give Orders, purify Churches, Altars, and Burying-Places, christen Bells, veil Nuns, in the Eyes of the People, and in the Sight of all the Congregation; for the Vulgar are given to admire, and to be amused with these Things, in the Contemplation of which their Minds are, as it were, so intangled in a Snare, that they have no Relish for any other Food, or any Inclination to any other Doctrine; as indeed, (to say the Truth) they were designed for that Purpose; and really, in our Judgment, these Things should be augmented and multiplied; for, if the introducing and appointing those few, which we have now mentioned, were of such Use to the Settlement of your Kingdom, of what Advantage would it be, were there some new ones added? For Example, that threefold Oil for the *Crismes*, and for the Sick, is consecrated every Year upon *Maunday-Thursday*; and that by one Bishop, together with twelve Priests, with that thrice repeated Adoration and Salutation, with those Exorcisms, with those Breathings upon it, and with that rich Balm which is usual. Let your Holiness appoint, that the Consecration be not performed under five Salutations, and twenty Priests. Command likewise, that some other precious Liquor, besides Balm, such as *Manna* be added; because we find it rained that in the Wilderness, which therefore deservedly ought to take Place amongst our Ceremonies. Likewise, as often as the Water of *Baptism* is consecrated, it is customary to put Salt and Oil into it, and to dip the Paschal Taper thrice in it, and to divide it into four Parts. Order that, moreover, they mingle some Vinegar with it; for that was given *Christ* to drink on the Cross, and therefore that ought to be of some Use amongst the Ceremonies. Also, in the Dedication of Churches, the Bishops are wont to draw all the Letters of the *Latin* and *Greek* Alphabet with their Crosier in the Dust; command them to write the *Hebrew* Letters too, if they know them, (though that does not signify much; for they do not understand *Greek*, and hardly *Latin*, and yet they can write it, and 'tis the same Thing as if they knew them) for the Reason of *Christ's* Crucifixion was written on the Cross in those three Languages, *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and whereas the Bishops only anoint the Palms of the

Priests Hands, order them to anoint both the Palms and Backs of their Hands, as well as their Head and whole Face.

For if that little Oil has so much Virtue to sanctify them, surely a greater Quantity of Oil will have more Virtue for that Purpose. Lastly, when Bells are christen'd, they make a Perfume of *Frankincense* and other *Incense*, appoint that *Musk* and *Amber* be mixt with it, to raise and increase the Religion of the Thing, and the Wonder of the People. Once more, when any Bishop sets himself to officiate in any Divine Service with Pomp and Solemnity, he ought to have many Ornaments to distinguish him from ordinary Priests, such as (to omit the rest) the Bones and Relicks of some dead Man, which he usually wears at his Breast, set in Gold, in the Form of a Cross. Do you command him to hang, a whole naked Leg, Arm, or Head of some Saint about his Neck, by a good thick Cord; for that will contribute very much to the Encrease of the religious Astonishment of all that see it. The Truth is, these Ceremonies were all invented and continued by Popes; you therefore that are Pope, may, if you please, augment them; nay rather indeed, for that Purpose and Design which we mentioned, ought to do it. Besides, we would advise, that your Holiness should lay your Commands on those Cardinals and Bishops that happen to reside in their Diocess, that they take care to have *Logick*, *Sophistry*, and the Art of the *School-men*, *Metaphysicks*, the *Decretals*, *Sextus*, the *Clementines*, the *Extravagants*, and the Rules of *Chancery* publicly taught and read in their Cities. It had been well, if Men had ever applied themselves industriously to the reading such Sort of Books; for then our Affairs had never been in so bad a Posture as they are; but despising this Sort of Learning, they began to employ themselves in learning *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in a little Time, to examine the Translation of the Bible by the true Original, and to study Divinity, and the antient Fathers of the Church; and hence sprang all the Misfortunes we lie under; therefore you must endeavour, that setting these Studies aside, Men should again fall to the Study of the *School-men*, and of your Canon-Law, by which 'tis manifest, the Study of Divinity was in a Manner overwhelmed and buried. But let your Holiness use Caution in this; for we mentioned before only the *Decretal*, and *Sextus*, and the *Clementines*, and the *Extravagants*, and not that which is called the *Decretum*, which ought not to seem strange; for 'tis a pernicious Book, and lessens your Authority extreamly, although it seems in some Places to enlarge it: For, amongst other Things, in several Places, it denies, That the Pope can add the least Tittle to that Doctrine which our Saviour delivered to us, and the Apostles taught; for thus says the Canon, *Transferat, &c.* 24. q. 3. "They change
" Truth into a Lye, who preach any other Thing, than what they received
" from the Apostles." This is a downright *Lutheran* Maxim; for what else do our Adversaries daily inculcate, than that it is not lawful to depart, in the least Degree, from those Things that were in Use amongst the Apostles, But who of us doth not every Day often depart from them? Indeed, in our Churches, we scarce retain (as we hinted at the Beginning) the least Shadow of that Doctrine and Discipline which flourished in the Times of the Apostles,
but

but have brought in quite another of our own. Nay, we are expressly called Liars by that *Decretum*, inasmuch as we have done this; yet we have done it by the Advice and Instructions of Popes; nay, by their peremptory Order and Command. But we wish there were not so many Canons as there are of this Kind, that enjoin Things directly contrary to what the Popes, and all of us do every Day (we speak of Matters of Faith and Doctrine, not of Manners.) Take one or two of them for Instance: Thus says the Canon that begins *Contra 25. q. 1.* "Nothing can be established contrary to the Constitutions of the Fathers, nor any Thing alter'd, no, not by the Authority of this See." And then another Canon, that begins *Ideo, &c.* says, "Thus by the divine Permission, we are so made Pastors of Men, that we ought not in the least to transgress whatever our Fathers, in their Sacred Canons or Civil Laws, have appointed; for we go against their most wholesome Institutions, if we do not keep inviolably, what they according to divine Pleasure have ordained." Do not Pope *Zozimus* and *Leo* the Third, (nay and the whole *Roman Church*) plainly here declare aloud, that the Authority of this See can do nothing against the Canons, against the Law, and against the Ordinances of the antient Fathers, which ought to be religiously observed? How therefore shall we answer our Adversaries, when they press and urge us with this, and turn that of the fifth Psalm upon us? There is no Certainty in their Mouth; for they accuse us of Lightness and Inconstancy, who have such express Canons, which forbid the Popes to alter the Decrees of the Fathers, or to do any thing contrary to them; and notwithstanding all this, there is nothing more frequent than the Presumption of altering what has been established by the antient Fathers and Councils. How, I say, shall we answer this; especially since the Book of Decrees is so celebrated and famous, and is in all Schools, Courts, of Judicature, and Churches, held in the greatest Honour and Esteem? And besides those few which we have given you a Taste of, it contains a great many others that favour the Cause of our Adversaries; and favour it in such a Manner, that they seem to have been penned by some of them. Moreover, we shall consider of some Course to be taken with these Decrees; for it seems very absurd, that any thing should be taught which is contrary to what your Holiness does not only do, but commands to be done.

But we have reserved the most considerable Advice which we could at this Time give your Holiness, to the last: And here you must be awake, and exert all your Force to hinder, as much as you can possibly, the Gospel from being read, especially (in the vulgar Tongue) in all the Cities that are under your Dominion. Let that little of it which they have in the Mass serve their Turn, nor suffer any Mortal to read any thing more; for as long as Men were contented with that little, Things went to your Mind; but grew worse and worse from that Time, that they commonly read more. This in short is the Book that has, beyond all others, raised those Storms and Tempests in which we are almost driven to Destruction. And really, whoever shall diligently weigh the Scripture, and then consider all the Things that are usually done in our Churches, will find there is great Difference

betwixt them; and that this Doctrine of ours is very unlike, and in many Things quite repugnant to it. And no sooner does any Man discover this, being set on by some of our learned Adversaries, but he never ceases bawling against us, till he has made the whole Matter publick, and rendered us odious to all Men. Therefore those Papers are to be stifled; but you must use Caution and Diligence in it, lest that create us greater Disturbance.

^k D. *John Della Casa*, Archbishop of *Beneventum*, the Legate of your See at *Venice*, behaved himself handsomely in that Business; for although he did not openly and avowedly condemn that Book of the Gospel, or order it to be suppress'd; yet, in an obscure dissembling Manner, he insinuated as much; whilst in that long Catalogue of Heteticks which he put out, he has found Fault with Part of the Doctrines maintained in it; particularly some certain Chapters which seem most to make against us. Seriously, a renowned divine Action, whatever others chatter; for at first Blush it seem'd ridiculous to many, that he should condemn so many Authors at once, who writ about Religion, when himself had never read so much as one Syllable of Divinity, and published I know not what, to which he gave this Title, *Of the Divine Art*. But this is nothing, and they who censure this in him, have little Business of their own to employ them, and shew themselves to be great Novices in the Court of *Rome*. For he, as he is a true and eminent Courtier, spake freely what was his Opinion, which we think makes much for his Credit.

It now remains, *Most Holy Father*, That we should in short make a Reply to what may perhaps be objected by you, that having done this we may finish our Epistle.

Your Holiness, therefore, perhaps may say, If it is at this Time so dangerous a Thing to hold a Council of these Bishops, though few in Number, lest some of them should dare to raise a Clamour, and be severe against my Dignity to undermine it, how much more dangerous would it be, if besides these there were an hundred others created? We shall offer three Things in Answer to this: *First*, Look (as you generally do) that those Bishops, who are to be created, be ignorant and unlearned, but very skilful in the Affairs of Court, and addicted to the Interest of your Family; for that alone will suffice. Then avoid a Council as much as you can, though *Cæsar* be very urgent, clamorous, and importunate. *Lastly*, If only to save your Fame and Reputation, you desire, or would seem to desire a Council, you may re-assemble that. But (as has been hitherto) let there only be admitted who you are certain will go on your Side, and let the others be kept out, and driven away. But of all Things, be most careful that no Embassies from any of the *German* Princes, who are of the *Ausburg* Confession, come into the Council; for, good God! what Mischief, what Damage did we many Ways receive by the Embassy which the Duke of *Wirtemberg* sent to *Trent*? I wish *Crescentius* the Legate had faggoted them up together, both *Theoderic* of *Pliennigen*, and those two

^k Author of the Poem *Dell' urno*.

Doctors,

Doctors, *Werner* of *Mucbingen*, and *Hieronymus Gerardus*, as well as those two scurvy Divines, *Brentius* and *Burlinus*, (for those were the Duke's Embassadors) and so thrown them into the next River *Atbesis*; nor should he have spared *Sleidan*, the Envoy from the R. P. of *Straßburgh*.

For since they could not obtain their Audience of the Council (and Hereticks are not worthy to be heard) they returned into their Countries with greater Animosity against your Holiness than they had before; there they write Books against us, and embroil every thing. It had been therefore much better Policy not to have kept our Faith with them, (as our Canons order) but made them Inhabitants and Freemen of the River *Atbesis*, as an Example to all other Hereticks, that they presume not to come near our most sacred and holy Councils.

These are the Things, *Most Holy Father*, which, in Obedience to your Holiness, we thought fit to offer to you, being ready to have given better if we could: We truly have spoke freely and ingenuously what we thought; but we must again and again put you in Mind to be careful that these Things be not divulged; and if you act according to our Advice, we have no small Hopes that your Holiness will preserve *France* and *Italy*; (for, as we said, we have no Apprehensions of *Spain*) in the Faith, and establish and strengthen your Kingdom. As for *Germany* (to tell you the Truth) we can by no Means hope it will ever be reduced under your Command; therefore we advise you to throw away all Thoughts of it; for if *Cæsar*, when victorious, after he had granted so many Articles, which are plainly repugnant to the *Catholick Church*, (as you may see in his *Interim*) could not bring that Nation to an Agreement with us, you may be certain there is no Way left to regain it. Add to this, that the People in thirty-six Years are quite degenerated into another Race; for they who were born and educated under your Government, who had a singular Sense of their Duty to you imprinted on their Nature, are dead; and there is on the other Hand a Succession of young Men, who, as they had no Experience of your Doctrine, neither love nor admire you; insomuch as they do not stick (Oh Villainy!) to call you *Antichrist*. We know there are some indifferent good Scholars who favour us heartily, and really wish to restore those Things that were delivered them by our Ancestors, and reinstate you in your former Power; this they endeavour with all their Might, and sometimes scatter their Notions in Company, sometimes publish Books to maintain and support the sinking Papacy; but these are much the fewest, and of no Authority or Judgment, therefore they can do nothing. But it is wonderful to see with how much greater Vehemency and Affection the *Germans* are carried to hear those who teach the *Lutheran* Heresy, than to frequent Mass, or hear them that preach your Doctrine. Lastly, All *Italy* saw the Letter of Cardinal *Pole*, your Legate, who is to reclaim *England* from Heresy; who writ in this Manner:

“ We stay'd for some Days at *Tilinga* and *Ausburgh*, and made most diligent Enquiry into all Matters belonging to Religion; but we found nothing of this Kind that could please us. For the Churches of our Adversaries
“ are

“ are every Day wonderfully frequented, and their Preachers followed with
 “ great Alacrity : Ours, on the other Hand, are forsaken ; and if you saw our
 “ Churches, you would call them Desarts, there are so few, and those I know
 “ not who, old Men and Women, that come to Mass.” Thus he, and his
 Friends, particularly D. *Aloysius Priulus*, wrote a great deal to this Purpose.
 In short, we may despair of that Nation ; therefore your Holiness may very
 lawfully exact something more than ordinary from those who are still your
 Subjects ; that what you lose out of your Revenue by their Revolt may be
 thence supplied. But we would likewise admonish you of this, that in raising
 Money out of the *Datary* and *Pœnitentiary*, as they call it, and other Offices,
 as also in the Exaction of Tithes and Tribute, you use Circumspection ; and
 though you are desirous to pick up Money from every thing, yet carry your-
 self so in it as to silence the Clamours of People for the future. It is certain
 indeed, that all the Riches of the World are yours, who are *Christ*’s Vicar,
 to whom the Possession of all Things belongs ; and therefore you may law-
 fully take what you please any where : But do this neatly and dextrously ; for
 (let us confess the Truth) it is incredible with how great Hatred People are
 incensed against you, and what horrid Things are spread amongst the Multitude
 concerning you ; and there has hardly been any Pope, to whom, both in Words
 and Writing, they have more manifestly declared their Aversion. For, as for
England, upon which you value yourself so much, as if it were to be ascrib’d
 to your good Fortune, that that Queen takes Care to extirpate Heresy out of
 the Kingdom, you have certainly no Share in that Praise : Then we fear lest
 that sudden Felicity should not be lasting. Besides, the Queen stiles herself
 Supreme Head of that Kingdom, next and immediately after *Christ* ; so that,
 though the old Worship and Ceremonies were never so much restored, your
 Power and Authority is not to be retrieved. In short, you must be very
 watchful, and face the Storm, unless you are desirous to venture all at one Cast.

Wishing your Holiness all Health, we, humbly prostrate, kiss your sacred
 Feet.

Your Holiness’s most devoted

Servants and Creatures,

Bononia, Oct.

20, 1553.

Vincentius de Durantibus, Bishop of *Termulæ*.

Giles Talceta, Bishop of *Caprulæ*.

Gerards Burdragus, Bishop of *Theſſalonica*.

The

The Church of ENGLAND's Complaint in Vindication of Her Loyalty.

IF ever Mother had just Reason to complain of her Children, and expostulate the Case with them, certainly it is I. If ever Children did dishonour their Parent, or at any Time blast her Reputation, they are now mine.

I, who formerly gloried in my stedfast and unshaken Loyalty; I, who by my many Canons, and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, established the Regal Authority against all *Papal* and *Popular, Foreign* and *Domestick Power*; I, who so often declared it unlawful for any Subject, upon *any Pretence whatsoever*, to take up *offensive* or *defensive* Arms against their *Sovereign*; I, who contemned my Sister Churches, as teaching Doctrines and Positions lessening that *towering Loyalty* which I professed; and particularly her of *Rome*, for maintaining a foreign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though only in meer spiritual Matters; now find my Reputation tainted, my Loyalty brought in question, and my constant Adherence to my own Canons and Constitutions, not only doubted of, but denied; whilst the Malice of some of my Children bring in a foreign Power to invade my Sovereign's Rights, under a meer Pretence of supporting my Grandeur; and raise popular Tumults for the establishing my Peace; whilst the irregular Zeal of others, makes them draw their Swords against their and my Head and Sovereign in the most unnatural Quarrel; and others, who should have stood up to support my Honour, not only look on with an affected Silence, but by covert Ways abet *Rebellion*.

He who spares the Rod, says Solomon, spoils the Child; and this I fear has been my Case. The Evil seems, by my Neglect, to have taken Root, and spread its Branches to a large Extent; and should I, in this Juncture of Affairs, make use of my maternal Power, or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and publickly disinherit, or denounce them to be no Members of my Body, who have broken my *Canons* and *Constitutions*, to which an Excommunication, *ipso facto*, is annexed, I might fear to exasperate, rather than recal my Children to a due Obedience: Nay, I might justly apprehend a vast Diminution in my Numbers; and they who have given this Wound to their Mother's Honour, by calling in, or abetting a *Foreign Power* against her *Head*, would also contemn my *Censures*, and never sue for *Absolution*.

But *Losers*, they say, *have Leave to speak*; I hope then it may be allowed me, even at this Time, to speak my Mind freely, and read a Lecture of Duty and Obedience to my Children.

And to whom shall I address myself, but to them whose Ecclesiastical Dignity has given them not only Authority to teach my Children their Duty, but

to compel them also by Censures to it; and particularly to you my *seven Sons*, who of late gained so vast a Reputation, by opposing Majesty, that no Emblem, but the *seven golden Candlesticks*, was thought sufficient to express your Glory: And this so much the rather, because it is surmised, that Occasion has been taken, from your Examples, to advance too far, and pass over the Bulwarks of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* into the open Campaigns of *Rebellion*.

You know what *Articles*, *Canons*, and *Constitutions* have been established by me in your Predecessor's Times; and what Obligations all my Children have lain under by them: But you know also, how little they have been put in Execution.

You know, that from my first Establishment, I declared in my 37th Article, That, "The King's Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all *Estates* of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in *all Causes* doth appertain, and is not, nor ought not, to be subject to *any foreign Jurisdiction*." And this without any Limitation.

You know also, that in the ¹ *Canons* and *Constitutions* set forth in the first Year of King *James* the First, "Not only the inferior Clergy, but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself, is obliged to keep and observe faithfully, and (as much as in them lies) see that others keep and observe all and every the *Statutes* and *Laws* confirming the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* of the Kings of *England*. And that all who have Cure of Souls, Preachers, &c. shall teach, that *all foreign and usurped Power* has for just Causes been taken away and abolished; and therefore no *Obedience* or *Subjection* is in *any Manner due*, in these his Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions, to *any foreign Power whatsoever*. — But that the regal Authority is the first and supreme, next under *God*, to which *all Persons* are obliged by the Law of *God* to pay *all Fidelity* and *Obedience* above any other Power upon Earth."

That in the 2d of those *Canons*, "They are to be excommunicated ^m *ipso facto*, who shall presume, in any Manner, to hurt or lessen the said Regal Primacy, established by the *Laws* of the Kingdom: And that this *Excommunication* shall not be taken off, but by the Archbishop, and that, not till they repent, and publickly recal those *impious Errors*."

From whence it naturally follows, that, to bring in or abet *any foreign Jurisdiction*, (without Exception) against our lawful Sovereign, upon *any Pretence whatsoever*, whether *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, is to go directly against my Doctrine delivered in my XXXIX *Articles*, against the established *Laws* of this Nation, against my *Canons* and *Constitutions*, and such a Crime as is justly called *Impious*, and incurs an *Excommunication, ipso facto*.

You know moreover, that in my latter ⁿ *Canons* and *Constitutions*, published in the Year 40 (to prevent those intestine Broils which threatened the Nation, and brought it presently after to Ruin :) Several Explanations of the

¹ Sparow's Canons, p. 271. ^m *Lædere aut extenuare.* ⁿ Sparow's Canons, p. 345.
Regal

Regal Power were commanded to be read by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon some one *Sunday* in every Quarter of the Year at Morning-Prayer; which Explanations declared at large:

1. " That the most high and sacred Order of Kings is of divine Right, and that God has given them a supreme Power to rule and command in their several Dominions, all Persons of what Rank or Estate soever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and to restrain and punish with the temporal Sword, all stubborn and wicked Doers.

2. " That the Care of God's Church is committed to Kings, who are commended by God, when the Church keeps the right Way, and taxed by him in holy Scriptures when it runs amiss." But it is no where said, that either a foreign, or domestick Power, may compel him to do, or punish him for not performing his Duty.

3. " That the Power to call and dissolve Councils, both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings within their own Realms and Territories: And when, in the first Times of *Christ's* Church, Prelates used this Power, it was therefore only, because in those Days they had no Christian Kings: And it was then so only used as in Times of Persecution, that is, with Supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their Lives unto the very Laws and Commands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civil Government, which *Christ* came to confirm, but by no Means to undermine."

From whence it follows, That the Doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience, is what is taught in the Primitive Church, as necessary to be practised even towards Heathens, and their Laws, much more ought it to be now towards Christian Princes.

4. " That for any Person, or Persons, to set up, maintain, or avow, in any their Realms or Territories respectively, any independent, co-active Power, either Papal or Popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred Ordinance, which God himself hath established; and so is treasonable against God, as well as against the King."

And certainly, if it was then my Duty to cry out against any independent, co-active Power, either Papal or Popular; it is no less my Duty now, to disavow any foreign or domestick Power, though Protestant.

5. " That for Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, offensive or defensive, upon any Pretence whatsoever [whether for Religion or Property, it matters not] is at least to resist the Powers, which are ordained of God: And though they do not invade, but only resist, *St. Paul* tells them plainly, *They shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

6. " They declare, That though Tribute and Custom, and Aid, and Subsidy, and all Manner of necessary Support and Supply, be respectively due to Kings from their Subjects, by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, for the publick Defence, Care, and Protection of them; yet nevertheless Subjects have not only Possession of, but a true and just Title to, and in all their Goods and Estates, and ought to have: And these two are so far from

“ crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and
 “ comfortable Support of both: For as it is the Duty of the Subjects to supply
 “ their King, so is it Part of the kingly Office, to support his Subjects in the
 “ Property and Freedom of their Estates.

7. “ They decreed, That if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, shall
 “ voluntarily, or carelessly neglect his Duty in publishing the said *Explications*
 “ and *Conclusions*, according to the Order above described, he shall be suspend-
 “ ed by his Ordinary, till such Time as upon his Penitence he shall give suffi-
 “ cient Assurance, or Evidence of his Amendment, &c.

8. “ They do thereby also require Archbishops, Bishops, and all other inferior
 “ Priests and Ministers, that they preach, teach, and exhort their People to obey,
 “ honour, and serve their King: And that they presume not to speak of his
 “ Majesty's Power in any other Way than in this Canon is expressed.

9. “ And lastly, if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, Preacher, or any other Ec-
 “ cleastical Person whatsoever, shall in any Sermon, Lecture, Common-
 “ Place, Determination, or Disputation, either by Word or Writing, pub-
 “ lickly maintain, or abet, any Position, or Conclusion, in Opposition or Im-
 “ peachment of the aforesaid *Explications*, or any Part or Article of them, he
 “ shall forthwith, by the Power of His Majesty's Commissioners for Causes
 “ Ecclesiastical, be excommunicated (till he repent) and suspended two Years
 “ from all the Profits of his Benefice, or other Ecclesiastical, Academical, or
 “ Scholastical Preferments, &c.”

You know also, that these *Canons* and *Constitutions* do bind you no less
 now in 88, than they did your Predecessors in 41, it having been decreed °,
 “ That whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that a most holy Synod of this Na-
 “ tion, is not representatively the true Church of *England*; or that no Persons,
 “ whether of the Clergy or Laity, are any Ways obliged by the said Decrees,
 “ touching Ecclesiastical Matters, who were not personally present in the same
 “ holy Synod, as not having given their Votes or Consent, shall be excom-
 “ municated; and by no Means to be absolved, till he have repented, and pub-
 “ lickly recalled this wicked Error.”

I must desire you also to call to mind the Oaths which you and all my other
 Children of the Clergy took, when you entered into that sacred Function, as
 also the Declarations you subscribed when you became Incumbents.

The first at your Ordination, was in these Words:

“ I A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience ¹, that the King's Highness
 is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other Highness's Dominions
 and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as Tem-
 poral; and that no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or
 ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ec-
 cleastical, or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce
 and forsake all Foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and

° Sparrow's Can. p. 333. Can. 139.

¹ Can. 140.

² Ibid. p. 145.

do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness, His Heirs and lawful Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminences, and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highness, His Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

The Second Oath, or Declaration, is before their Admission, to be Incumbents, in these Words:

I A. B. declare, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King^r; and that I abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms, by His Authority, against His Person, or against those that are commissioned by Him, &c.

These are my Articles, Canons, Constitutions, and Declarations, loyal indeed in their Expressions, and such as religiously maintain my known Doctrine of Non-resistance, upon any Account whatsoever, and Passive Obedience, where Conscience will not permit an Active. These are the Oaths you yourselves have taken, and the Declarations you have subscribed. The Censures are high, even those of Excommunication *ipso facto*; and the Laws are made equally against any Foreign or Domestick Power, Papal or Popular; Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate.

But what does it avail me, to make Laws and Canons for my Children, if they will not pay Obedience? I can see my Sister Churches religiously obeyed, and all their Children look upon themselves, as bound, under a mortal Sin, to obey their Parent, though no Excommunications were annexed; but alas! all my Commands are slighted, even from the Observation of my Feasts and Fasts, to my Allegiance to my Sovereign: And you who should stand by me, and by your Censures, as well as your Examples, vindicate my Power, and maintain my Honour, take no Care to put my Canons in Execution: Nay, which is yet more, join with the Multitude of my rebellious Children, and by a criminal Silence in this Case, equally blast my Reputation.

Consider, I pray (my Lords) your Station and your Duty. You are my principal Children, who ought to stand as Bulwarks to defend my Faith and Doctrine, and not only by your Discourses, Sermons, and Examples, teach my inferior Children their Duties, but by Ecclesiastical Censures and Excommunications compel them to it. But alas! how faintly do you comply with this Obligation?

You see a Foreign Power is entered into this Nation in an hostile Manner, pretending to give Laws to mine and your Liege Sovereign: You see Persons of all Conditions join themselves with this Invader, and take up Arms against my King, contrary to their sworn Allegiance, and in Opposition to my Doctrine of Non-resistance: And what Canon, Constitution, or Ecclesiastical Censure have you published against them? Have you pronounced this Invasion unlawful, and all the Subjects of the King of *England*, who join with the Invader, Traitors both to their King and to their God; and such as resist the Powers that are of God, and shall receive to themselves Damnation?

Have you issued out your Commands to the inferior Clergy, to read the several Explanations of the Regal Power, and preach up that Obedience which is due, and the necessary Resistance which every Subject ought to make against the Invaders of their Country? Have you excommunicated a *Burnet*, though liable to an Ecclesiastical Censure? Has any of you opened your Mouths against the most perfidious Treachery of a C——, who calls me still his Mother? In a word, what is it you have done to maintain my Doctrines, or secure me from the Reproaches that are daily cast upon me?

Is not all the World ready to say at present, what a noble Peer said some time ago to King *Charles II.* “The Church of *England* is, we see, like other Christian Churches, obedient, as long as it consists with her Interest to obey, and for a King as long as a King is for her; but setting aside those Cases, she can dispense with Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, as well as any of her Puritan Neighbours:” And have you done any Thing to remove the Obliquy?

Nay, let me come a little closer to the Point: Have not some of your Order been accused of calling this Invader into your Country? Has not the Prince himself declared as much? Does not this reflect upon my Honour as well as yours? And have you vindicated either yourselves or me? What could there have been more easy, or more seasonable, for the Vindication of both our Reputations, than to have denied the Fact, and published an Abhorrence of such a treacherous and unparallel’d Invasion? And yet we see nothing but a profound Silence; which some say, is the certain Sign of Guilt.

A Silence, I say, unless you will call your last Petition your Defence, whilst others look upon it as a publick Acknowledgment of your being guilty. A Petition, which, besides the Unpracticableness of what is desired in it, a *Free Parliament*, at a Juncture, when neither the King, Lords, nor Commons, can be free; being published at this Time, and without His Majesty’s most gracious Answer, is looked upon, by most moderate Men, as an open abetting of the Prince of *Orange*’s Design by this Invasion, and a siding with him.

Let me a little expostulate the Case with you. Pray tell me, Is not the Prince of *Orange* a Foreign Enemy? Are not many of those who join with him Subjects of the King of *England*? Has not he and they entered the Kingdom in an hostile Manner? Does he not now seize upon the King’s Revenues? Has he not stript his Soldiers, who would not join in the most treacherous Action that ever saw the Light? Has he not erected a formal Treasury? Does he not pretend to settle the Nation, redress Grievances, and force, or fright the King to a Compliance? Has he not forbid the publick Prayers for our dread Sovereign, and ordered them to be offered for himself? All this you cannot deny; pray then tell me further, What Law, Canon, or Constitution, has given him this Power, Superiority, or Dominion, over our King or Kingdom? What Case of Conscience has absolved the King’s Subjects from their Allegiance? Who is it that has dispensed with all the Oaths you or they have taken; or, can they be dispensed with? What is there can make the most unnatural Invasion lawful; and Rebellion, which is as the Sin of Witchcraft, become

become a Virtue? If no Man must resist, or take up Arms in any Case against the King, what colourable Pretence can any one produce to vindicate the Actions? Is the Doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience mine, or is it not? If you cannot answer categorically to these Questions; but you must necessarily condemn this Invasion and Rebellion, and all the Adherents or Abettors of it: Pray tell me, whether a Silence in those that are obliged to speak, have their Liberty, and may hope to prevail by speaking, be not in the highest Nature criminal?

You know what Esteem you have gained in the Minds of the People by opposing the King, and not publishing his Declaration for Liberty of other Persons Consciences; which Liberty you thought was inconsistent with your own; so that what you now say to them, will be looked upon almost as sacred; but if you be not now as stout in opposing a foreign Power, and suppressing domestick Broils, will it not be inferred, either that you approve of the Invasion, or have lost your Courage, or acted then more by Passion than Reason or Religion? I must needs tell you, that some are not afraid to whisper; nay, to speak it out, "That you had not been then so courageous, if you had not foreseen this Invasion; and that the seven Trumpets now appears to have been a fitter Emblem than the *seven Candlesticks*:" And thus that Glory which you then gained begins to tarnish, and the Garland withers upon your Temple, by your being silent, and you still affect it.

But you will perhaps still say with the *Mobile*, The Prince comes not to hurt us, but to protect us and our Religion. You will also, it may be, say that those Laws, Canons, and Constitutions, which were made against a Foreign Power, were only meant against the Pope and Popery, but not against a Protestant Prince, who comes only to secure us against the Designs of Papists.

But if you say this, speak softly; lest you entirely ruin my Reputation, and instead of repelling the Calumny, clench it by such Distinctions. Is not King *James II.* my lawful Sovereign, against whom this Foreign Invader comes? Are not you, and all his Liege Subjects, bound by all the Ties of God, of Nature, and of Nations, to defend him against any Power whatever, Papal or Popular, Foreign or Domestick? Suppose he had gone about to persecute my Children, or pull me down (though I must needs say, the Promises he made me, and the Methods he was taking to secure my Right, would have been the most solid Establishment for me, even to envy in future Ages) is not Passive Obedience and Non-resistance my known Doctrine? What Pretence then can you, or any of my Children, have to join with such a Foreign Power, abet Rebellion, or stand with folded Arms, without pronouncing Sentence against such Rebels?

Have you such a Charm as can turn what would be Treason, Treachery, and Rebellion in a Papist, into Protestant Virtues? I dare say, if the Bishop of *Rome*, or any *Roman* Catholick King, Prince, or Potentate, had, in the Beginning of the Protestant Reformation, entered into this Kingdom in such an hostile Manner, for the Defence of the ancient Liberties and Religion of the Nation,

as then by Law established, you would have proclaimed them unjust Invaders, and all the Subjects of these Kingdoms, that would not join in the repelling of them, Traitors. And is the Case now changed, because the Prince of *Orange* is a Protestant, and our Gracious King a *Roman* Catholick? Is that a Virtue in a Protestant Prince, which would be the highest Crime in a *Roman* Catholick King? Was the intended Invasion in 1588 looked upon by me as a most wicked Undertaking, and justly punished by an avenging Fire, and shall not that of 1688 be as much condemned; because this is a Protestant Invasion, and that a *Roman* Catholick? Have you so frequently condemned the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and instilled an Aversion into the People's Minds, by laying bloody Principles to their Charge; and will you now assert, that it is lawful for Protestants to defend their Religion against their Sovereign, by Invasions, Rebellions, Tumults, Rapines, Seditions, Massacres, Bloodshed, and all the dire Effects of War?

Tell not these Things in Gath, publish them not in the Streets of Askelon, lest the Daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the Daughters of the Uncircumcised triumph. Tell them not, (I say) lest not only our Brethren of other Nations, but even Heathens themselves, should scoff at our Morality.

I have heard of several *Roman* Catholicks, who, being interrogated by publick Authority, whether, if the Bishop of *Rome* should come into *England*, they would stand for the Pope, or for the King, made Answer, "If the Pope come in with his Books and Beads, we will be for him; but if he come in with Sword and Pistol, we will fight against him." And shall they whose Principles we censure, exceed us in the Degrees of Loyalty? What shame, what Confusion will this be to us in After-ages! when God, who will vindicate the Right of Kings, shall again establish our Sovereign's Throne in Peace? This will be a Blot to be hit by every polemick Writer: My Reputation thus lost, will never be regained, and I shall always be put in Mind of the wise Man's Advice, *Fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change.*

Let me beg of you then (my beloved Children) to consider your Mother's Honour and Reputation, if you will not reflect upon your own. Let not my Doctrines and Principles be laid aside, and those that are contrary to them embraced by you. Let it not be objected that I have changed my Faith, and instead of even Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, now go about to preserve my Rights and Privileges by an Invader's Sword, and Rebels Arms: But, on the contrary, labour to regain your own Reputations, and repair my blasted Honour by an unshaken Stedfastness to your Sovereign.

Publish boldly the Abhorrence of this treacherous Invasion, which is the only Way to clear your Innocence, and confute the Invader's Accusation. Move your Brethren to send forth your joint Injunctions to all the inferior Clergy, commanding them to preach Obedience and Non-resistance to the People, and by that Means quell the Fury of the Rabble. Declare all those to be excommunicated Persons, whom the King declares to be Traitors. Pronounce Rebellion to be as the Sin of Witchcraft; and that they who
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curse the King in their Thoughts, shall have a Bird of the Air carry the Voice, and an avenging God to punish the Offence. Stand up now, before it is too late, for my Doctrine of Non-resistance, and then you need not fear the being exercised in that of Passive Obedience; for when our gracious Sovereign shall, by that Means, see your Loyalty in Practice, as well as Doctrine, he will be as constant to his Promises as you can be to your Principles; and if I maintain the Right of Kings, he will maintain me as by Law established.

The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intituled, A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. With some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intituled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

THE Church of *England* has, of late Years especially, been on the charitable Side towards the Papists, and has allowed them to be Christians, and not Anti-christians; nay, to be a true Church, and not the Synagogue of Satan; and seemed to have utterly forgotten the two fundamental Points of Popery, *That Hereticks are to be pursued with Fire and Sword*, which was determined by the *Lateran Council*, under *Innocent the Third*, and conscientiously practised ever since; and, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; which the Council of *Constance* determined in the Case of *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*. And in this Excess of Charity, which hopeth all Things, and believeth all Things, they have hoped against Hope, and have exercised strong Acts of Faith where no Faith is; neither have they had any Apprehensions of being destroyed, but rather of being saved and protected with Fire and Sword. But finding in great Measure their Charity mistaken, to the End that all their Disappointments may seem just upon them, they are presently taxed with Disloyalty. So *Æsop's Lamb*, when she was to be eaten, was charged by the Wolf for muddying the upper Part of the Stream, which was far above her. In Vindication therefore of the Church of *England*, and to shew her Innocency in this Point, I shall examine this new Test of the Church of *England's Loyalty*, where she is tried and cast, weighed in the Balance and found light; but, to our Comfort, it is by deceitful Weights and Measures.

The first Device is to pretend, “That the Church of *England* appropriate to themselves alone the Principles of true Loyalty, and that no other Church or Communion on Earth can be consistent with Monarchy, or indeed with any Government. This is a Presumption of so high a Nature, that it renders the Church of *England* a despicable Enemy to the rest of Mankind.”

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known Engroffer; which pretends to have all Faith, and all Holiness, and will have all Heaven to herself; and pretending to have the Keys of it, will suffer none others to come thither: Whereas the Church of *England* allows, not only that all Protestants have true Faith and true Loyalty, as well as she, and the same Faith and Loyalty, as appears by the Harmony of their Confessions; but also that Pagans are capable of moral Virtue, such as Loyalty is, and have heretofore been great Examples of it. Many of them have looked upon themselves as not born for themselves, but for their Country, and were strict Observers of the Laws; and it is well known, that *Socrates* in particular had that Reverence for the Laws, that though he was put upon it by his Friends, yet he would not break them to save his Life. *His Bones and Sinews*, as his Words are, in *Plato's Phædo*, could easily have carried him into a foreign Country, but he would not suffer them to do it. And therefore this Author, in saying that the Church of *England* avers, "That no other Sect or Community on Earth, from the Rising to the Setting Sun, can be capable of this singular Gift of Loyalty," betrays his Malice and Ignorance together, and plainly shews, that though he makes new Tests of Loyalty, yet he does not know what Loyalty is.

The Word *loyal* is a Term of Law, and is indifferently applied to Things as well as Persons. So a loyal Judgment is a Judgment according to Law, and is opposed to a false Judgment. A loyal Contract is a lawful Bargain. A Man buys a Horse in a Market, and then he has a loyal Title, a legal Title to him. So again, a Person behaves himself according to Law, and observes the Laws of the Land; and then he is a loyal Man, he is *Legalis Homo*, as a Juryman is required to be; that is, such a one as cannot be challenged for a Criminal, or a Breaker of the Laws. And in case a Man's Behaviour be according to Law, it is loyal, whether it respect a Superior or an Inferior. *Action n'est autre chose que Loial demand de son droit*. "An Action is nothing else but the loyal Demand of a Man's Right." *Mirror*, Pag. 115 and 122. "A Serjeant at Law shall not use any Deceits in his Practice, nor consent to them; *Mes loyalmēt maintiendra le droit de son Client*, &c. but shall loyally maintain the Right of his Client, so that it be not overthrown by any Folly, Negligence, or Default of his."

From hence it follows, that Loyalty can have no other Rule or Measure but the Law; for though some Men love to have confused Notions of Things, and speak of Loyalty as if it were a Thing in the Clouds, and some abstruse Matter over our Heads, yet it appears to be a plain Thing, and of easy Comprehension; for it is nothing else but Conformity to the Laws. The plain *English* of Loyalty is Lawfulness; and it is utterly impossible that there should be any other Test or Touchstone, any other Measure or Standard of Lawfulness, but the Law itself; for if there had been no Law, as there had been no Transgression nor Violation of it, so there had been no Loyalty nor Conformity to it: And therefore Loyalty against Law is a Contradiction; it is Obedience made up of Disobedience. The Law is that which makes the King our Liege Lord, and us his Liege People; and accordingly, both Prince and People are mutually sworn

sworn to the keeping of it ; and our Allegiance binds us to an Obedience according to Law, and not otherwise. To obey the King himself, contrary to Law, is Disloyalty ; and to disobey the King, in Obedience to the Laws, is Loyalty. If it be not thus, then all the Judges of *England*, for these 340 Years, and upwards, have been all sworn to be disloyal ; for they are sworn “ to proceed according “ to Law ; though the King, by his Letters or Writs under the Great Seal, “ or under the Little Seal, or by his own Mouth, shall command them the “ contrary.” 2, 18, 20, *Ed. III. Fortesc. c. 51. Etiam si rex per literas suas, aut ore tenus contrarium jusserit.* And so in the Court-leet, when we swear, “ that we will be true Liegemen, and true Faith and Truth bear to our Sovereign Lord the King ; and that we shall no Felony nor Treason commit, “ nor thereunto assent ; and shall be obedient to all the King’s Majesty’s Laws, “ Precepts, and Process proceeding from the same.” It is plain, that we do not promise any Obedience to Precepts or Process, which are contrary to Law, or besides the Law, and not grounded upon it ; no, that is no Part of our Allegiance ; which you plainly see is limited to the Laws.

Now this being the undoubted Notion of Loyalty, how should the Church of *England* ever dream of appropriating it to herself, since Obedience to the Laws of their Country has always been practised, in all Nations, by all virtuous Men whatsoever ? It being a Point of common Honesty and Justice, that Men should abide by those Laws, which either themselves or their Proxies have made, and to which, in one Way or another, they have given their own Consent ; which always concludes, and is binding to an honest Man. Only there is one Sort of Men in the World who can never be loyal ; because no Man can serve two Masters, the Government of his own Country, and the Pope of *Rome*. They, who have a Legislator Abroad, to give them new Laws, and a Dispenser to repeal the old ones, can never be true and firm to the Laws of their natural Country. Their Loyalty is in Abeyance to the Pope’s Laws, (which agreed even with the old Laws of *England*, before the Reformation, like Fire and Water, as Archbishop *Cranmer* proves, in his large Letter to Queen *Mary*) and their Allegiance is pinned upon the Pope’s Sleeve. In the mean Time, the Church of *England* has very great Reason to insist upon her Loyalty ; because, if a Man be not a lawful Man, he is defeated of the Benefit of the Law in many Cases ; whereas the Members of the Church of *England* are able to use the old legal Exceptions against their present Accusers. *Siri, jeo suy loial Home, & a la foy le Roy ; & cest provor est felon, & hors la foy le Roy.* “ Sirs, I am a lawful Man, and in Allegiance to the King ; and “ this Accuser of mine is a Felon, or a Traitor, and never took the Oath of “ Allegiance.” And we are ready to join Issue with them upon this Point, whether they, or we be the lawful Men, and which of us are guilty of High-treason against the King and the Realm ; Felony, Misprision of Treason, Praemunire ; and are utterly disabled by the Law to hold any Office, either Civil or Military ; not only by the Statutes made in Queen *Elizabeth*’s Time, but also in the Reigns of King *James*, and of King *Charles* the Second. And therefore, as often as we are taxed in our Loyalty, we shall only ask them, What

Laws we have broken? Or whether it be we, or they, who hate the Laws of the Land, and are continually exclaiming against them, and would blow them up, with as good a Will, as once they attempted to blow up all the States of the Kingdom in the Parliament-house where those Laws were made; and for that very Reason, because those Laws were made there? See 3 Jac. c. 1. the Statute which is yearly read in our Churches on the Fifth of November.

Having thus explained the true Sense and Meaning of Loyalty, it is easy for every Body to apply it, and to justify the Church of *England's* Carriage and Behaviour, both in her Infancy, and now in her old Age (by the Way, old Folks and threatned Folks live long) and to shew that it has been according to the Laws of the Land; which, if they had broken and opposed, as the Papists have done, they might then be charged with Disloyalty indeed. But while they continue to keep the Laws, by the Grace of God, the Laws will keep them; for so long as the Law enables them to hold their own, they can challenge the Benefit of the Law, they can claim a legal Protection; which is far better than any which is illegal and arbitrary, uncertain and precarious; and they are on the better Side of the Hedge of all the Violaters of the Law whatsoever. I shall not need therefore to trouble myself with the Remainder of this new Test, any otherwise than by making some very short Notes upon the most remarkable Passages in it.

I. The first Charge is, *That the Church of England assisted Usurpers to invade the Crown*, meaning the Lady *Jane* and Queen *Elizabeth*.

As for the first of these, I cannot see how it can be charged upon the Church of *England*; because the Protestants were divided about Queen *Jane's* Title; some were for it, and some were against it; as particularly Judge *Hales* and the *Suffolk* Gospellers, who stuck to Queen *Mary*, and were but sorrily rewarded for it. But to wave Queen *Jane's* Case, and what might be said concerning it from the Statute 11 Hen. VII. c. 1. I think this is a very fair Offer, that when the Papists have answered for all the bad Titles which were set up in the Times of *Popery*, which were at least in the Proportion of two bad ones for one good; we will then answer, as well as we can, for that single one, which has happened since the Time of the Reformation.

The other Usurper, which the Church of England assisted to invade the Crown, was Queen Elizabeth, a known Bastard. It is well known, that a Popish Parliament, then sitting, acknowledged her Title, and assisted in setting her upon the Throne; and not the Church of *England*, which was then driven into Corners, and into Foreign Countries, and was not in a Condition to assist any body. And whereas Queen *Elizabeth* is said to have been a known Bastard, the Church and Court of *Rome* knew the contrary; for they knew that her Mother's Marriage was good, because the former Marriage was naught. And the former Marriage was confessedly naught, because it wanted the Pope's Dispensation and Licence; which was bought with a mighty Sum of Money to make it good. If it had been lawful in itself, it had not needed the Pope's Dispensation to make it lawful. And we are willing to refer it to all the
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World, whether the Pope's Dispensation can make an unlawful Marriage to be lawful.

II. We are told, *That the Prelatick Protestancy, called the Church of England, enacted those bloody Canibal Laws, to hang, draw, and quarter, the Priests of the living God.* I suppose he means the Mass-priests; now these Canibal Laws were made to hang them, not as Priests, but as Traitors and Traitor-makers. But I would fain ask, might not any Sheep-stealer, or Cut-purse, in *Newgate*, exclaim against Persecution, and the bloody Canibal Laws, with a much better Grace? That a Man, made in the Image of God, should be hanged like a Dog, for such Trifles as a Sheep, or a little loose Pocket-money! Whereas the Law of God only required *fourfold Restitution* in those Cases; and in some Countries, stealing was not only lawful, but was encouraged as an Accomplishment; but on the other Hand, in God's own Government idolatrous Priests were to be put to Death, and by the Law of Nations in all Countries whatsoever, Spies, Deserters, Adherents and Emissaries of a publick Enemy, (as by our Law the Pope is to us, and by his Law all Hereticks are declared to be to him) are all to be hanged up.

And then as for the Mass-priests being called *the Priests of the living God*, I appeal to the Senses and Understanding of all Mankind, whether the Lord God, the Maker, the Former, and the Creator of a Mass-priest, whom he carries in his Box, and worships, be a living God, or no? Nay, according to *the School of the Eucharist*, I will be judged by the very Rats and Mice, which often run away with him.

III. The next Thing the Church, or rather the State of *England* is charged with, for it was a Parliament Business at least thirteen Years, is the Execution of *Mary Queen of Scots*, for Treason against *Queen Elizabeth*; wherein, if they did any Thing contrary to Law, and the Allegiance due to their then present *Queen Elizabeth*, they are chargeable with Disloyalty, otherwise not; and whereas this Author calls it *a barbarous Murder*, and an *execrable Fact*, I would desire him to speak low; for if the Laws should over-hear him, they would call this arraigning the Justice of the Nation; and in saying, that this Fact was *the first of the Kind*, he betrays great Ignorance; he might as well have said, that the Emperor *Licinius*, Colleague with *Constantine the Great*, and *Queen Joan of Naples*, are still living; and as yet I have never read, that what *Constantine* did in that Case, was to the *Scandal and Reproach of Christianity*, or even of those *Christians* who lived under *Licinius*, and joined with *Constantine the Great* in that Affair.

But fourthly, I find (which is the Substance of the sixth and seventh Pages) That the Church of *England* might have all her old Scores cleared, and all her former Faults forgotten, and might pass for Loyal still, if she would now consent to the repeal of the *Sanguinary Penal Laws*, (which were purposely enacted to maintain the Usurpation of *Queen Elizabeth*) and the late impious Tests, which puts me in Mind of the Conditions of Peace, which the Wolves sent to the Sheep; the main Article was, that the Sheep should deliver up their Dogs, which they kept for a Guard, and which were the great Hindrance to a firm and

lasting Peace, but every body knows how long the Peace lasted; but to proceed, if the Sanguinary Penal Laws were purposely enacted to maintain the Usurpation of Queen Elizabeth, how came they to be enacted afresh in the first Year of King James, when that Usurpation was over? How came they two Years after, 330 Jac. c. 1. to be called religious and necessary Laws? And how came more of these religious and necessary Laws to be made in the same Parliament, and in succeeding Parliaments? As for the late impious Tests (choice Epithets for the Laws of the Land) they were made, as appears by the Title of the Acts, to prevent Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants. Now the Sheep might safely have parted with their Dogs, if the peaceable Wolves at the same Time would have parted with their Fangs.

5. In the last Page he says, "As for the Tests themselves, it is not my Province to shew the Absurdities of them in Point of Doctrine." It is well it is not; for he must get Abundance of Help whenever he goes about that Work. However, he offers at it in these Words: "Though, by the by, I must hold it a great Folly to say, that Transubstantiation is not a probable Opinion at the least, considering the Number and Learning of those who maintain it, which is the best Part of Christendom; and if it be a probable Opinion, it must be a great Temerity in any Man to swear there is no such Thing." I had always thought, that a probable Opinion must be made out by Proofs, and probable Reasons, and not by Numbers, and telling of Noses; but it seems the Cause of Transubstantiation runs very low, when it must be maintained by such Arguments, as hold much stronger for Paganism, and for Diana of the Ephesians, whom all the World worshipped. The Religion of the Heathens was of a larger Extent, and of longer standing than Popery, and was maintained by all the Learning of Athens and of ancient Rome; and yet we dare be sworn, that it was a false Religion. I think we do not renounce Transubstantiation upon Oath, but only by publick Declaration and Subscription; but if we did, it would by no Means be a rash Oath. For may not I safely swear, that there is no such Figure as a Square Circle, when the Thing involves manifold Contradictions, and it is plainly demonstrable, that the Properties of a Square and of a Circle are utterly inconsistent. Now we have a Thousandfold more Evidence, and are able to make as clear Proof and Demonstration of it a thousand Times over, that there never was, nor is, nor can be any such Thing as Transubstantiation, which is nothing else but a Heap of Contradictions, Absurdities, and impossible Falshoods. And therefore we have the same Assurance, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation never came, nor could come from God, as we have of this clear and evident Truth, that it is impossible for God to lie.

6. And now we are come to the Conclusion and Upshot of the Business, which is in these words: "So that, upon the whole Matter, the loyal Church of England must either change her old Principles of Loyalty, and take Example by her Catholick Neighbours, how to behave herself towards a Prince who is not of her Persuasion; or she must give his Majesty leave not to nourish a Snake in his own Bosom, but rather to withdraw his
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“ Royal Protection, which was promised upon the Account of her constant “ Fidelity.” I wish this Author had been more express and particular in this Dilemma and Difficulty, to which he thinks he has reduced the Church of *England*; either to turn over a new Leaf, and learn a new Lesson of Loyalty from her Catholick Neighbours, or else to do worse. For he does not tell us, which of our Catholick Neighbours we must take Example by; whether Mrs. *Celier*, and Mr. *Slater*, who have both published to the World, that they turned Papists, that is, have made themselves High-Traitors, for the Improvement of their Loyalty: Or whether we should take Example by this Author himself, to call Queen *Elizabeth* Bastard; to ridicule an infallible *English* Parliament, as he calls it in Scorn; to deprave and vilify several Statutes, which are, and will be the standing Laws of the Land, till such Time as they are repealed by Act of Parliament: And therefore, he has not been so clear as he might have been in this Point; which the Church of *England* will hardly trouble herself about; because she likes her old Principles of Loyalty very well, and is not given to change, but knows when she is well. In the mean Time, this Author tells us very plainly, and expressly enough, “ That till the Church of *England* “ change their old Principles of Loyalty, and take Example by their Catholick “ Neighbours, they are to be looked upon as a Snake in his Majesty’s Bosom, “ and cannot expect to be protected.” Alas! this Gentleman is utterly mistaken; for a legal Establishment has a Right to a legal Protection, and the King is bound, both by his Oath, and by the Duty of his kingly Office, to protect the Church of *England* as it is by Law established: And therefore to talk of withdrawing Protection from the Church of *England*, is to talk of removing the *Thames* to *York*. But we are so much used to such empty Threatnings and Flashes in the Pan, that we know they will not kill. So the Reply to the *Oxford* Reasons against addressing, threatens the Church of *England*, “ That, “ by the Prerogative, in Matters Ecclesiastical, it may be in a great Measure “ legally subverted.” P. 4. A legal Establishment, even while it remains such, legally subverted! They would make us believe, that the Laws of *England* were made up of Jesuitical Equivocations, and did blow hot and cold with the same Mouth; but besides, that Replier should be told, that a thousand more of his pompous Quotations, which were written in the Time of the High Commission, will not revive that Branch of the Statute 1 *Elizabeth*, upon which the High Commission Court was erected. And likewise he should be told, that a Power given by one Statute, and taken away afterwards by two, is certainly reduced to its primitive Nothingness.

But I return to our present Author only to take my leave of him, which he has done of the Church of *England* in these words. “ And now let us leave “ the Holy Mother Church at Liberty, to consult what new Measures of “ Loyalty she ought to take for her own dear Interest, and for ought I know it “ may be worth her serious Consideration.” I am in Hopes, that this Church of God, *which he hath purchased with his own Blood*, (though this Author be pleased to trample upon her with so much Scorn and Insolence) will take Occasion, even at an Enemies bidding, *to consult what new Measures of Loyalty she ought*

ought to take for her own dear Interest, and for the Interest of Posterity, which is much dearer, and for the everlasting Interest of both, which is dearest of all. And will humbly and heartily bewail her Disloyalty to her great Lord and Master, and those many, and great, and open Transgressions and Violations of his most holy and righteous Laws which are amongst us. And Oh, that every Member of that Communion in particular would speedily repent, and return to his Duty, and persevere in a Course of holy Obedience to his Life's End! This is the *Loyalty* that is too much wanting in the Church of *England*, which is due to the Laws of our blessed Saviour, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. As for her earthly Lords, they cannot charge her with any disobedient or lawless Carriage towards them, or with any Disregard to the Laws, unless perhaps in some unwarrantable, officious Instances, which it would hardly be proper for them to object against her: And to the End, that both we, and our Children after us, may be better Subjects to our blessed Lord, than hitherto we have been, I am in Hopes, that the Church of *England* will lay a dead Hold upon that great Depositum which the Laws have put into her Hands, which is the only Instrument of our Reformation, I mean the *English* Bible. We are very bad now; but what would become of us, if we should likewise be deprived of the only Means to make us better? If all the Laws of the Land were abolished, there could be no Loyalty; and if the Gospel were taken away, which is the Laws and Statutes of Heaven, how were it possible for us to be the Subjects of *Jesus Christ*? We might indeed be the Servants of Men, and Vassals to the Pope, but we could not possibly obey the Gospel of *Christ*, if it were taken and hid from us; we remember full well who they were that would not suffer an *English* Bible to be in this Kingdom for very many Ages together: And if any devout and religious Soul, who desired to know his Master's Will, had gotten but the Lord's Prayer, or Ten Commandments in *English*, it cost him his Life. We shall never forget the seven *Coventry* Martyrs, who were burned all together in the little Park, the 4th of *April*, 1519, for teaching their Children and Family the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in *English*, nor shall we ever forget how the poor Children were sent for, and charged in no wise to meddle any more with those very small Scriptures, upon Pain of suffering the same Death with their Parents. What is once made Heresy by an infallible Church, must be always and every where Heresy, though Heresy indeed is not every where durning, for want of Opportunity. Thanks be to God, and our good Laws, that it is not so here; and I hope the Church of *England* will always be careful to assert the Authority and Majesty of the Laws, which are so much to be preferred and valued above our Lives, in as much as by them we enjoy both our Lives and the Protestant Religion together. May God be entreated to continue this unvaluable and undeserved Blessing to us, and to our Posterity! *Amen.*

Some

Some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intituled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

IT is a just Judgment upon those who have renounced their Reason to embrace Transubstantiation, and thereby have distorted their natural Faculties, that their Understandings stand awry for ever after, and we cannot expect so much as common Sense from them any more. From thenceforward they write, as well as believe contradictory Mysteries; and he that means to comprehend their aukward and perverse Reasonings, must stand upon his Head. We need not go far to fetch Examples of this, for the late *Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty*, is a remarkable Instance of all that I have said: Wherein there are these following Absurdities, delivered in a Way of much Smartness, and with the Appearance of very close Reasoning.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are set aside, and some few Addresses in this present Reign, are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

2. The Bishops and Clergy of several Convocations, who have been dead these hundred Years, are rendered disloyal, for not governing themselves by these Addresses two Years ago, which they knew not of.

3. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* by such an Argument as makes her no Queen of *Scots*, and by giving her another's Kingdom takes away her own.

4. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* upon the Hypothesis of the paternal Right, when upon that Hypothesis she was disinherited, and foreclosed from the Crown of *England* by two successive Patriarchs, *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* I should think for that very Reason, That the Hypothesis of the Laws had been a much better Hypothesis.

In the opening a little, and shewing these Absurdities, I suppose I shall meet with all that is remarkable in that Paper.

1. The Articles and Canons of the Church of *England* are set aside, and some few Addresses in this present Reign are made the Standard of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, p. 3. and 5. Is this *arguing from the Church of England's own Principles*, which, he says, is *the Design of his Paper*, p. 6? Is it the Principle of any one Clergyman in *England*, That the Doctrine of the Church of *England* is to be sought for, and found out in Addresses? Or in any thing but the Liturgy and Homilies, the Articles and Canons of the Church, which have the publick Sanction, and the universal Consent of the whole Clergy? If he had found Materials out of any of these to make good his Charge of Disloyalty, he had done like a Man, and the Church

Church of *England* had been condemned out of her own Mouth; but if he cannot do this at present, we will have Patience to stay till he can, and in the mean Time he had done wiselier to have said nothing.

2. The Bishops and Clergy of several Convocations, who have been dead these hundred Years, are rendered disloyal, for not governing themselves by these Addreses two Years ago, which they knew not of. This is a great Hardship indeed, that Men shall be tried and condemned by Laws, which were not promulged till an hundred Years after their Death. The present Church of *England* has a very great Reverence for those Bishops and Clergy, who were the Restorers of the Protestant Religion to this Kingdom, and who had formerly hazarded their Lives for it, and will be very loth to see them pass under the Character of Traitors and Rebels: And when we demand, What Laws of the Land, or what Principles of the Church of *England* they had transgressed, we are in effect told, that they were Rebels against some chosen Expressions in very modern Addreses. The Instance which he gives, is the Church of *England's* Behaviour towards *Mary* Queen of *Scots* above an hundred Years ago: Now mark his Words, p. 5. "But yet, because I am about to give a notorious Instance of their receding from this Principle, (namely, the divine Right of Succession) when the Practice of it thwarted their Interest, it will not be amiss to observe, that they have acknowledged, in their several Addreses to his present Majesty, upon his Accession to the Crown, the unalterable and inherent Right of Succession." Now this is the Reasoning, which, as I said before, would make a Man stand upon his Head. Besides, how could they *recede*, or go back from a Principle which they never came to, and were never nearer it than at an hundred Years Distance? For their Opinion, or Principle, call it what you will, was this, as appears by the 27 *Eliz.* That in case an Heir in Remainder killed the present lawful Possessor of the Crown, that Person had not a divine Right of Succession. And that neither God nor the Laws ever meant to reward the Falshood of Treason, and the bloody Usurpation of a Crown, with so much the earlier Possession of it. My Business is not to concern myself about either of these Principles or Opinions, but only to shew the absurd Reasoning of this Writer.

3. *Mary* Queen of *Scots* is made Queen of *England* by such an Argument as makes her no Queen of *Scots*, and by giving her another's Kingdom takes away her own. The Argument is this, That Queen *Elizabeth* being illegitimate, and only an Act of Parliament Queen, could not interpose betwixt the Crown of *England* and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who was Heir by inherent Birth-right. Now does not all the World know, that all the Title that *Mary* Queen of *Scots* had to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was an Act of Parliament made at *Scone* in the Time of *Robert* the First; whereby his Issue by *Elizabeth* Moor his Concubine (whom he never married, but who was afterwards married to one *Giffard*, a Gentleman of *Louthien*) were made inheritable to the Crown, and at the same Time all his legitimate Children, by his lawful Queen *Eupheme*, were set aside. These Men take just the same Measures as their Father *Garnet* did in the Gun-Powder Treason, who resolved, That in order to
blow

blow up the Hereticks, they might lawfully blow up their Catholick Friends too; nay, all that this Instancer says against Queen *Elizabeth*, (admitting it to be true, which we do not) bears much harder upon the Title of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. Was Queen *Anne's* Marriage with *Henry VIII.* naught? But in *Elizabeth Moore's* Case there was no Marriage at all. Or was King *Edward* set aside to make Way for illegitimate *Elizabeth*? But so it was done by the Act at *Scone*. Every body understands the *English* of Queen *Anne Bolen's* Pre-contract, when they remember, that King *Henry VIII.* was married again to Lady *Jane Seymour*, within three Days after the Beheading of that Queen.

4. *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, is made Queen of *England*, upon the Hypothesis of the paternal Right, P. 3 and 5. when, upon that Hypothesis, she was disinherited and foreclosed from the Crown of *England* by two successive Patriarchs *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* *Henry VIII.* by his Last Will and Testament, excluded the House of *Scotland*, and *Edward VI.* by his Will, excluded both that and his own Sisters likewise. But, as the Bishop of *Ross* argued against the first Will, that it was not subscribed by his Grace's own Hand-writing, as was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only signed with a Stamp of his Name; so King *Edward* was never enabled, by an Act of Parliament, to dispose of the Crown at all; and so neither of these Wills signified any thing, because the Prince has no Power but what the Law gives him: Whereas, if these foresaid Princes had been Patriarchs, and full of inherent paternal Power, they could have disinherited without an Act of Parliament: For if a Father cannot disinherit, much less has he Power of Life and Death.

It were endless to reckon up all the aukward and wilful Mistakes which fill up that Sheet of Paper. As where he insinuates, P. 7. "That the 13th of "*Elizabeth* was owing to the Queen's Consciousness of the Insufficiency of "her Title:" It is nothing so; but it was made for the Preservation of her Person; and that no-body presuming upon an unalterable and unforfeitable Title in Reversion, might immediately destroy her. An Act it is which is Law to this Day, and was recited 13 *Car. II.* and there expressly made a Pattern for the 13th of his Reign. And whereas he says, P. 8. "That before the Queen of *Scots* was taken off, and so the Succession pretty well "secured against Popery, the Church of *England* never persecuted any of "her Protestant Dissenters; but as soon as that Work was done, and the "Court likely to continue on their Side, then out flies the 35th of *Eliz.* "cap. 2. against Sectaries." In those very few Words there are a great many Blots: For, 1. I hope the 23d of *Elizabeth* was several Years before the Death of the Queen of *Scots*; and if that Act was not made against the Protestant Dissenters, they have had the more Wrong done them, in having been since prosecuted upon that Act. 2. He words it, as if the 35th of *Elizabeth* came out the next Day, or at least very shortly after the Death of the Queen of *Scots*; whereas it was not till many Years after. 3. Whereas the present Church of *England* is upbraided with the 35th of *Elizabeth*, it is not

beyond the Memory of Man, since in this Church a Bill passed both Houses of Parliament for the Repeal of that Act; but when it came to the Royal Assent, the Bill was not to be found; and they say, there was foul Play in the losing of that Bill: But I think the greatest Blot and Blunder of all is a little above, in the same Page, in these Words: "After the Queen of Scots" "Condemnation, the Parliament petitioned for her Execution, each House" "apart, and the Bishops gave their Reasons why it ought to be." If the Bishops had Reasons why it ought to be, then they were no Traitors, nor Rebels, as they are all along branded; then they did not kill the Heir, that the Inheritance might be theirs; for that we are very sure ought not to be. And if their Reasons are weak and insufficient, and in Effect no Reasons, why then are they not answered? For the bare mentioning of them, without answering them, will leave a Suspicion in all Men's Minds, that there is somewhat in them which is unanswerable. And truly, this is just such another Piece of Work, as a very young and unskilful Conjuror uses to perform, in raising what he cannot lay.

In a word, I do not see one true and close Thing in this Paper, unless it be this, P. 3. "That the Church of *England*-Men themselves do not obey their "own Canons." Which, if they had obeyed, and particularly the 114th Canon, whereby they are bound to present all Popish Recusants, and all that are popishly given, every Year; they had not this Day been troubled with new Tests, and Instances of their Loyalty: But failing in that Part of their Loyalty and Obedience, they are now questioned for all the rest. However, it is never too late for Men to return to their Duty.

To conclude, I would advise these Popish Scribblers, to let the Church of *England* alone, which has both the Truth of God, and the Laws of the Land on her Side; and having Heaven and Earth on her Side, all the Powers of Hell cannot prevail against her; much less is she to be run down by a few impotent Libels, which can never attain their End, nor arrive at their Conclusion, though we should grant them all their own Premises. For supposing Queen *Anne's* Confession of a Pre-contract, yet that does not make Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate; and supposing her illegitimate, and only an Act-of-Parliament-Queen, yet that does not make her an unlawful Queen: And supposing her an unlawful Queen, and without a legal Title, and only Queen for the Time being, yet the Church of *England* were not Rebels and Traitors for assisting her, but did their true Duty of Allegiance, as is expressly said in 11 *Hen. VII. cap. 1.* which Act was made on Purpose to save the People's Allegiance in that Case, who had like to have been ruined but a little before, by the cross Pretensions, and alternately prevailing Titles of *York* and *Lancaster*. Nay, to go farther, supposing that Queen *Elizabeth* was an Usurper, and the Church of *England* over and above Traitors and Rebels; and thereupon all the Laws made in her Time of no Authority; (for that I know is the Point that they would be at, and the only Meaning of all this Scurrility poured forth upon that Queen and her Clergy) yet still they would lose their Aim; those Laws having been confirmed in so many Parliaments since, and by such Princes, as
now

now they list not to bark at; though heretofore the Jesuit *Parsons*, in his Book of the Succession, under the Name of *Doleman*, shewed himself and his Fraternity to be as much devoted to King *James's* Title, as this Author is now to Queen *Elizabeth's*. In short, being nothing is to be gotten by railing against Queen *Elizabeth*, and by making her illegitimate, they may as well let her rest in Peace, or pass for legitimate: And they may save the foul Spittle they are daily casting upon her, which will serve much better for the making of their Holy Water.

His Majesty's most gracious SPEECH *to both Houses of Parliament, with Additions and Explications: Directed to the House of Commons, by the Free-born People of England.*

GENTLEMEN,

THIS Speech you had very lately in the Original; and because it is so very gracious, we presume the Repetition of it, together with some few Additions, and Explications, may not be unacceptable to you, nor yet unworthy your Consideration: And when you come to consider the Speech, if you please withal to consider the respective Notes and Explications, we are persuaded that the whole Kingdom will concur with us, that in so doing, you will neither dishonour your Character, nor act unbecoming your high Station, nor betray the Trust reposed in you by the Commons of *England*.

In the first Place, Gentlemen, his Majesty tells you,

“ I am very glad to meet you again in Parliament, where I have an Opportunity of thanking you for the great Supplies you have given me for the Prosecution of this War; and I hope, by your Advice and Assistance, which has never failed me, to take such Measures as may be most proper for supporting our common Interest, against the excessive Power of *France*.”

Now, Gentlemen, we, as free Denizens of *England*, crave Leave to observe to you, that this Paragraph contains a very great Truth, and confirmed by ample and undoubted Testimony; all the People of *England* will, in this Point, be Evidence for the King, that indeed you have given him very great Supplies, and such as never before were given to a King of *England*, what Wars or Occasions soever they had: And, in this Point, the King and all the People are agreed, that you are the most liberal House of Commons that ever sat within these Walls: This therefore is no Question, and can never be denied; no, not by the most obstinate. But there is another Question that

immediately follows at the Heels of it; and that is, What is become of these great Supplies? To what Uses have they been put? Have the *English* Seamen and Soldiers been paid with them? Have they not been diverted into private Channels, or put into Foreigners Pockets? Out of all the vast Provisions you have made, the Land-Forces have scarce had Subsistence-Money, and the Seamen not so much as that, but are left to live upon the Credit of what you will give; and does it not deserve your Enquiry where is the rest, and how it hath been disposed? Heretofore *England* hath singly waged War with *France*, and the Parliament never gave the twentieth Part of what you have done, and yet the Soldiers were honestly paid, and over and above a good Sum remaining in the King's Coffers: But you have *Germany*, *Spain*, *Savoy*, and *Holland* to join with you; and yet your own Quota not paid, but left to clamour and starve, though you have given enough to maintain the whole Army of the Confederates. It is true, the King gives you Thanks for your great Supplies; and, it must be confessed, that Royal Thanks deserve a just Regard, and, it may be, may be worth so much Money: But if the King had been pleased to tell you, that you had given him great Supplies, and he had taken care that your own Countrymen were only the better for it, that he had not disposed it to the *Dutch*, or to others, and laid the whole Accounts before you to examine and inspect; it is probable, this might have given the People more Satisfaction than all the Thanks in the World. The People of *England* indeed love Civility well; but withal, they love to be satisfied what becomes of their Money. In the mean time, the King only thanks you for the Money you have given him, as if you deserved Thanks for nothing else. This would not have escaped Reflection in the late Reigns, and we should have been told that it favoured of arbitrary Power, as if Parliaments were called for nothing else but to give Money; and if you deserve Thanks for nothing else, it is plain, that is looked upon as the main End of your Meeting, and that, of all your Proceedings, is only grateful to the Government: Your several Endeavours about securing Liberty and Property, your Concernments about the *Habeas Corpus*, regulating Trials for Treason, and some other Things of Advantage to the Subject, (which proved abortive, and you know by whose Means) one would think, might have merited some Thanks from a Prince who would be thought the great Patron of both, and who in this very Speech tells you, "You cannot be more concerned for the Preservation of your Liberties and Properties than I am." But that it seems is none of your meritorious Works; and some of you can tell what little Thanks you received for being so much concerned for it; and your being frowned upon, and turned out of your Places is an Instance of it; however, though this be not the Subject of Royal Gratitude, yet your giving of Money is. But here is a Question, whether these Thanks be designed for the Supplies you have given, or only introductory of what you shall give? You may easily satisfy yourselves in this Point; do but with-hold your Hands a little, and you will soon perceive it: For, when Thanks come with Demands in the Mouth of them, it looks as if you were thanked, not for the good Works you have done, but for those you shall

shall do. And if this will do, it is certainly an easy Course to deal with an *English* Parliament; and, in a short Time, every Penny in the Nation may be thanked into the *Dutchmen's* Pockets. And if this will serve you instead of examining Accounts, and enquiring into the Expence of the Nation's Treasure, surely the Experiment should first be made on the Soldiers and Seamen: Let them have the Royal Thanks for their Blood and Fighting, and try if it will stop their Mouths, or find Food and Cloathing for themselves and Families. If Thanks will go instead of Pay, by our Consent they shall go for Accounts too; but if they will not operate on the Fleet or Army, neither ought they to charm the House, or hinder you from enquiring into the disposing of those Monies you gave for those very Uses. And there are other Persons Thanks you are concerned in besides the King's, the People you represent, and whose Purfes you have so freely disposed: If you shall from Time to Time give immense Sums, and in the mean time are very slack in enquiring what becomes of them, you may indeed have the Thanks of the King, but you can never expect those of the People.

“ We have great Reason to rejoice in the happy Victory, which, by the
“ Blessing of God, We obtained at Sea; and I wish I could tell you, that the
“ Success at Land had been answerable to it: I am sure My own Subjects had
“ so remarkable a Share in both, that their Bravery and Courage must ever
“ be remembered to their Honour.”

Now, as to the Victory at Sea, all we shall observe is, That the King is very modest; he calls it a happy Victory, rather than a wonderful one, what fulsome, and almost blasphemous Epithets soever some flattering Divines have put upon it. But the King knows well enough, that when there was more Odds than two to one, such a Victory may be called any thing, rather than a Miracle. As to the Matters at Land, we suppose we need not observe to you, that the King had in his Eye the Loss of *Namur*, and the Battle at *Steinkirk*; but it is observable, that the King does not now tell you, as he did at this Time two Years, to wit, “ That he was not enabled to go into the Field so soon as
“ he should have done, nor were there Funds raised in due Time;” for your Supplies were large and seasonable, and he was at the Head of a great and numerous Army, and more numerous by far than the *French*; and in that Action all the remarkable Part the King and his Army had, was to stand still, and see the Town taken before their Eyes; and which indeed was very remarkable. But for *Steinkirk*, in that Action the King's Subjects (meaning the *English*, and excepting the *Dutch*) had a very remarkable Part; for they were most remarkably knocked on the Head, to the Number of several Thousands; and certainly, it deserves the Remark of you, and all the People of *England*. 1. By whose Care and Conduct your Brethren were placed in a Post of such Danger. 2. How it came to pass that they were never relieved nor supported; but were left to be slaughtered like so many Dogs: As if *Englishmen*, in the Confederate Army, were of the same Use with *Christians* in that of the *Turks* heretofore, to set them foremost to blunt the Swords of their Enemies. If you have any Regard for the Blood of your Countrymen, these Things can never escape your Enquiry;

Enquiry: For certainly, the Success of that Action did more immediately concern the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch*, than the *English*; for the War is flaming at their Doors, but we are more remote; and altho' when a Man's Neighbour's House is on Fire, there is Reason for him to look to his own; yet none but a Madman will burn himself to save his Neighbour's Goods, who will not venture to save them himself. *Flanders* and *Holland* are the immediate Subjects of Danger, and surely *Englishmen* perform fairly and honourably their Part of the Confederacy, if they venture as far as they; but to be set up as Marks to be shot at, to let them sleep in whole Skins, and to screen their Retreat, and then to smooth it over with the Name of *Bravery*, is like sending Men first to a Slaughter-House, and then calling them brave for being manfully butcher'd. And when those wise Princes are so sparing of their People, what Reason is there that we should be so prodigal of ours, except an *Englishman* be less valued by an *English* King, than a *Dutchman* by the States and Stadtholder, and than a *Fleming* by the *Spaniard*?

“ The *French* are repairing their Losses at Sea with great Diligence, and do
 “ design to augment their Land Forces considerably against the next Campaign;
 “ which makes it absolutely necessary for our Safety, that at least as great a
 “ Force be maintained at Sea and Land, as we had the last Year; and there-
 “ fore I must ask you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, a Supply suitable
 “ to so great an Occasion.”

If we understand the King right in this Paragraph, he demands of you the same Supplies you gave him last Year; for he tells you, “ ’tis absolutely
 “ necessary, that at least as great a Force be maintained as we had last Year;”
 and suppose you should give them, what Wonders do you expect from them? The King tells you, the *French* are considerably augmenting their Forces; and do you think that greater Feats will be done this Year, against a more numerous Force, than was the last against a less? Is it worth five Millions for a *Generalissimo* and his Army to see a great Town taken from them, or to have 10,000 Men kill'd to save the Skins of the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*? Or, finally, will the Land and Seamen be better paid? And is it not a thousand Times better to keep our Money in our Pockets, than to give so many Millions, and drain the Heart's Blood of the Nation, and all to have nothing done, but another Year's Arrears added to the publick Debt of the Kingdom? The Soldiers were not paid with the last Supplies you gave, how great soever they were, nor will they be paid by what you give now, though it should be twice as much; there are Foreigners ready enough to receive it, should you give treble the Value of the whole Kingdom, and in good Truth, it has hitherto been our Money that hath paid their Forces; and yet our Soldiers must be exposed to all the Dangers, and fight their Battles, even without Pay, when they are paid with our Money, to lie still and see our Men killed; and if they will not fight to save their own Towns, nor yet to help our Men, surely (if they were honest Soldiers) they ought at least to fight for the Pay you gave them.

And therefore we pray you farther to observe upon this Point, that the Princes in Confederacy with us are as thrifty of their Money as their Men.

What

What is the compleat *Quota* of the *German*, the *Spaniard*, the *Savoyard*, and the *Dutch*? And what Supplies have they respectively raised, or propose to raise, for the Maintenance of the next Campaign? This surely highly deserves your Enquiry; for the Danger and the War too is primarily theirs; and if the Burthen must lie heavy somewhere, surely it ought to lie upon them. It apparently concerns you to enquire into the State of the War Abroad, and to proportion your Supplies according to the Standard of the rest of the Confederates; for there is no Reason in the World that this Kingdom should be exhausted and beggar'd, and at the same Time *Holland* continue in a State of Opulency and Plenty; there is a Project on Foot, that if the Parliament will give Supplies, (with a Clause in the Act of Lending) the *Dutchmen* will lend the Money, and receive the Advantage of the Interest, and of the Return to *Flanders*; and if they are so able to lend, truly let them give to maintain the War; for their Interest in the War is much more than ours; and it is enough in all Conscience to suffer our Men to be killed to save their Persons, and not also to suffer our People to be impoverish'd to save their *Purses*.

"I am very sensible how heavy this Charge is upon My People, and it extremely afflicts Me, that 'tis not possible to be avoided, without exposing ourselves to inevitable Ruin and Destruction. The Inconvenience of sending out of the Kingdom great Sums of Money for the Payment of the Troops Abroad, is indeed very considerable, and I so much wish it could be remedied, that if you can suggest to Me any Methods for the Support of them, which may lessen this Inconvenience, I shall be ready to receive them with all the Satisfaction imaginable.

Here the King tells you, that "*he is sensible of the Inconveniencies of sending great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom to pay the Troops Abroad.*" But this is express'd ambiguously; what Troops Abroad does the King mean? The 20th Part of the Money that hath been sent out of the Kingdom would have paid the *English* Troops Abroad; and yet they are not paid neither: And certainly there are no great Sums sent out of the Kingdom to pay Troops that never were paid. You gave great Sums indeed, and the King confesses great Sums have been sent out of the Kingdom to pay Troops Abroad; and it is the Subject of a parliamentary Enquiry, what Troops these were; our own Troops were not paid; and if these great Sums were sent out to pay them, then the Money is embezzell'd, and it ought to be search'd in whose Hands it was lodged, that they may refund it, and pay them now, and save the Nation so much, and so much less given by the present Supplies; and if this be the Case, his Majesty need not long wish to have it remedied; for the Methods are very easy to suggest; do but you take care that no Troops Abroad are paid with our Money but our own, and put it into the Hands of Commissioners of your own appointing; and then our Troops will be paid, and the remitting Sums to pay them Abroad will be no such mighty Inconvenience; our Merchants will transmit a great Part of it in Trade, and the rest will not be felt; but if Foreigners have the fingering our Money, and it must come into the Hands of *Dutch* Pay-masters; if great Sums must be sent to *Germany*, *Spain*, *Savoy* and *Holland*;
this

this is an Inconvenience, we know no Methods to lessen, but by stopping the Sluices, and keeping our Money within the Kingdom. And it is a sober and great Truth, that if you do not speedily take care to prevent the prodigious Exportation of our Coin, in a short Time we shall neither have Money to pay any Troops Abroad, nor yet for the People to subsist at Home.

“None can desire more than I do, that a Descent should be made into
“*France*; and therefore, notwithstanding the Disappointment of that Design
“this last Summer, I intend to attempt it this next Year with a much more
“considerable Force; and as soon as I shall be enabled, all possible Care
“and Application shall be used towards it.”

The Descent into *France* this last Summer was a Mystery; but the meaning of proposing it now is very plain; 'tis to invite you to give Money plentifully; and it must needs be a great Encouragement, when *France* shall be made to repay it, or else to smart for it. Now this perhaps might have done with the credulous Mob; but to a grave and wise Senate is somewhat extraordinary. What an Opinion has the King of your Wisdoms, if he thinks to make you believe, that with eight or 100,000 Men he can over-run *France*: But perhaps Declarations may do Wonders, and the Pretences of Liberty and Religion may work upon the Subjects and new Converts; this perhaps last Year might have prevailed upon easy People, but cannot now; for the Experiment hath been made; the Duke of *Savoy*, with a far greater Number of Men than the King is able to send, and with all the winning and tempting Declarations to all Sorts of People, new Converts, Papists, Popish Priests, entred *France*, ravaged at his Pleasure, and had no-body to oppose him for some Time; and yet few or none of that King's Subjects (oppressed Subjects) nor of the new Converts joined him; he carried indeed 15,000 Arms in Expectation of it; but soon found he was mistaken, and sent them all back into *Piedmont*: And it is not for nothing that the King is silent of the Duke of *Savoy's* Expedition. This sure might have gone for a happy Victory: The Duke burnt more Towns than our Fleet did Ships, and the Damage *France* sustained in *Dauphin*, was far greater, and will be no longer in repairing, than what they lost at Sea; but this, though it be the only Thing that can be said to mitigate the terrible Losses of the Confederates at Land, yet it must be passed over with profound Silence, because then it would soon be perceived, what a fruitless Thing a Descent upon *France* would be; and so one of the most plausible Pretences for giving Money would be perfectly lost; however, a Descent was designed last Summer, and the King tells you it was disappointed, and certainly that Miscarriage highly deserves your Inspection; great Sums were spent upon the Preparations, and all lost for want of Conduct and Management; and surely at this Time of Day there is little need to throw away 5 or 600,000 *l.* for no other Purpose but to sail 30 Leagues at Sea, and return.

“And upon this Occasion I cannot omit taking notice of that signal Deliverance, which by the good Providence of God, We received this last Spring, to
“the Disappointment and Confusion of Our Enemies Designs and Expectations.
“This has sufficiently shewn Us how much We are exposed to the Attempts of
“*France*,

“ *France*, while that King is in a Condition to make them ; let us therefore im-
 “ prove the Advantage we have at this Time, of being joined with most of the
 “ Princes and States of *Europe*, against so dangerous an Enemy. In this sure
 “ all Men will agree, who have any Love for their Country, or any Zeal for
 “ our Religion : I cannot therefore doubt but you will continue to support me in
 “ this War against the declared Enemy of this Nation, and that you will give
 “ as speedy Dispatch to the Affairs before you, as the Nature and Importance
 “ of them will admit, that our Preparations may be timely and effectual for the
 “ Preservation of all that is dear and valuable to us.”

In this Paragraph, the King advises you to lay hold of this Opportunity against *France*, because you are joined with most of the Princes and States of *Europe* ; and yet neither *Denmark*, nor *Swedeland*, nor *Portugal*, nor the *Swiss Cantons*, nor the States of *Italy*, (except *Savoy*) nor *Venice*, nor *Poland*, are engaged in the Confederacy against *France* : And which is yet more remarkable, *Saxony* hath perfectly quitted it. *Brandenburgh* acted so coldly last Summer, that in all Probability he will leave it before next ; and *Hanover* was bribed into it by the Hopes of an Electorate ; but that failing, he endeavours to put himself into a State of Neutrality, and accordingly is already actually negotiating for that Purpose in the Court of *France* ; so that the next Campaign *France* will have fewer Enemies, and more Friends, than she had the last ; the two Northern Crowns are not only Neuters, but plainly incline to him ; not only maintain a Trade with him, and assist him with Materials for Shipping, but with a considerable Number of Ships too, which they have sold him. *Genoa*, *Tuscany*, *Mantua* are upon the Point of declaring for him ; the *Swiss* in a Manner have broke the Neutrality, and sided with *France* ; not only by permitting him to levy Men publicly, but by prohibiting the *Germans* a Passage through their Country : And *Wertemberg*, if he is not forced to comply with his Terms, is in no Manner of Condition to do him Injury ; and put all this together, you will find the Confederacy against *France* is nothing near so formidable as it was the last Campaign : So that the joining of the Princes of *Europe* is no very taking Topick for you to part with Money ; for you cannot expect to reap any Advantage from a declining Confederacy, when you have received nothing but Loss by it, when it was in its utmost Vigour, except it be the Advantage of having far greater Sums of your Money sent to the remaining Part, to supply the Places of them that leave it ; for if so much of our Money was forced to go, when they were united, how much think you will they want of it, when there is neither Men, nor other Assistance, from *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, *Hanover*, and *Wirtemberg* ?

“ I am sure I can have no Interest but what is yours ; we have the same
 “ Religion to defend ; and you cannot be more concerned for the Preservation
 “ of your Liberties and Properties, than I am, that you should always remain
 “ in the full Possession and Enjoyment of them ; for I have no Aim but to
 “ make you a happy People.”

This Paragraph is wholly persuasive, and to gain you the more readily to comply with his Demands, the King recommends himself to you ; as in the first

Place, that he can have no Interest but what is yours, thereby meaning the *English* Interest. And this is absolutely necessary, and a Point that ought to be first settled, before any Money be given; for if the Interest of the King be divided from that of the People, it cannot be thought fit to trust him with the Treasure of the Nation, and to raise vast Sums, and put them into his Hands, which may be employed to the Advantage of a foreign Interest, and to the Prejudice of yours. Now it can never be denied but the King has actually a great Interest in *Holland*, and as Stadtholder, his Interests are twisted with those of that Common-wealth; and which is the most prevailing Interest is best discerned by such Instances as will admit of Comparison; consider then what Care and Application was made to have 600,000 *l.* paid to the *Dutch*, as the Expence of the Expedition into *England*; and reflect also what little Care is taken to discharge the respective Debts to the Workmen at the several Yards, the Transport-Vessels in the Service of the Government, and those who have furnished the Navy with Stores and Provisions; and it is a certain Truth, that those of the last Sort are forced to lend great Sums to the Government, to hook in their Debts; 20,000 *l.* must be lent to get the Payment of ten, and then Tallies may be received for the whole; when at the same Time, the *Dutch* shall be punctually paid for all the Materials wherewith they furnish the Government; so that, if the respective Interests be to be measured by the Effects, the *English* Interest comes as far behind that of the *Dutch*, as such kind of Payments do that of ready Money. The *Dutch* Soldiers in the Service of the Government are likewise duly paid, and perhaps with double Pay, while the *English* must shift as they can, and be hanged besides, if they grumble for it, though they must starve without it, as the late Proceedings at *Chatham* and *Portsmouth* may abundantly inform you. The pendulous and doubtful State of the *East-India* Company does also deserve Consideration; the Charter and Incorporation are yet in the King's Breast; and what are the secret Reasons that hitherto have prevented its Establishment? It is notorious, that the *East-India* Trade is of mighty Advantage to the *Dutch*, and which they have endeavoured to engross to themselves, and to out the *English* by all Arts, fair or foul, ever since the first Beginning of it, and nothing can be more grateful to them than to have the *English* Trade broken or divided, or to stand upon such a precarious and unsettled Bottom, as may discourage the Merchants. This is an Advantage they know how to make use of; and the unsettled Posture of our Company here apparently tends to the fortifying and improving their Interest, and the Diminution of ours; and that which is more considerable than all the rest, it deserves Enquiry for whose Advantage we have been engaged in this expensive, and in Truth unnecessary War; it hath cost the Kingdom more Treasure perhaps than all the Wars of *England* since the Conquest put together; the positive Expence of it (taking in all the Losses at Sea) have been near 40 Millions already, (besides the Privative in the Loss and Decay of Trade) and for what End? If the Matter be narrowly look'd into, it is apparently to save the *Dutch* Charges, and to preserve their Barriers: For had we kept ourselves in Peace, and preserved our Trade, our Men, and our Money, it is evident to all the World, that though
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the *Dutch* indeed must have been at a greater Expence, yet *England* by a thousand Degrees would have been more able to balance the Affairs of *Europe* than now we are: It is apparent enough therefore that this War, and all the Charge we have been at, was purely for the sake of the *Dutch*. To this add the great Prevalency of *Dutch* Counsels: Have my Ld. *Portland* and Monsr. *Ovirkirke* no other Interests but yours? And the Affections of a K. are best known by his Ministers; and when the great Affairs of State shall be managed by their Advice, we may be sure the *Dutch* will be no Losers. And if all this be put together, 'tis apparent there is another great Interest besides that of *England*, and which will turn the Bias when these Interests interfere; and when they come to be put in a Balance against each other, the *Stadtholder* will weigh down the K. It appears therefore, to be no Compliment, when the King four Years since, in a Letter to the *States General*, acquainted them, that *he accepted the Crown of England, that he might be in a better Condition to do them Service.*

The next thing he insists upon is *Religion*, meaning the *Protestant Religion*, and he tells you, *We have the same Religion to defend*, intimating the War you have been engaged in to be a *religious War*; and yet the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* (both very good Protestants themselves, and Kings of Protestant Countries) have another Opinion of it; they can turn the Balance when they please, and if they thought their Religion at stake, they would espouse the Interest of the Confederates; but their Neutrality plainly speaks, that they think Religion is not concerned either Way, and that the Posture of the Protestant Religion will be much the same, which Side soever get the better. Surely we are not to take the Confederacy for a *holy League*; the late *Pope* was at the Bottom of it, and it requires a strong Faith to believe that the *Pope* would form a Confederacy for the *Advantage* and *Defence* of the *Protestant Religion*: And the Emperor, who hath severely persecuted his Protestant Subjects in *Hungary*, and the King of *Spain*, under whom the *bloody Inquisition* reigns, are like to be admirable *Defenders* of the Protestant Religion; and yet these are the Persons you must court, and you are invited to maintain an expensive and devouring Alliance with the most bigotted Papists in the World; and no doubt in Defence of the Protestant Religion. The *Sheep* may as well confederate with the *Wolves*, and they will be as hopeful Guardians for their Lambs, as the *Inquisition* is for Protestant Religion. If the Articles of Alliance were publick, you would soon see what great Care has been taken of *our Religion*: But these must be kept as a Secret; and yet you are provoked to empty and exhaust the Kingdom in Defence of a Confederacy, the Terms of which are a Mystery, and you must by no Means be permitted the Knowledge of. In the mean Time, 'tis plain enough, that the K. in Virtue of it, is obliged to *defend* and protect the Papists against the Laws; and the large and strange Concessions to the Papists in *Ireland*, and the great Care taken here to rescue them from the Laws, and to discharge the Prosecution of them, is a Demonstration of it; so that, if the Confederacy must be denominated from Religion, 'tis plainly a *Popish Confederacy*; for it has some Regard to the

Safety and Welfare of that, but none at all to the Protestant Religion. And in farther Evidence of this, it need only be asked, whether the Emperor and K. of *Spain* be obliged by it to tolerate and give Liberty of Conscience to the Protestants in their respective Dominions, as the King is here to the Papists, and if not, (which no Man can doubt) then 'tis plain, that all the Religion the Confederacy takes care of is *Popery*. And so far as Religion is concerned in the Case, you are encouraged to give Supplies to maintain the *Inquisition* in *Spain*, and in the *Empire*, *Persecution* of *Protestants*, and *Toleration* and *Liberty* to *Papists* in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Besides, it is very observable, that those Princes who have already, and are about to *abandon* the *Confederacy*, are of the *Protestant Religion*; *Saxony* actually hath, and *Brandenburgh* and *Hanover* are upon the Point of leaving it. These Princes know well the State of the *Confederacy*, having themselves been engaged in it; and it seems they fear no such *Inundation* of *Popery*, and the Protestant Religion is as dear to them as to us: And it is a plain Case, that what Advantage soever the *Emperor* and *Spaniard* may receive by it, they are sure the *Protestant Religion* will receive none.

Our Religion therefore, however suggested to encourage the giving Supplies, is in Truth foreign to the whole Matter; and the K. of *Spain* may as well desire his Subjects to give him *Money* to maintain the *Inquisition*, as you, in the same Confederacy, to support the *Protestant Religion*: And it ought not to be forgotten, that *Schomberg*, upon his Entrance into *France*, by his Master's Command and Authority, emitted a *Declaration*, wherein, among other Things, he declares to maintain the *Popish Religion*, (which hath escaped the *Translator*, but is full in the *Original*.) And to this add the *Destruction* of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, and you must needs be satisfied, that all our Money will be expended in Defence of our Religion.

Next the K. tells, That you cannot be more concerned for the Preservation of your Liberties and Properties than he. If the K. be so much concerned for them it is well; but we conceive that ought not to make you unconcerned: And however it comes to pass, there hath been as great and high a Violation of them in this, as in any Reign. The principal of all the rest is the closetting the Members, and bribing their Votes: This poisons our Liberties in the Fountain; and if you can be prevail'd on to give away, or to suspend our Liberties, or to connive at the Invasion of them, we shall derive Slavery from the Conservators of our Liberties, and are incapable of Remedy. This was highly complained of in the last Reign; and it is multiplied upon us: So as in this Point we are reformed backwards; and from the closetting of one, we have reformed ourselves into the closetting of ten. In like Manner, the foreign Troops constantly kept here, the Free-quarter of the Soldiers, the illegal Imprisonment of great and noble Lords, and of Commons, unwarrantable Fines, and excessive Bail, and many other Things, in which the Liberty of the Subject is invaded in a high Manner: And that which deserves your Care as much as any of the rest is, that every profligate and perjured Villain shall be admitted, if not countenanced, to accuse any Person, of what Quality soever; and a Man, whose Word
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and Oath shall not pass for a *Farthing*, shall swear the greatest Peer in the Kingdom out of his Liberty, and perhaps out of his Life. This is a growing Evil, and if there be not some effectual Stop put to it, there is not one of you can be secure one Moment, if there be but two Rogues that will agree together, or can be taught to accuse you, or swear against you. These are *plain* and *visible Grievances*, and we humbly represent them to you, and apply ourselves to you for Remedy. You have now an Opportunity before you to remedy all our *Evils*, and to make such *Provisions* as may effectually secure us for the Time to come; and we need not remember you, that it hath always been the Method of wise Parliaments, to *have their Grievances redressed before they part with their Money*.

“Hitherto I have never spared to expose my own Person for the Good and Welfare of this Nation, and I am so sensible of your good Affections to me, that I shall continue to do so with great Chearfulness, upon all Occasions, wherein I may contribute to the Honour and Advantage of *England*.”

The King concludes with recommending himself to you by his personal Merits; we are not willing to suspect the Kings Bravery, especially having it from his *own Mouth*, whatever some malicious People have said of his being at the Battel of *Steynkirk*, at the Top of a Hill a great Way off, and out of Danger; and that he commands others into Danger, but keeps out of Harm's Way himself: But however we conceive, that this Age is not so fruitful of *Heroes* as of *Flatterers*; and this Province might have been safely committed to *John* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to the Dean of *St. Paul's*, and we are sorry the King lives among bad Neighbours.

*A Supplement to His Majesty's most gracious Speech.
Directed to the Honourable House of Commons, by the
Commons of England.*

TO add to the Works of the greatest Men, if the Nature of the Subject permits or requires it, hath never yet been thought an immodest Undertaking, nor prejudicial to the Honour of the first Author. You are now most about the *Ardua Regni*, and indeed more arduous Matters never yet came before your honourable Body. It is not therefore to be conceived, that Things of such a great and various Nature should be all summ'd up in a short Speech; nor is there Reason to expect, that the King should charge his Memory by a long Recital of Particulars, how important soever they may be, and necessary for your Inspection. We therefore, in all Humility, in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, make bold to lay before you such additional Matters which seem to us to be of the greatest Weight, and absolutely require your Con-

Consideration, and your grave Wisdoms to apply some speedy and effectual Remedy; and which are either but slightly touched, or wholly pretermitted by the King.

We confess indeed, that the King has laid the Scene very large and wide, when he reckons our Misfortunes, and the Miscarriages that have been this last Year, according to this Division, *such as have been upon Land, and such as have been at Sea.* This Division is comprehensive, extends to all the Calamities we groan under, and if you please to examine what hath been acted, or what hath been defective for want of acting on these two Elements, according to the full Latitude of these Expressions, you will not fail to discharge the Trust reposed in you, and to see the Cause and Occasion of all our Miseries.

But however the King hath been so large in the general, we conceive he is not so express in Particulars; which therefore we humbly crave Leave to supply and lay before you, by a just and impartial Representation of such Instances, which nothing in the World can obscure, palliate, or excuse; and out of Deference and Reverence to his Majesty, we shall do it according to the same Division, and begin with the latter.

Such Miscarriages as have been at Sea. These have been so terrible, that they make all our Hearts ach; the Merchant feels the immediate Stroke, but the Influence extends all over the Kingdom. The Loss of the Effects (how great and considerable soever) is the least of the Evils; the whole Trade is in Danger to be lost, or mightily diminished; the industrious Merchant is exhausted and discouraged; many have not the Ability, and many not the Will, to venture any more their Interests under that unfortunate and impolitic Conduct, they have already so often, and so dreadfully miscarried. The King calls this a Disgrace, and indeed it is so; but if that was all, it was no great Matter; the Merchants, we suppose, could bear the Shame well enough, if they had but their Effects; and if such prodigious Losses affect only the Modesty of the Nation, we are pretty well yet; we may blush, or so, and the Harm is over. If the Merchants interpret that which hath sucked out their very Hearts Blood, to be only some Disgrace to them, we presume they are the modestest Men living. However, let the Disgrace be what it will, that might be repaired again by an honourable Action; but as the Case stands, this is irreparable, our Honour and Interest are both sunk together; the most beneficial Trade we have is almost, if not altogether ruined, and that apparently by ill Management. The Winds and the Storms the Merchant bears patiently, and his Losses redouble his Vigour and Industry; but when he is ruined by his Guard, when he is convoyed into Destruction, this admits of neither Remedy nor Hope; and there is not so much as Chance or Contingency to encourage him; and every Man will conclude it is Time to give over, and to sit still, rather than to freight his Ships for the Benefit of Enemies, and run the Risque of such desperate Adventures. The King tells you, that *Trade is essential to the Welfare of this Kingdom*: Then our Welfare is lost with our Trade, as being essential to it, and the most flourishing Kingdom in *Europe* is reduced to Barrenness and Penury. Our Money is gone Abroad already, and if our Trade, which should supply us with more, is gone after it too, we have nothing left but

but to lament our Miseries, and with that stinging Aggravation, that they are irrecoverable. The Commodiousness of our Ports, the Skill of our Merchants, the Expertness of our Seamen, all the Cost in the World, will stand us in no stead, but to make us more unhappy; all the Advantages are poisoned in the Conduct, and made the Instruments of our Misfortunes.

But here the King tells you, that *he hath resented it extreamly; and that he will take care that those who have not done their Duty shall be punished.* It may be so; but here we crave Leave to add this Supplement, that we hope this will not hinder nor abate the Resentments, nor take off the Care from bringing the Offenders to condign Punishment. The King's Resentments and Cares ought to be a Spur to yours, and thereby yours will do two great Things at once, both imitate the King, and consult the Safety of the Nation; and in order to this, we humbly propose these following Things, as highly deserving your Enquiry.

1. How it came to pass, and by whose Means, that the Merchants, after so many Petitions and Addresses, were for some Months detained, and no Importunity could obtain either Convoy or Leave to prosecute their Voyage; and they were reserved to that critical Time, when the *French* Fleet were just ready and prepared to receive them. If the *French* themselves had had the Conduct of our Fleet, they could never have timed it better; they are no sooner got into the *Streights*, but our *Smyrna* Fleet is sent into their Mouths. Put these together, that the Merchants were ready many Months before, and all the Application they could make could never procure Liberty, but they must go then, just then, when nothing could hinder them from falling into the *French* Hands. And we shall leave it with any considering Man, whether it be possible to believe but there was Treachery in the Case, at whose Door soever it will lie. And it is not for nothing, that our Fleet was scarcely out of Sight, but there was a general Report about the Town, that it was in Danger to be taken by the *French*; which evidently proves, that the Contrivers of their going out were privy to the Secret, and knew well enough what would become of them. To this may be added,

2. What was the Reason, and who was in the Fault, that our grand Fleet, which set out with them, did not see them out of Danger? Was the grand Fleet designed only to compliment Sir *George Rook* and the Merchantmen, and to bring them so far on their Way, and wish them a good Voyage? If this were all indeed, they did their Parts, and a Gun at parting would fully execute their Commission; but if it was to protect them from the *French* Fleet, what fair Reason can be given that they left them so soon, or that they left them at all, until they were sure they were clear of Danger? Was it upon Supposition the *French* Fleet was not out? This is a fine Conduct indeed, to leave Matters of this Consequence to GuesSES and Suppositions. The Merchants had staid long enough, and there were Frigates enough, and to spare, to have sent to *Brest*, if the Matter had been doubted. And we are in a fine Condition, when Matters of such Importance must be managed by uncertain Conjectures; and when our Prime Ministers neither have good Intelligence, nor will give such Orders whereby

whereby they cannot fail of it. But we believe this is not the Fault; and any rational Man, who impartially considers this Conduct, will conclude, that the Supposition was on the contrary Hand, and it was so fatally managed, upon the Supposition the *French* were out, rather than upon Supposition that they were not.

3. Another Miscarriage deserving your Enquiry is, that after this woful Loss, and the exact Knowledge of it, our grand Fleet again set sail; who was in the Fault that they did not directly sail to the *Streights*, and repair our lost Honour upon our Enemies? The *French* Fleet was then foul with their long Voyage, some of their Ships disabled, and the Fleet certainly weakened, so as they were in no good Condition to resist the Force of our Fleet, which was fresh, and so well prepared. This might have redeemed our Loss, at least have compensated it: But instead of this, we do nothing but sail some Leagues to Sea, and then return; as if the Business of our grand Fleet was for nothing else but to make a Flourish, to ride in Triumph over the Waves, but not to fight with our Enemies. And surely it is Matter of Enquiry, whose Fault was it that this promising Opportunity was lost? Was it for Want of Orders? Or for not executing them? Or for Want of necessary Stores and Provisions? Each of these are unpardonable Miscarriages, and will lie somewhere; and we hope your Wisdoms will search this to the Bottom. For it is a lamentable Thing, that the Treasure of the Nation must be thus lavished away; that our Navy must be rigg'd at incredible Expence, and all for nothing else but to furl their Sails. If the Business of the Fleet be only Shew, and not Action, we think a Pastboard Ship at my Lord Mayor's Shew might do as well as any in the Ports, and save the Nation a great deal of Money in their Pockets.

4. Notwithstanding all this, and that our Fleet hath hardly been from Home, the *French* Privateers have been more busy and bold than ever; they lie perpetually on our Coasts, take our Vessels out of our Harbours, and sometimes in the very Sight of the Fleet. And what does our Fleet signify, that can secure us neither at Home nor Abroad? Heretofore we used to boast of our wooden Castles, as the Strength and Defence of our Country; and the Truth is, our Ships and our Seamen are as good as ever; but if they are made unserviceable and useless by ill Conduct, it is all one to have no Fleet at all, as none to defend us.

For the Close of this, the King tells you, *It will deserve your Consideration, whether we are not defective in the Number of our Shipping*; and intimates his Desires, that you would supply that Defect; but except you supply the Defect of Conduct, you may provide as many Ships as will bridle the Ocean, and just to as much Purpose as those you have already. And the Truth is, we have Ships and Men enough, but our Want is more honest and able Ministers: And if we must lay out our Money to supply the Defects of the Navy, let us do it where the Need lies, and purchase wise and faithful Managers. And we know no Reason why our Money may not buy faithful Counsellors, as well as the *French* Money can buy treacherous ones. In short, If you make Provisions for the Navy, we beseech you to begin at the right End,

End, to provide us just and skilful Ministers of State; for let the Ships and Commanders be what they will, while they must act under the Direction of corrupt and selfish Ministers, we can never hope to be better. This is an Error in the first Concoction, and can never be rectified; in vain therefore do you provide Ships and Supplies, if you do not take care of the Helm, and see that such honest Guides are set up, who will mind their Country more than themselves, and the publick Interest more than their own.

The next Branch of the Division, is the Miscarriages (the King calls them the Disadvantages) at Land. And these indeed are by no Means equal to, because they are far greater than those at Sea. The Loss of *Heidelberg* and *Rosès*, of *Huy* and *Charleroy*, besides the terrible Defeats in two pitched Battles, the one in *Flanders*, the other in *Piedmont*: In all which, besides the Towns and Castles, the Artillery and Baggage, the Confederates lost very few less than fifty thousand Men. But to come to that in which we were more immediately concerned, and that is the Battle at *Landen*; of which the King tells you, That "it was only occasioned by the great Number of our Enemies, which exceeded ours." Now we cannot deny the Truth of this; for it is unaccountable, that an equal, or less Number of Men shall storm a Camp, and make such terrible Havock and Slaughter, and take most of the heavy Cannon and Baggage. But this notwithstanding, there are two Things to be added by way of Supplement.

1. How it came to pass, that at that Battle, the *French* came to exceed ours in Number? The Confederate Army were eighty thousand Men; and if they had been kept in a Body, or near together, they would have equalled, if not exceeded the *French*: But by a new martial Policy, a great Detachment was sent away under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and another greater to cover *Liege* and *Maëstricht*; and then, when our Army was weakened, the *French* fought and beat us; and what better could be expected? 'Tis in vain here to say, we did not think the *French* would attack us, but that they would direct their Course towards *Liege* or *Maëstricht*; for that, instead of mending the Matter, makes it worse, and the Miscarriages greater; for it is inexcusable in a General to say, he did not think of his Enemies; *Non licet in bello bis peccare*. And it is a greater Dishonour to a General to be surpris'd and taken unawares, than to be beaten: For Victory is an Act of Providence, but the other is his own Negligence, or Want of Prudence: The *English* of this is, *Luxemburg* outwitted us; and we are like to have a fair Account, when our Enemies are stronger in their Heads and Arms. The King tells you, it is necessary to augment our Forces, and hopes you will accordingly supply him; but according to the Measures of the last Summer's Campaign, it is impossible to know what Numbers are necessary; for you must not only provide a sufficient Number to fight, but a sufficient Number also to be sent away. And what Number or Purse is sufficient for both these Purposes, we doubt, will puzzle your Arithmetick, as well as ours.

2. The other Thing we crave Leave to add, is, the unaccountable Conduct of removing our Camp, in such a Juncture, from a strong and well

fortified Place to pitch it in a Plain; one would have imagined, when our Army was so much weakened, a little Foresight would have taught us to keep in the strongest Hold; had we continued in our Camp at *Park-Abby*, the *French* would have found it a tough Piece of Work to have forced it; and *Luxemburg* knew it, and therefore enticed us out, and made his Advantage of it. But this is not all; we are not only contented to relinquish a Place of Strength, but we must encamp so awkwardly as to place a River behind us; whereas any Man who had the Experience but of one Year's Campaign, would easily have seen the Incommodiousness of such an Encampment: And that the River ought to have been before and not behind us; both to hinder the Approaches of the Enemy; and, in case of Defeat, to secure a safer Retreat, and the Event plainly proved it, to our Cost: For the Situation of our Camp gave far easier Access to the *French* than they could have had, if they had been to approach us over a River; and upon the Victory, the River served not only to bar a regular Retreat, but made even the confused Flight far more desperate; and it had these two fatal Effects; to keep us longer under our Enemies Swords, and to drown our Men when they fled from them; and, in truth, the River destroyed far more of our Army than the *French* did, or could do. There is great Reason therefore that you should augment our Forces, that you may be sure to have enough to make Bridges, to secure the Retreat of the rest.

And thus much we thought good, humbly to add, with respect to the martial Miscarriages: But there are others of a Civil Nature, and God knows these are not less fatal to the Welfare of our Nation; it destroys us at home, as these do abroad. We need not go into *Flanders* for our Destruction. We have Cankers and Moths in our own Bowels, which consume us as effectually as our Enemies Swords. There is no doubt, but you will have Complaints enough from all Quarters, and the Miseries this poor Nation labours under, will reach your Ears from all Parts of the Land, and we hope you will relieve them. We shall therefore select a very few, out of that great Number, to represent unto you.

And the first is, the Misemployment of our Treasure; our Money is spent contrary to the Ends for which you gave it. This is plain to a Demonstration; you gave last Year five Millions to defray the Expence of this Year's War; a Sum indeed sufficient, and to spare, and more than ever this Kingdom before paid in one Year; and yet, neither our Seamen, nor our Land-Forces, are paid. A Proclamation was issued out to continue the Seamen in Pay all the Winter, which is only to multiply an unnecessary Charge, and without the least Advantage; but this was only to prevent the Murmurings and Complaints of the Seamen, but this will not do; for the Cries of their Families, and their own Want of Bread, makes them desperate, and their Complaints fill the Ears of the Government, and of all Men besides. Their Wives and Children live upon Trust, in hopes of Repayment, when the Summer's Expedition is over; but now their Creditors are weary of trusting, and will give them no more Credit, as having no Prospect when they shall be paid. And this is the State of most of our Seamen, and it is dismally
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sad, that they must venture their Lives, and themselves and their Families be starved for their Pains. The Case is not one Jot better with the Land-Forces: They have neither Pay nor Subsistence-Money: And to give you one Instance for all; in the *Tower Hamlets* some Hundreds are quartered; and they lived so long upon their Hosts, that they both grumbled, and upon the same Reason, for Want of Pay; one from the Government, the other from the Soldier; insomuch that a Fortnight since, my Lord *Lucas*, (no doubt by superior Direction) sent the Officers of the respective Parishes to all the Publick Houses, acquainting them, that if they would trust each Soldier as far as three Shillings a Week, he would be responsible, and see them paid.

This is Demonstration that our Forces are not paid; and they must either subsist upon Trust, or upon Free-quarter, or perish.

This is not only the Case of the Soldiers, but of all other Persons concerned relative to the War. Those who have furnished naval Stores, and Arms; the Work-men who belong to the respective Yards, &c. they are all in the same Condition; and have no Hopes, but the Expectation of what you will give. And now let us ask, if any mortal Man can believe, that five Millions was not abundantly sufficient to defray the whole Expence of this Year? Nay, whether the one Half of it be not more than sufficient? And yet the publick Debts still increase upon us, and by a strange State Paradox, the more you give, the more you owe. By this Rule, your Supplies will but set us further behind-hand; for, if five Millions have run us so much in Debt, what will ten Millions do? In short, you may give what you will, but without some effectual Care, and more than hath hitherto been taken, the Issue will be always the same; for if, when you have given more than enough, the Forces, &c. are not paid, neither will they, if you give ten Times more: For, when our Money is once diverted into a wrong Channel, the same Stream will carry away all we have, and with the same Ease and Security. This therefore is an unsufferable Grievance, in whose Hands soever it lies; and is no less than robbing the Nation, and abusing your Supplies. Give us leave to speak a sad but a plain Truth; if any Pensioner pockets up any of the publick Monies, he does not only betray his Trust, and his Country, but he devours the Blood of the Soldiers and Seamen, and feeds upon the Spoils of the People. The Eyes of all the Nation are upon you in this Particular: And if you do not make a strict and impartial Enquiry into this last Year's Expence, they will be tempted to think, what some do not stick to say, not only that you do not care what becomes of our Money, but that you dare not dive too deep into the Accounts, lest your own Names be found there; and you are forced to connive at other Mens Guilts, lest you discover your own. We therefore earnestly pray you, for your own Sakes, as well as ours, that before you give any more Money, you will carefully examine the publick Accounts, and see first what is become of the last. That you will diligently inspect through whose Hands it passed, to whom disposed, and for what Uses. And we do not doubt, but you will find at the least, the one Half of it embezzled, or misapplied; and we hope you will not only detect, and punish whom you shall

find guilty, but make them refund, and restore also, what, in plain *English*, they have stolen from the Nation.

2. The Exportation of Corn, in a Time of Scarcity, or (which is all one) to make a Time of Scarcity. Wheaten Bread is now in *London* twelve Shillings and eight Pence a Bushel, and white Bread eighteen Shillings; and Corn all over the Kingdom bears some Proportion to this, and rises in the Price, respectively to the different Places; and is three Times dearer than usual, especially considering the seasonable Harvest. And this is plainly the Effect of Exportation; and we have *Dutch* Factors all over the Nation, raising the Markets, and starving the Poor. And we cannot but take notice of a late Proclamation, both here and in *Ireland*, forbidding, under strict Penalties, to transport Corn to *France*; which is a pleasant Business, when it is already, by Act of Parliament, made Treason to correspond there: But this Proclamation has two Edges; the one was to lay the Odium of the Dearth upon we know not who, *Jacobites*; as if all the Corn had been, by their Means, transported into *France*. And this hath been artificially and industriously spread through the Countries; but this had like to have spoiled the Project; for the Country took the Alarm, and was glad of any Occasion to keep their Corn at home, and rose unanimously to defend their Corn from *French* Harpies. But upon second Thoughts, it was judged convenient to send some Soldiers to the Ports, and other Places, to keep the People in Order, and patiently to see their Corn carried away before their Eyes: From whence it is notorious enough, that our Corn goes to *Holland*, and not to *France*.

And accordingly, the other End of the Proclamation is plainly to encourage the transporting it to *Holland*. A Prohibition to *France* is a tacit Direction to *Holland*. It had not been very plausible, nor perhaps safe, to have sent out Orders for the transporting Corn to the *Low-Countries*; but this might be done as well by a side-Wind; it is but proclaiming that none must be sent to *France*, and then the Inference is obvious, there is no Danger in carrying it to *Holland*; nay, not to leave the Matter to Inference and Collection, there are positive and direct Orders, in the Ports of *England* and *Ireland*, not only to permit the Factors for Corn to buy and ship it, but are ordered Convoys to guard them to *Holland*. From whence we plainly see from what Quarter our Scarcity comes, and what great Compassion we bear to the Poor of *England*. Let the *Dutch* have but Plenty, and it is no Matter if our Poor be starved. We need say very little in this Particular to awaken your Diligence in examining it; nor what great Care our Laws have taken to preserve equal the Prices of Corn, by the Provisions they make against Restrators, Forestallers, and Monopolizers: For if you do not take some Care, and that speedily too, the Poor will carve for themselves, as they have already in some Places: *Hunger breaks through Stone Walls*; and if Famine comes on us by your Neglect, you must thank yourselves, if the Poor fill their Bellies at your Cost, and eat up what you had provided for your own Meals.

3. The corrupt Administration of Justice. This is the worst Crime in a Commonwealth: A Murderer, or Thief, breaks the Laws; but a corrupt Judge

Judge both breaks and debauches it, and poisons the Fountains of Justice. Do we not daily see the Judges acting under the Directions of the Ministers of State, as if a Judge was sworn not to be guided by the Laws, but by the Secretaries. The poor and scandalous Acts of picking up, and cherishing the most profligate Villains to make Evidences of, as in the Case of *Fuller, Holland, &c.* The intolerable and illegal Fines; when a Man, not worth a Farthing, shall be fined two or three hundred Pounds, contrary to the Direction of the Law, which always limits Fines to Mens Abilities, and with a *Salvo contenemento*; of this, every Sessions gives notorious Instances; and particularly the last, when one Mr. *Cooke*, upon the single Evidence of a Beggar, and vagabond Papist; and that Evidence, not direct to the Fact neither, but only by Hear-say; for she swears she saw him set a Seal, and heard Mrs. *M—* say, it was the Seal of my Lord *N—*, and this is all that came up to the Indictment; and yet, upon such an Evidence, the Man was found guilty, and fined two hundred Pounds, and Mr. Recorder, by wonderful Eloquence, made him believe the Court did him a Favour in not setting him in the Pillory. And is not this, think you, an admirable Course of Justice, when an Evidence, by Hear-say, shall be sufficient to convict a Man? And if you please to consult the Records of the Sessions, you will find a great Number of such shameless Cases. Perhaps it may be said here, that the Persons, convicted, either were, or were suspected to be *Jacobites*, and so no Friends to the Government, and no Matter what became of them: But we are not pleading for the *Jacobites*, but for Justice; and Justice is blind, and knows no Parties. And we presume, under former Governments (when these Things were complained of) the respective Persons, under such Sentences, were not thought to be Friends to the respective Governments. If the Administration of Justice is limited to Persons and Parties, and not to Things, and legal Proofs, it is partial, and corrupt; and we are not governed by the plain Rules of Law, but by Faction and Passion.

But if this was the worst, and such partial distributing of Justice concerned only the Subject's Liberty and Property, it might be the better borne. But in the very Case of Life, it is just the same; these Men make no more to hang a Man contrary to Law, than to fine him. The Case of Captain *Ashton* you all know, and there hath long since an Opinion been given of it in the House of Peers: But there is a fresh Instance of one *Anderton*, a Printer, who was murdered by the Bench, against the plain Words, and express Direction of the Law, in that Case made and provided. The Whole is very well worthy your Notice; but we shall not take up your Time with mentioning the Want of one, much less of two direct Evidences to the Fact charged upon him, (which the Law expressly requires in the Case of Treason) nor the indirect Means to induce the Jury to find him guilty, by brow-beating, threatening, and such like; which so over-awed the Jury, that most of them brought in a Verdict directly contrary to their Judgments. To omit these, which deserve your Enquiry: The single Question is, Whether Printing be Treason, according to the Laws of *England*? He was indicted on the Statute of Treasons,

fons, 25 *Edw.* III. Now, it is as plain as the Sun, that Printing could not be Treason, by the exprefs Words of that Act; for Printing was not in Use, nor known, when that Act was made; and it is to be remembered, that that Act limits Treasons, and exprefsly declares, that there shall be no Treasons for the future, but what are there expreffed, but what shall be declared in Parliament. If it be said, though it be not there exprefsly, it is virtually, and by Interpretation: But pray, what Kind of Treasons are those which are virtual, and interpretative Treasons? Our Laws know no Treasons by Inference and Consequence, but what are plain and exprefs in the Law. But whose Interpretation is this? The Interpretation of the Judge, or of the Law? The Judge hath interpreted it so indeed, and hath hanged a Man upon it; but the Law hath interpreted it quite otherwise; and the Law is so far from interpreting Printing to be Treason, that it hath plainly declared that it is not so, and consequently not within that Act. The Statute 14 *Car.* II. hath made Provision for the very Case, hath taken notice of, and assigned Punishments for the printing seditious Libels, and some of them hath been left to the Discretion of the Bench; but with this negative Clause exprefsly, *not extending to Life*. This is a plain Case, that printing seditious Libels is not interpreted Treason by the Law, but the contrary; and if it be not Treason by the Construction of the Law, then, by the same Construction, it is not Treason within the Statute of Treasons. For the Fact is not exprefs in that Statute, nor could be; the Question is only concerning the Construction of it; and the Law hath already construed it not to be Treason, *as not extending to Life*. So that the Construction of Law, is in direct Opposition to the Construction of Judge *Treby*; and he hath hanged a Man in downright Contradiction to the very Words of the Law. Now, it is to be remembered, that this Law of Printing is your own; and you have made it your own Act, by reviving it; and to have your own Laws invaded openly before your Faces, is such an unparallel'd Boldness, that no Words can sufficiently exprefs; and in the Case of Life, it is Murder besides. We are no Patrons of seditious Libels; let the Printers of them be punished, but then let them be punished according to Law, and not by arbitrary Constructions and Wrestings, which will serve (if the Judge be so disposed) to hang any Man in the World: For if he construe one Thing to be Treason, contrary to the exprefs Words of Law, he may, by the same Reason, construe another Thing to be so; and so at length our Lives and Properties shall not be judged by just Laws, but by unjust Men.

Upon the Whole; if the Current of Justice be suffered to run in the same Channel, no Man is safe, yourselves are as obnoxious as others; for, when once you come to be out of Parliament, and the Sessions is over, you are equally liable to the Lash of these Men with ourselves. You may make what Laws you please; but, if you do not take care that they are more honestly executed, your good Laws will stand you in as little Stead as they do us. The *English* Laws, indeed, are the best in the World; but if they are administered by the worst of Men, we are never the better.

better. There is nothing more merciful and tender, in the Case of Life, than our Laws, allowing all the favourable Construction and Latitude that the Case can admit of; but, if they shall be cramped, and pinched by a corrupt Judge, to the Destruction of a Prisoner, what Good does the Equity and Favour of the Laws do him? Our Laws are so very averse to Cruelty and Blood, that they will not permit a Butcher as a Jury-man, to pass upon Life and Death; but what does that signify, if Butchers shall be permitted to sit upon the Bench?

4. The Posture of Foreigners within this Kingdom. This is a Matter of high Consequence, and requires a strict and cautious Eye, not only of yourselves, but of every *Englishman* besides. Foreigners have always a separate Interest from that of the Nation; and if for Numbers, or upon any other Consideration, they become formidable, it is high Time for the Natives to look to themselves, and to provide for their own Safety and Security. This Kingdom hath already smarted under two fatal Instances; the one of the *Saxons*, the other of the *Danes*; who being respectively called in, upon the Pretence of Assistance, so soon as Opportunity was ripe, made themselves Masters of the Country, killed our Princes and Nobles, and made the rest their Slaves and Vassals. The Memory of this continues fresh among us, and is proverbially transmitted to Posterity; and so long as the Name of Lord *Dane* remains, will never be forgotten. And our own dear-bought Experience, one would think, should teach us Wisdom in this Case, and make us beware of Foreigners, and careful how we trust them. Now, we need not remind you, that a great Part of the military Force of this Kingdom is in the Hands of Foreigners: Most of the Commanders of the Army are Strangers to us, know not our Laws and Constitution, nor have any Kindness for them; but have, must have, Ends of their own, divided from that of the publick Welfare of the Nation, and People. Give us Leave here to wonder, and let all the World wonder with us, that the Ecclesiastical Bench, in the House of Lords, should not only vote for this, but make Speeches in Defence of it. It was a smart Reply made by a noble Lord, *That he might, in a short Time, see Dutch Bishops in that Bench, as well as Dutch Officers in the Army*: That our Souls might as safely be committed to their Care, as our Lives, Liberties, and Estates: And in Truth, if we give the Sword into their Hands, which governs all Things, we may soon have not only *Dutch* Bishops, *Dutch* Presbyters, and *Dutch* Commanders, but *Dutch* Lords, *Dutch* Commons, and *Dutch* every thing; and Lord *Dutch* may become as formidable to us, as Lord *Dane* was to our Ancestors: For it is as clear as the Light, give them Power to defend us, and they have Power to ruin us; and those who will fight for us, only for their Interests, will fight against us upon the same Inducement; and if they can find their Account in it, we may soon feel the Effects of their Valour, in subduing us, when they are not able to master our Enemies. A fat Morfel is good Prey to a Soldier of Fortune: And if he can make his Fortune at our Cost, we must own ourselves beholden to him,
if

if he does not carve liberally for himself, though it be upon our Bones and Carcases.

And if you please to consider the Posture of Foreigners amongst us, you will find, not only, that most of our Troops are composed of our old Task-masters the *Danes*, and of the *Dutch*, and the *French Refugees*; but, (which extreamly sharpens this Consideration) that there are also a great Party of Foreigners in the Heart of the Nation, who may soon be, if they are not already prepared to second any Attempt, if not to act in Conjunction with them. This Inference is so natural, that nothing but the utmost Forgetfulness of ourselves can make us careless on that Hand: But if there be violent Presumptions, nay, apparent Evidences, that some great Matter is brewing among them, 'tis no less than desperate Infatuation to lie secure and negligent under such threatening Dangers in our own Bowels. It is not unknown to you, how great a Number there are of *French Refugees* in, and about this City, who are in full Union with their Brethren in the Army; nor what military Authority and Power the Duke of *Lemster*, their Countryman, hath in this Kingdom; nor can it be doubted but he hath great Authority and Influence over them, and manages them according to such Methods and Councils as may best answer the Ends which are driven at. That accordingly most of the *French Refugees*, who are able to bear Arms, are actually arm'd and listed under distinct Officers, and of whom the said Duke is Chief. That there have been several Sums of Money distributed to them, and some in particular by the said Duke, in all Probability to supply themselves with Weapons, to use upon such Occasions as they shall be called to, when Opportunity serves. That, in pursuance of this, several Thousands of Arms have been made and bought up by them; and that in particular one Gunsmith in the *Minories* contracted with some of the *French Refugees* for 500 Case of Pistols, of a Size shorter than Holster Pistols, and which he accordingly made, and Half of the Money was paid him beforehand, and the rest at the Delivery of the Pistols. And that other Gunsmiths in the *Minories* had full Employment from the same Hands, in the same Work; and 'tis said, they have not bought up less than 8000 of these Cases of Pistols. It is here Matter of your serious Consideration, what use these Kind of Pistols are to be put to? It is certain, they are not for Employment in the *Field*. And it is as certain, they are fitted for the Work they drive at; and we shall leave it with you, whether it does not portend some sudden and secret Execution of a barbarous Nature? That accordingly several threatening Speeches have been given out, that some Persons, at a certain Time, should have their *Throats* cut; and some of them are grown to that Confidence, as to make particular Threatnings; which shews they are almost sure of their Design. A *French* Minister sent several Letters to a very considerable Clergy-man, threatening him, that he was a dead Man; that he was to buy a Halter for himself; that there was a Gallows prepared for him, which he must first ascend and mount. Further yet, that there have been not long since 700 Tickets, of mysterious Figures and Characters, scatter'd about *St. Ann's* Parish among the Habitations of the *French*

French Refugees, and thrown into several Houses, which plainly import some secret and mysterious Design. And, to close up all, there are almost every Week great Numbers of *French* Refugees, and other Foreigners, brought over hither from beyond the Seas, on Pretence to go and inhabit in *Ireland*, who, notwithstanding, are kept in *England*, and no doubt to augment their Forces, and strengthen the Confederacy.

And now, Gentlemen, you that are the Trustees and Representatives of your Country, we intreat you impartially to reflect what these Things mean. Is it not apparent that a Design is hatching, and a great Storm gathering; which, when it breaks, may overwhelm you and your Posterities, if not prevented? Is it possible for you to believe our Lives, Liberties, and Estates safe in such Circumstances? Did ever a wise Nation suffer Foreigners to become formidable in their own Country? Look into the Records of Time, and see if there be one single Instance in the whole World, where *Strangers* had gain'd Power and Force enough, they did not make use of it to advance themselves, and ruin the *Natives*? Was there no visible Ground of Jealousy, the very Nature of the Thing would alarm your uttermost Caution: And you have besides that, the Experience of all Ages, to quicken your Councils in this Case. But when Men of separate Councils, Measures, and Interest from yours, when they are arm'd with Power and Number too; when there is apparently a bold Design actually form'd, and run through the whole Party, in such a Case, the Danger is brought home to your own Doors; and 'tis high Time to awake out of Sleep, and to apply your utmost Wisdoms to the providing a speedy and effectual Remedy.

5. We have but one Thing more to trouble you with, though it may not seem grievous in the Nature of it, yet in the Consequence it may be a more dreadful Miscarriage than any of the rest; and if you do not remedy this, you can remedy none of the other; and that is, the postponing the Redress of Grievances to the giving Supplies. This is lodg'd in your own House, and you have hitherto fatally laboured under it; you yourselves know, by the Experience of your former Sessions, and all the Kingdom knows, that so soon as you have given our Money, the Court hath done with you; and our Grievances remain the same, or grow greater, and you rise *reinfecté*; you have done the Business of the Court indeed, but not that of the Country; and so your great Trust is but half executed, and the least half too. The Question therefore here is not concerning the Nature of Things, or the Preference of one before the other, (though yet we believe the redressing our Grievances is every Way as necessary to our Welfare as, if not preferuable to, the giving Supplies) but concerning the Order of Time. We pray you let that be done first, which otherwise will not be done at all. We are sure the Court will permit you to sit to give Money: And we are as sure, you will not sit to redress our Evils, if you give that first. Money will be welcome first, or last; but our Grievances must be remedy'd first, or never. Let your Time therefore be suited to the Occasions. First examine the State of the Nation; consider the Miscarriages

at Sea and Land ; and apply effectual Remedies to the respective Miseries we groan under ; and then we shall more chearfully part with our Money.

And thus we have presumed to lay before you some Part of those manifold Miscarriages our unhappy Nation hath lately felt, and still feels the Smart of ; and which we humbly conceive highly require your Consideration. We hope this humble Address will not be unacceptable to you ; and we are sure we have herein done our Duty to God, to yourselves, and to our Country : However, if our humble Supplication will not deserve the Thanks of the House, we perswade ourselves the subject Matter of it will deserve your Care ; which is the utmost Aim of

Your humble Petitioners,

The Commons of ENGLAND.

An Account of some Transactions in the Honourable House of Commons, and before the Right Honourable Lords of the Committee of the Kings most Honourable Privy Council, relating to the late EAST-INDIA Company.
1693.

Sabbati, 6 die Februarii, 1691.

Resolved,

TH A T an humble Address be made to his Majesty, to dissolve the present *East-India* Company, according to his Power reserved in their Charter, and to constitute another *East-India* Company, for the better preserving the *East-India* Trade to this Kingdom ; in such Manner as his Majesty in his Royal Wisdom shall think fit.

Resolved, That the said Address be presented by the whole House.

Jovis, 11 die Februarii, 1691.

Mr. *Speaker* reported to the House, That he did yesterday present to his Majesty their humble Address, touching the *East-India* Company ; and that his Majesty was pleased to express himself to this Effect :

That it was a Matter of very great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom ; and that it could not be expected that he should give a present Answer to it ; but that he would take Time to consider of it, and in a short Time give them his positive Answer.

Upon

Upon which, some Time after, the Company having first agreed to submit to such Regulations as should be made, and declared their Submission in Writing, the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to whom that Matter was referred, agreed on these following Propositions, which were sent to the Company, (*viz.*)

Propositions for regulating the EAST-INDIA Company, from the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, their Majesties Principal Secretary of State.

Proposition I. **T**H E Fund to be made up 1,500,000*l.* at least, and not to exceed two Millions.

Prop. II. The Stock of the present Company to be Part of this Fund, and to be rated at 744,000*l.* if they can give Security, that it shall effectually produce that Sum, or else at so much less, as they will engage to make good, after all Debts paid, and Satisfaction made to the Mogul and his Subjects, against whose Pretensions, the new Stock to be indemnified by like Security.

Prop. III. That the said Stock of the present Company shall be brought home any Time within Years, in the Ships abroad, or those to be sent on Account of the new Stock, paying the same Freight, and disposed of at publick Sales, by the Members of the present Company, and the nett Proceed thereof to be taken as Part of the 744,000*l.* as shall also the Value of their Forts, &c. to be estimated by indifferent Persons, and put into the Hands of the Charter Company; but after Day, no Goods to be exported to the *East-Indies*, on Account of the old Stock.

Prop. IV. That whatever the quick and dead Stock shall thus produce more than 744,000*l.* shall be divided wholly between the Members of the present Company, proportionably to their respective Stocks.

Prop. V. Books to be provided for new Subscriptions, within and then the Books to be closed.

Prop. VI. If the Subscriptions exceed two Millions, each Subscriber to be reduced proportionably, till the Whole make but two Millions.

Prop. VII. That every Subscriber pay in his Money upon Pain —

Prop. VIII. No one Person to have above 10,000*l.* in this Stock in his own, or others Name, in Trust for him; and every Subscriber shall make Oath accordingly, and that it is his own Money.

Prop. IX. That every Member of the present Company, who hath above 10,000*l.* Stock, shall sell forthwith the Overplus, at the Rate of 100*l.* for 100*l.* but so, that if the whole nett Proceed of the present Stock exceed 744,000*l.*

this Overplus shall go to the Person that hath sold his Overplus Stock, proportionably to the Share he had before such Sale.

Prop. X. No Person to have a Vote, that hath, in his own Right, and not in Trust, less than 500 *l.* Stock, nor more than one Vote, unless he hath 4000 *l.* and then two Votes, and if 6000 *l.* three Votes, 8000 *l.* four Votes, and 10,000 *l.* five Votes.

Prop. XI. All Members of the present Company, and new Subscribers, to be incorporated by the Name of

Prop. XII. All who have, or subscribe 500 *l.* Stock, to meet and chuse a Governor, Deputy, and twenty-four Committees, to manage the Trade; none to be Governor, or Deputy, who hath, or hath subscribed, less than 2000 *l.* Stock, nor Committee 1000 *l.* Stock.

Prop. XIII. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to be chosen every Year; and if any die within the Year, others to be chosen by a general Court.

Prop. XIV. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to take the Oath of Fidelity, &c. and also an Oath for the faithful Discharge of their Trust.

Prop. XV. That every one purchasing any Stock shall take his Freedom, and before his Admittance pay for a Fine, and take the Oaths appointed.

Prop. XVI. That all free of the former Company, or capable to be so, and all subscribing to the present Stock, shall be admitted *gratis*.

Prop. XVII. That the Company hereby established, may make Bye-Laws for their better Government; that no Bye-Laws shall be binding to the Company, but such as are approved by a General Court of Adventurers, and are not repugnant to the Laws of the Land.

Prop. XVIII. That every General Court and Committee be called by the Governor, or Deputy; at all which the Governor, or Deputy, shall be present, and in case of Equality of Voices, shall have a casting Voice.

Prop. XIX. That the Company shall enjoy the sole Trade to the *East-Indies*, in the several Countries lying and being between the *Cape de Bona Esperanza*, and the Streights of *Magellan*.

Prop. XX. That it shall not be lawful for any, save the said Company only, directly or indirectly, to trade within the Limits granted to the said Company, on Pain of forfeiting.

Prop. XXI. That no Licence, or Permission, shall be granted to any Persons, or Ships, to trade to the *East-Indies* on any private Account, and that all such Permissions shall be void.

Prop. XXII. That there shall be no private Contract for the Sale of any Goods, but they shall be all sold in Publick, by Inch of Candle, for the Company's Account.

Prop. XXIII. That no Lot of any Goods to be sold shall exceed the Value of 500 *l.*

Prop.

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Prop. XXIV. Every Year the Company shall deliver to their Majesties Use 500 Tons of Salt-Petre, at *per* Ton, if required, the Refraction not exceeding

Prop. XXV. That the Company shall yearly export to the *East-Indies*, not less than the Value of 100,000 *l.* in Goods, of the Product and Manufactures of *England*.

Prop. XXVI. That all Dividends be made in Money.

Prop. XXVII. That no Dividend be made without leaving the original Fund, or at least 1,500,000 *l.* besides what is necessary to pay their Debts.

Prop. XXVIII. That the said Company's Accomptant keep a Book to enter the Value of the Stock upon Oath, to lie open for the Perusal of all Persons concerned.

Prop. XXIX. That all Transfers of Stock shall be registered and entered in a Book, to lie open to all Persons concerned.

Prop. XXX. That the said Joint-Stock shall continue for twenty-one Years; and no longer.

Prop. XXXI. That a Book of new Subscriptions be laid open for a succeeding new general Joint-Stock, before the Expiration of the said twenty-one Years appointed for this Stock.

Prop. XXXII. That the Company be obliged, for the better and more secure carrying on of their Trade, to have Ships of their own.

To which Propositions the late Company, on the 28th of *May*, 1692, put in their Answer in these Words, *viz.*

*The * humble Answer of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Court of Committees of the EAST-INDIA Company; to a Paper of Propositions for Regulation of the EAST-INDIA Company; received from the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, their Majesties Principal Secretary of State.*

Prop. I. **T**HE Fund to be made up 1,500,000 *l.* at least, and not to exceed two Millions.

Answer. The Company do humbly aver, and are ready to prove, to the King's most Excellent Majesty's Satisfaction, that their present quick and dead Stock and Revenue is of more real Value than the said Sum of 1,500,000 *l.*

* Though (as appears by the Stile) it is rather, *The Insolent Answer, &c.*

Prop.

Prop. II. The Stock of the present Company to be Part of this Fund, and to be rated at 744,000 *l.* if they can give Security that it shall effectually produce that Sum; or else at so much less as they will engage to make good after all Debts paid, and Satisfaction made to the Mogul and his Subjects against whose Pretensions the new Stock to be indemnified by the like Security.

Ans. The Company recommending their righteous Cause to God, and his Majesty's known and famous Justice in the whole Course of his happy Life, say, That the Value of every thing is what it will sell for; and their Stock, under all the Calumnies and Persecutions of their Adversaries, now currently sells for 150 *l.* per Hundred; and they know, and can prove it to be intrinsically more worth than that current Price: But they know no Law or Reason, why they should be dispossessed of their Estates, at any less Value than they are really worth in ready Money, by all the Measures any thing is valued in any Part of the World.

They humbly say, as to Security, they know no Reason why they should give Security for their own Estates.

They affirm, That they owe not a Penny to the Great Mogul, or any of his Subjects, other than their running Accounts with their own Banyans and Brokers, which are changing daily, like Merchants running Cash in a Goldsmith's Hand.

Although the Company owe nothing to the Mogul, as aforesaid, yet the bare mentioning any such thing by a publick Act of his Majesty, would be enough to perswade him to invent Demands upon the Company, for Transactions and Pretences done in Ages past, before any of the present Adventurers were born; and therefore that Part of the Proposition seems manifestly impossible as well as unjust, neither the Mogul nor any of his Subjects having made any Complaint to his Majesty, of the Company's being in Debt to him or them; that being only a Suggestion of the Interlopers and their Adherents, not only now, but for many Years past.

As to that Hypothesis, if they can give Security, it will not become the Company to say what they might of their own Ability, or the Ability or Disability of their Adversaries; they are on both Sides well known upon the Exchange.

Prop. III. That the said Stock of the present Company shall be brought Home at any Time within Years in the Ships Abroad, or those to be sent on account of the new Stock, paying the same Freight, and disposed of at publick Sales by the Members of the present Company, and the nett proceed thereof to be taken as Part of the 744,000 *l.* as shall also the Value of their Forts, &c. to be estimated by indifferent Persons, and put into the Hands of the New-Charter Company: But after Days, no Goods to be exported to the *East-Indies* on Account of the old Stock.

Ans. The Company say they have as real a Right to all their Forts, Cities, Towns, and Territories in *India*, to them and their Successors for ever, as they have to their purchased Lands and Ware-houses in *England* belonging

belonging to the Company's Joint-Stock, or other private Lands or Manors belonging to the particular Adventurers: *Rex Dei Gratia* being originally the Title by which very many Manors and Lands, Court-Leets and Court-Barons are held in *England*. And as the Company are not willing to be dispossessed of their said real Estates, until they are paid for them; which they believe in their Consciences hath cost them, at several Times, above a Million in ready Money Sterling, besides the Interest. But for the Price that should be paid them for their said real Estates, if it were to come to that single Point, they would refer themselves to, and rely upon his Majesty's Justice, as aforesaid.

Prop. IV. That whatever the quick and dead Stock shall thus produce more than 744,000 *l*, shall be divided wholly between the Members of the present Company, proportionably to their respective Stocks.

Prop. V. Books to be provided for new Subscriptions within, and then the Books to be closed.

Prop. VI. If the Subscriptions exceed two Millions, each Subscriber to be reduced proportionably, till the Whole make but two Millions.

Prop. VII. That every Subscriber pay in his Money, upon pain—

To the IV, V, VI, and VII. Propositions, the Company humbly answer, That they do as little understand the new Subscribers, as they suppose most of those Subscribers know the Affairs of *India*: But the Company know the late new Way of subscribing, without Authority from his Majesty, is an old Practice of Interlopers and others, emulous of the Company's Prosperity; and hath formerly been debated upon the like voluntary Subscriptions several Times, and many Years since, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* when some of the Lords of his now Majesty's most honourable Privy Council were present: But it always ended in only giving unnecessary Trouble to his Majesty and the Company.

Prop. VIII. No one Person to have above 10,000 *l.* in this Stock, in his own or others Name, in trust for him; and every Subscriber shall make Oath accordingly, and that it is his own Money.

Ans^w. This Proposition, in Duty to his Majesty, and in Love to our Native Country, the Company must freely declare against, as being notoriously prejudicial to the Nation, whoever the Adventurers are; *First*, Because Trade is a free Agent, and must not be limited or bounded; if it be so in any Nation, it will never prosper. *Secondly*, It is against the Laws and Customs of *England*, and all Nations upon the Face of the Earth, that any Man that buys a Commodity, and pays honestly for it in ready Money, should be compelled to swear it his own Money, or whose it is; this being only a Trick of the first Proposers, to serve their particular Turn, without any national, or other Regard to Right or publick Good. *Thirdly*, If such a Limitation were advisable, certainly some Nation or other would have hit upon the Expedient before this Time; whereas, on the contrary, the wise *Dutch* indulge and favour the very *Jews*, and the more for buying the greater Stock; of whom, one Man, by name *Swasso*, had at one Time about 75,000 *l.* Stock: The *French* King likewise

likewise, for the Encouragement of large Subscriptions in that Stock, propounded many considerable Privileges and Immunities, both to Natives and Foreigners, proportionable to the Greatness of their said Subscriptions: The *Danes* likewise (it is said) made a Law not long since, that such as would not add a certain Proportion to their Stock already wrote, should forfeit their Stock; which was a Constraint on the other Hand, and as erroneous as that in the aforesaid Proposition. *Fourthly*, Such kind of levelling or limiting personal Estates, was never known in Common-wealths, much less in Monarchies. Our Levellers in *England*, and antiently the Tribunes of *Rome*, never pretended to the Limitation of personal Estates, but of Possessions in Land; and not of all Lands, (not in their Provinces) but only the Lands of *Italy*, which was the Seat or Country of the Common-wealth. *Fifthly*, No considerable Man of Fortune or Experience will ever endure the Fatigue of continual Study in the *East-India* Company's arduous Affairs, but he will find his Account some Way; and that must be either by a great Reward, or by a great Stock; or by other and worse Ways of paying himself. The most the *English* Companies give a Committe-Man is about 50*l.* per *Ann.* whereas we have heard the *Dutch* allow Mr. *Peter Van Dam* about 800*l.* and about 400*l.* a Year to his Son: But such an able, active Man's having a great Stock of his own, is better for the publick Society than any Reward that can be allowed him; because such a Man, that is obliged by Reward only so to attend the Company's Business, is tied only by one Cord; but he that expects all Satisfaction to arise from the Profit of his own Stock, is tied with the two great Cords, which do almost the whole Business of the World, *viz.* Reward, by the Profit of his own great Stock, and Fear of great Loss, if his own Stock should miscarry by ill Conduct.

Prop. IX. That every Member of the present Company, who hath above 10,000*l.* Stock, shall sell forthwith the Overplus at the Rate of 100*l.* for 100*l.* but so that if the whole nett Proceed of the present Stock exceeds 744,000*l.* this Overplus shall go to the Person that hath sold his Overplus Stock, proportionably to the Stock he had before such Sale.

Ans. The Company can see no Shadow of Reason or Equity in this Proposition; but a direct Contradiction to common Right, and the admirable Laws of this Kingdom for Preservation of Property.

Prop. X. No Person to have a Vote, that hath in his own Right, and not in Trust, less than 500*l.* Stock; nor more than one Vote, unless he hath 4000*l.* three Votes, 8000*l.* four Votes, and 10,000*l.* five Votes.

Ans. The Company are humbly of Opinion, this is more justly and equally provided for already in their present Charter; this Proposal of giving Advantage to the small Stock, being but a *Hysteron Proteron*, never known before in any Part of the World in Merchants Affairs; wherein as far as the Sun shines all Men vote according to their proper Shares in Shipping, or as they are interested more or less, and not otherwise.

Prop. XI. All Members of the present Company, and new Subscribers, to be incorporated by the Name of

Prop. XII. All who have, or subscribe 500*l.* Stock, to meet and chuse a Governor, Deputy, and 24 Committees, to manage the Trade; none to be Governor

Governor or Deputy, who hath subscribed less than 2000 *l.* Stock, nor Committee 1000 *l.* Stock.

Prop. XIII. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to be chosen every Year; and if any die within the Year, others to be chosen by a General Court.

Prop. XIV. The Governor, Deputy, and Committees, to take the Oaths of Fidelity; and also an Oath for the faithful Discharge of their Trust.

Prop. XV. That every one purchasing any Stock, shall take his Freedom, and before his Admittance pay for a Fine, and take the Oaths appointed.

Answ. In the XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XVth Propositions, the Company can see nothing new, but all is already provided for in the same Manner, or better, by their present Charters.

Prop. XVI. That all free of the former Company, or capable to be so, and all subscribing to the present Stock, shall be admitted *gratis*.

Answ. In this there is but a trivial Difference from the Company's present Charter, which enjoins all new Adventurers, except the Sons and Servants of Freemen, to pay 5 *l.* each, for their first Admittance. The old Adventurers have paid their respective 5 *l.* and we can see no Reason, if new Men be admitted, why they should not pay the same.

Prop. XVII. That the Company hereby establish'd, may make By-Laws for their better Government. That no By-Laws shall be binding to the Company, but such as are approved by a General Court of Adventurers, and are not repugnant to the Laws of the Land.

Prop. XVIII. That every General Court and Committee be called by the Governor or Deputy, at all which the Governor or Deputy shall be present, and in Case of Equality of Voices, shall have a casting Voice.

Prop. XIX. That the Company shall enjoy the sole Trade to the *East-Indies* in the several Countries lying between the *Cape de Bona Esperanza*, and the Streights of *Magellan*.

Prop. XX. That it shall not be lawful for any, save the said Company only, directly or indirectly to trade within the Limits granted to the said Company, on Pain of forfeiting —

Answ. As to the 17, 18, 19, and 20th Propositions, the Company can observe Nothing in them that is not already in the same Manner in their Charters.

Prop. XXI. That no Licence or Permission shall be granted to any Persons or Ships, to trade to the *East-Indies* on any private Account, and that all such Permissions shall be void.

Answ. This is an unreasonable Proposition, and against the Sense of all Charters, and ought for the publick Good to be left to the Company's Discretion for some Time, (as in the late War with the Mogul) permissive Ships have been of great Use and publick Benefit, at this Time now Peace is restored they are of no Use, except in some particular Instances, which might be given, and in settling of new Plantations, which the Company best know when and how to effect; and no *East-India* Company in any Part of *Europe* have any such Shackles imposed upon them, which would but hinder their Progress for the publick Good and Honour of their Country in many Cases.

Prop. XXII. That there shall be no private Contract for the Sale of any Goods, but they shall be all sold in publick, by Inch of Candle, for the Company's Account.

Prop. XXIII. That no Lot of any Goods to be sold, shall exceed the Value of 500 *l.*

Ans. These two are Novelties, and such as were never imposed upon any *East-India* Company in *Europe*, and are against natural Right, and if establish'd, would tend to the National Prejudice of *England*, as the Company doubt not to make evident to his Majesty by irrefragable Instances and Examples; Trade must be free, for the publick Good, otherwise it will die, or fly away.

Prop. XXIV. Every Year the Company shall deliver to their Majesties Use 500 Tuns of Salt-Petre at per Tun if required, the Refraction not exceeding

Ans. The Company will always serve their Majesties with Salt-Petre as cheap as they can afford it, and doubt not but to please their Majesties therein, as they have done all their Royal Predecessors; but to be limited to a certain Price, or Quantity, or Refraction, is a Novelty that was never imposed upon this, or any *East-India* Company, and it had been an unhappy Accident for *England*, if such an Imposition or Constraint had been laid upon the Company 10 or 20 Years past; for if that had been done there could not have been one fourth Part of the Petre in *England* as the Company had in Store, (which was about 3000 Tuns) when this War with *France* begun. There is a famous Story confirming the Truth of this, in the Reign of King *James I.* There was at that Time a great Dearth of Corn, which occasioned his Majesty to send for the *East-Land* Company, and his Majesty told them, that in regard of the present Dearth of Corn, and for Relief of the Poor, they must load all their Ships homeward bound with Corn, which they promised faithfully to do, and were so dismissed; but one of the Lords of the Council told his Majesty such a Promise signified nothing; because they had not promised at what Rate they would sell their Wheat when it came, on which they were called in again, and told the King was not satisfied with that Answer; to which the Deputy, who was a famous Hunter, replied, "Sir, we will freight our Ships, and buy our Corn as cheap as we can, and sell it here as cheap as we can afford it; but to be confined to any certain Price we cannot," That Lord pressed the Deputy for a more certain Answer, on which the Deputy said further to the King, "Sir, Your Majesty is a Lover of the noble Sport of Hunting, and so am I; and I keep a few Dogs, but if my Dogs do not love the Sport as well as I, I might as well hunt with Hogs, as with Dogs." The King replied, "Say no more, Man, thou art in the right; go, and do as well as you can, but be sure bring Corn."

Prop. XXV. That the Company shall yearly export to the *East-Indies*, not less than the Value of 100,000 *l.* in Goods, of the Product and Manufactures of *England*.

Ans. The Company may do this in some Years, and sometimes more, and sometimes not so much, when their Cloth lies unfold, and is eaten up with Moths

Moths and white Ants in *India*: This ought for the publick Good to be left to the Company's Discretion.

Prop. XXVI. That all Dividends be made in Money.

Ans. This is commonly done here and beyond Sea, in other Companies; but some Instances may be given, wherein it would be highly prejudicial to make this Confinement of the Company's Liberty. So it ought to be left to Discretion, as it is now here, and in all other Nations.

Prop. XXVII. That no Dividend be made without leaving the original Fund, or at least 1,500,000 *l.* besides what is necessary to pay their Debts.

Ans. This is a discretionary Rule the Company do now observe; but was never enjoined them by any Charter, neither is there any Company in the World so circumscribed, nor ought to be, for the publick Good. It is against natural Right, that any Men should be barr'd from doing what they think fit with their own Estates.

Prop. XXVIII. That the said Company's Accomptant keep a Book to enter the Value of the Stock upon Oath, to lie open for the Perusal of all Persons concerned.

Prop. XXIX. That all Transfers of Stock shall be registred and entered in a Book to lie open to all Persons concerned.

Ans. The XXVIII and XXIXth Propositions are provided for in the same Manner already by the Company.

Prop. XXX. That the said Joint-Stock shall continue for 21 Years and no longer.

Prop. XXXI. That a Book of new Subscriptions be laid open for a succeeding new General Joint-Stock, before the Expiration of the said 21 Years, appointed for this Stock.

Ans. This is so strange, that if it should be admitted, would make the Company ridiculous all the World over; and is as much as to say, a Man shall be obliged to plant a great Orchard, and remove his Trees, or depart from his Possession at the End of 21 Years; or to build a famous Mansion-House, a Town, or City upon such Terms. The *Dutch* Company have spent within 30 or 40 Years past, above 700,000 *l.* upon *Ceylon*, and have not yet seen their Principal, by about 400,000 *l.* to this Day; this Company have been building and fortifying at *Bencolen* about ten or 11 Years, and they must proceed in building and fortifying there for 20 or 30 Years to come; and in that chargeable and dangerous Work, they have spent near 250 *l.* to 300,000 *l.* Sterling. And though indeed by that necessary Work they have preserved the Pepper-Trade to this Nation, yet they have not received any Thing towards the Charge of these Disbursements; and that Place will cost the Company 200,000 *l.* more, before it can be made a compleat, secure, (and morally speaking) an impregnable *Asylum* to the *English* Nation. It is a most impolitick Notion, that any Company can thrive by frequent Change of Conduct and Council, any more than a Nation, by often changing the fundamental Laws. The *Dutch* Company stands as it did from the Beginning, and the *English* hath never been changed, that the Company knows of, but once in *Oliver Cromwel's* Time; and then it was done with

with their own Consent. The Company, by the true Rules of Policy, ought never to alter, nor any Man be forced to sell his Stock, any more than he can be forced to buy a Stock that hath none; or any Gentleman that hath an over-grown Estate in Land in any Country, can be forced to sell Part, to make Way for some Purchasers, that pretend they will buy Land in that Country.

Prop. XXXII. That the Company be obliged for the better and more secure carrying on of this Trade to have Ships of their own.

Answ. This is such a constraining Proposition as was never made to any Company; all Companies having Ships of their own, and hired Ships, and best known when to use the one or the other; and there are few Merchants considerable in *Europe*, that have not both; and it was never thought or found political, to put Trade into such strait-laced Bodies, which instead of making it grow upright and prosper, will either kill it, or force it to grow awry.

This was the Language with which the late Company treated those Honourable Lords, calling some of their Propositions impossible as well as unjust; others, notoriously prejudicial to the Nation; one, without any Shadow of Reason or Equity; another, a Trick; another, a most impolitick Notion, &c.

Having answered the aforesaid Propositions, the Company humbly desire that the following Propositions may be considered.

FIRST, If any Alteration should be made of the present Constitution by his Majesty, the same Men, *viz.* Interlopers and their Adherents, and such as have sold their Stock at high Rates, and then cry down the Company to fright the Adventurers, and come in again at low Rates; whether such Sort of Men, after his Majesty hath granted a new Charter, will not, to serve another Turn, exclaim against it, in Defamation of his Majesty's just Prerogative.

Secondly, Whether any Thing such Men have said, that carries any Appearance of Truth, be not the same again which was said above twenty Years past, and many Times since in the two last Reigns, and as often answered and confuted.

Thirdly, Whether the Spirit of Clamour and Opposition against the Company, which centers in some few known Persons, whether those Persons be Men of better Fortune, or more regular Lives, or greater Prudence, or otherwise preferable to the present Adventurers in the *East-India* Company-Stock.

Fourthly, Whether, considering the two Wars, this Company have grappled with in *India*, and a worse Kind of civil Broil the Interlopers forced them to, more pernicious to the Company than both the Wars in *India*; whether the Company, notwithstanding their said Pressures, hath not managed their Affairs to as much national Advantage, and Profit to their Fellow-Adventurers, as any *East-India* Company in *Europe*.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That without Restraint, cramping, or taking care for Rotations or Changes in the *East-India* Company, the whole Stock, without such forc'd political Restriction or Limitation, is in a kindly, natural, and continual changing Motion; insomuch that the Value of the Stock, once in two Years, or thereabout, changes Owners; and there is not now in the present Committee three Men that were of the Committee above twenty Years past.

Sixthly, That the present Governor, *Sir Thomas Cook*, about nine Years past, had no Stock at all; nor *Sir Joseph Herne*, the late Governor, about twenty Years past; nor *Sir William Langborne*, now one of the greatest Adventurers, four Years since; and several other considerable Adventurers, not above two Years past; they came in by several Purchases, and many at much dearer Rates than the present Price current of the Stock; and there is now of the present Committee five worthy Persons, very late Purchasers, which were never of the Committee before this Year.

Seventhly, If it be thought by any that envy the Company's good Fortune, that some few of the Company are too rich and powerful in the Committee, the Company answer, that to cure that, if it be a Fault, there needs no new Laws nor Articles in any Charter; for a very few Years will cure that without such preternatural Force; for that the Sons of such Men were never known to succeed their Fathers in the painful Fatigue of the Company's Affairs, but did always settle themselves upon an easier Course of Life by a Revenue in Land.

Eighthly, If there be some of the present Adventurers that had Courage enough to keep their Stock, and never sold any Part thereof during all those violent and unreasonable Attempts that have been made against the Company, whether such Persons do not rather deserve the Thanks which the *Roman* Senate gave *Terentius Varro*, *Quod non desperasset de Republicâ*, than any Blame.

Ninthly, The Company, nor peradventure, any great Business in the World, did ever thrive where some one or two Men, or very few did not arrive at so much Reputation (as *Machiavel* calls it) as to be able to moderate the Councils of the Commonwealth or Society; so it is now in the *Netherlands East-India* Company, and so it was ever in the *English East-India* Company, except for the first seven Years after the last Change; in which seven Years the Stock and the Company's Affairs dwindled almost to nothing, until *Sir William Thompson*, deceased, (a Gentleman of famous Prudence and Integrity) arrived at that Reputation, that in effect he governed the whole Affair of the Company until the Day of his Death; and under his said Conduct the Company's Affairs did revive and prosper, and have since his Death more increased by happy Methods derived from his Wisdom originally: His worthy Son and Posterity are now settled upon Estates in Land, and have no Concern in the Company.

Signed, by Order of the Court of Committees,

East-India House,
May 20, 1692.

Rab. Blackborne.

Where-

Whereupon the next Session, *viz.* *Lunæ 14 Die Novembris, 1692,*

Sir *Edward Seymour* acquaints the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty in Answer to the Address of this House the last Session, in relation to the *East-India* Company; the which he delivered in Writing at the Table, where the same was read, — in these Words; *viz.*

THE House of Commons having presented an Address to the King, to dissolve the present *East-India* Company, according to the Power reserved in their Charter, and to constitute a new one, his Majesty took into Consideration the proper Methods of complying with their Desires, and of securing effectually this advantageous Trade to the Nation.

But his Majesty, upon Examination of the Charter, and consulting his Judges and learned Council, found, that he could not legally dissolve the Company, but upon three Years Warning; and that during the three Years after Warning, the Company must subsist, and might continue to trade; and that though the King might constitute a new Company, yet he could not empower such new Company to trade till after three Years; the Crown having expressly covenanted not to grant any such Liberties.

Hereupon his Majesty was very apprehensive of the ill Consequences of giving warning to the Company, because they would be then less solicitous of promoting the true Interest and Advantage of the Trade, whereof they could not long reap the Fruits; and that no new Company could be immediately admitted to it: So that this very beneficial Trade, which is already so much impaired, might be in Danger of being entirely lost to the Nation.

His Majesty, very-desirous to prevent so great a Mischief; and to gratify the House of Commons in the End, since he could not do it without great Hazard, in the Manner they proposed, required the *East-India* Company to answer directly, whether they would submit to such Regulations as his Majesty should judge proper, and most likely to advance the Trade: And the Company having fully agreed to it, and declared their Resolution in writing, his Majesty commanded a Committee of his Privy Council to prepare Regulations; which they did, and offered them to the Company; but the Company, notwithstanding their Declaration of Submission, rejected almost all the material Particulars.

So that his Majesty finding, that what possibly the House of Commons might have expected, and indeed was necessary to preserve this Trade, could not be perfected by his own Authority alone; and that the Company could not be induced to consent to any such Regulations as might have answered the Intentions of the House of Commons; and that the Concurrence of the Parliament is requisite to make a compleat and useful Settlement of this Trade, has directed all the Proceedings in this Matter to be laid before them; and recommends to them the preparing of such a Bill, in order to pass into an Act of Parliament, as may establish this Trade on such Foundations as are most likely to preserve and advance it.

Upon

A Third Collection of T R A C T S. 191

Upon this Message, the Honourable House of Commons took into Consideration the Settlement of the said Trade; but finding the same obstructed by the then Company's great Opposition, toward the End of the Session, viz.

Sabbati, 25 Die Februarii, 1692.

Resolved,

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will dissolve the *East-India* Company, upon three Years Warning to the said Company, according to the Power reserved in their Charter.

Resolved,

That the said Address be presented by the whole House.

Veneris, 30 Die Martis, 1692.

Mr. Speaker reported to the House, That he did Yesterday present to his Majesty their Address touching the *East-India* Company, and that his Majesty was pleased to express himself to this Effect; viz.

Gentlemen,

I will always do all the Good in my Power for this Kingdom; and I will consider your Address.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid Propositions, some Time after several other Regulations were agreed on, to establish the said Company by adding new Subscriptions to their Stock, without any Security to be given to make that Stock worth any thing at all.—But those Regulations did not pass into a Charter, the late Company having made Default in paying in the first Quarterly Payment of the Tax charged on their Joint-Stock, according to the Tenor of the Act of Parliament; whereby their former Charters became absolutely void in Law.

However, the late Company, by their industrious Application, have since procured a new Charter, (for restoring and confirming all their former Grants) which passed under the Great Seal the Seventh Day of *October*, 1693.

Which

[Which New Charter follows in these Words, viz.]

Recital of several of their former Charters.

WILLIAM and MARY, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all, to whom these Presents shall come, greeting: Whereas the Governor, and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, have been, of long Time, to the Honour and Profit of this Nation, a Corporation, and have enjoyed divers Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities, by Force of several Charters and Letters Patents, heretofore granted to them, by several of our late Royal Predecessors; more particularly by Letters-Patents of our late Royal Uncle King *Charles II.* under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the 3d Day of *April*, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign; and by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents of the said King *Charles II.* under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date, at *Westminster*, the 27th Day of *March*, in the 20th Year of his Reign; and by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the said King *Charles II.* bearing Date, at *Westminster*, the 16th Day of *December*, in the 25th Year of his Reign: And by one other Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the said late King *Charles II.* bearing Date, the 9th Day of *August*, in the thirty-fifth Year of his Reign; and also by a Charter, or Letters-Patents, of the late King *James II.* bearing Date, at *Westminster*, the twelfth Day of *April*, in the second Year of his Reign. And, whereas some Doubt, or Question, hath of late been made, touching the Validity of the Charters of the said Company; and whether the same be not, in Strictness of Law, void, by the not actual Payment into the Receipt of our *Exchequer*, of the first Quarterly Payment of the Tax of 5 *l. per Cent.* charged on the General Joint-Stock of the said Company, according to an Act made in the last Session of this present Parliament, entitled, *An Act for continuing certain Acts therein mentioned, and for charging several Joint-Stocks.* Now know ye, That We, taking the Premises into Our Royal Consideration, and well weighing what Disorders and Inconveniences would befall the said Company, and other Persons concerned and employed in their Trade and Adventures, especially in the remote Parts of the World, if We should take Advantage of the Forfeiture aforesaid, (if any be) and We, being willing, that the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, should have and enjoy all such, and the like lawful Powers, Privileges, Advantages, and Immunities; and in as ample Manner, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said first Quarterly Payment of the said Tax had been duly and regularly

regularly made, according to the said Act: *Of Our especial Grace*, Their Majesties Grant, *certain Knowledge, and meer Motion*; have made, ordained, constituted, declared, and appointed; and by these Presents, for Us, that the Member of the late Company
Our Heirs and Successors, do make, ordain, constitute, declare, and appoint, That Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*, *Francis Tyssen*, Esq; *George*, Earl of *Berkley*; Sir *John Fleet*, Knight, Lord-Mayor of Our City of *London*; Sir *Josiah Child*, Baronet; Sir *William Langborne*, Baronet; Sir *Benjamin Bathurst*, Knight; Sir *John Moore*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Samuel Dashwood*, Knight, and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Edward Des Bouvery*, Knt. Sir *Thomas Rawlinson*, Knt. Sir *William Gore*, Knt. and one of the Aldermen of Our City of *London*; Sir *Joseph Herne*, Knight; Sir *Rowland Aynsworth*, Knight; *John Perry*, Esq; *George Boune*, Esq; *Richard Hutchinson*, jun. Esq; *Frederick Herne*, Esq; *Ralph Marshall*, Esq; *Richard Aſton*, *John Cooke*, of *Hackney*; *Francis Gosfright*, *John Dubois*, *Isaac Houblon*, *Samuel Ongley*, and *Nathaniel Mounteney*, Gentlemen; and all and every other Person, and Persons, who were Members of the said Company, or late Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, on the 24th Day of *March* now last past, who have not since parted with their Stocks in the said Company: And all, and every other Person and Persons, who, since the 24th Day of *March* last past, by buying Stock, or otherwise, have come into, and remain in a Capacity of being Members of the said Company, be, and shall be, one Body, corporate and politick, in Deed, and in Name, by the Name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*; and then by the Name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, one Body, corporate and politick, in Deed and in Name, really and fully for ever, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors; We do make, declare, establish, and confirm, by these Presents, under, and subject to the Provisoos and Conditions, and upon the Terms hereafter, in these Presents mentioned; and that, by the same Name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, they shall have perpetual Succession; and that they, and their Successors, by the Name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, be, and at all Times, shall be Persons able, and a Body corporate and politick, capable in Law, to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain Lands, Rents, Privileges, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and Hereditaments, of what Kind, Nature, or Quality soever they be, to them and their Successors; and also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign, and dispose Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and to

(Together with all Persons come into the Company since the 24th of *March* 1697) be incorporated by the Name of the Governor and Company, &c.

And that they shall be capable to purchase Lands, &c.

do

To answer,
and be an-
swered, de-
fend, and be
defended, &c.

To have a
Common
Seal.

To have one
Governor,
one Deputy-
Governor,
and twenty-
four Com-
mittees.

And that Sir
Thomas Cooke
be the first
Governor.

Francis Tyssen
the first De-
puty-Gover-
nor.

do and execute all and singular other Things, by the same Name, that to them shall or may appertain to do: And that they, and their Successors, by the Name of *the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies*, may plead and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and be defended, in whatsoever Courts and Places, and before whatsoever Judges and Justices, and other Persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever Kind, Nature, or Sort, in such Manner and Form, as any other our Liege People, of this our Realm of *England*, being Persons able and capable in Law, may, or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead, defend, and be defended, release, and be released, do, permit and execute. And that the said *Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies*, and their Successors, may have a Common Seal, to serve for all the Causes Busineses of them and their Successors: And that it shall and may be lawful for the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, the same Seal, from Time to Time, at their Will and Pleasure, to break, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them shall seem expedient. And further, We will, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do ordain, that there shall be one of the same Company, who shall be, and shall be called the Governor of the said Company, and also one other of the said Company, who shall be, and shall be called, the Deputy-Governor of the said Company; and that there shall likewise be twenty-four of the said Company, who shall be, and shall be called the Committees of the said Company, who, together with the Governor of the said Company for the Time being, shall have the Direction of the Voyages of or for the said Company, and the Provision of the Shipping and Merchandizes thereunto belonging, and also the Sale of all Merchandizes, Goods, and other Things, returned in all, or any of the Voyages, or Ships, of or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other Business, Affairs, and Things, belonging to the said Company: And, for the better Execution of Our said Will and Grant in this Behalf, we have assigned, nominated, constituted, made, and confirmed; and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do assign, nominate, constitute, make, and confirm the said Sir *Thomas Cooke* to be the present Governor of the said Company, and to continue in the said Office from the Date of these Presents, until the 10th Day of *April* now next following, if the said Sir *Thomas Cooke* shall so long live, or until a new Governor be chosen by the said Company, as heretofore hath been used and accustomed. And We have also nominated, constituted, made, and confirmed, and by these Presents,

sents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do assign, nominate, constitute, make, and confirm the said *Francis Tyssen* to be the present Deputy-Governor of the said Company, and to continue in the said Office from the Date of these Presents, until the said 10th Day of *April* now next following, if the said *Francis Tyssen* shall so long live, or until a new Deputy-Governor be chosen by the said Company, as heretofore hath been used and accustomed: And We have also nominated, constituted, made, and confirmed; and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do nominate, constitute, make, and confirm the said *George, Earl of Berkley, Sir John Fleet, Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Langborne, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Sir John Moore, Sir Samuel Dashwood, Sir Edward Des Bouvery, Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Sir William Gore, Sir Joseph Herne, Sir Rowland Ainsworth, John Perry, George Boune, Richard Hutchinson, junior; Frederick Herne, Ralph Marshall, Richard Acton, John Cooke of Hackney, Francis Gosfright, John Dubois, Isaac Houblon, Samuel Ongley, and Nathaniel Mounteney,* to be the twenty-four present Committees of the said Company from the Date of these Presents, until the said tenth Day of *April* next following; or until a new Committee shall be chosen by the said Company, as in that Case hath been also formerly used and accustomed. Provided always, and we do hereby require and command, that the Governor herein before-named, shall, before he be admitted to the Execution of the said Office, take the Oaths appointed to be taken by a late Act of Parliament, made in the first Year of our Reign, entitled, *An Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and appointing other Oaths:* And also a corporal Oath, That he shall, and will, from Time to Time, well and truly execute the Office of Governor of the said Company, before the said Deputy-Governor, and any five or more of the Committees herein before-named: To whom we do hereby give full Power and Authority, to give and administer the said Oaths to the said Governor accordingly. — And also, that the Deputy-Governor, and twenty-four Committees herein before named and constituted, shall respectively take the said Oaths, appointed by the said late Act of Parliament; and also a corporal Oath, That they will faithfully and truly execute their said several and respective Offices of Deputy-Governor, and Committees of the said Company, before the said *Sir Thomas Cooke*, herein before-named and constituted to be the present Governor of the said Company: To whom we do hereby give full Power and Authority, to give and administer the said Oaths to the said Deputy-Governor and Committees accordingly. And of Our further especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have ratified and confirmed, and do, by these Presents, ratify and confirm, all

George Earl of Berkley, Sir John Fleet, &c. the first Committees.

Provided they severally take the Oaths appointed, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and also the Oaths of their respective Offices.

That all Acts done by and to the late Acts

Company, since the 24th of March, 1693, be ratified and confirmed.

That all their Plantations, Joint-Stock, Goods and Chattels, Powers, Privileges, and all other Things be restored and confirmed to the said Company; which were, or might be lawfully used, or enjoyed.

To have and to hold the said Powers, &c. in such Manner, as they might, or ought lawfully to have, held, and enjoyed the same, as if the said Powers were at large recited.

Acts done by, and unto the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, since the said 24th Day of *March* last, by Virtue or Colour of their said former Charters, or any of them, to be as valid and effectual as if the said first Quarterly Payment of the said Tax had been duly made, according to the said Act, and the said former Charters had not been forfeited, or made void: And we have also given, granted, restored, and confirmed, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do give, grant, restore, and confirm, unto the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, hereby constituted and confirmed, and their Successors; all and every the Ports, Islands, Plantations, Territories, Castles, Forts, Fortifications, Ordnance, Armour, Artillery, Munition, Arms, Guns, Powder, Shot, Victuals, Magazines, Stores, Ammunition, and Provisions of War, Ships, Junks, Vessels, Boats, Joint-Stock, Manors, Lordships, Messuages, Houses, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Cattel, Chattels real and personal, Debts, Dues, Duties, Right of Actions, and Demand in Law, or Equity, Powers, Privileges, Liberties, Franchises, Jurisdictions, Customs, Rights, Royalties, Immunities, and Advantages whatsoever; and all other Things, *which were lawfully held, received, used, exercised, or enjoyed; or might, or ought to have been lawfully held, received, used, exercised, or enjoyed* by the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, on or before the said twenty-fourth Day of *March* now last; or at any Time since, by Force, or Virtue of any Grants, Charters, or Letters-Patents whatsoever, heretofore granted unto them, or mentioned to be granted, or confirmed to them, by any of Our late Royal Predecessors, Kings, or Queens of *England*, by any Stile or Title of Incorporation whatsoever, or otherwise howsoever; and under and subject to the several and respective Provisoes, Limitations, Clauses, and Restrictions herein, and in the said former Grants, Charters, and Letters-Patents, or any of them, contained; to have, hold, use, exercise, and enjoy the said Ports, Islands, Plantations, Territories, Castles, Powers, Privileges, and all and singular other the Premises herein before mentioned; and intended to be hereby granted and restored, and every of them, unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors; in such and the same Manner, and to and for such and the same Intents and Purposes in all Things, as the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, might, *or ought lawfully to have held, used, exercised, or enjoyed the same,* on, or at any Time before the said 24th Day of *March* now last past;

past; as if the same Powers, Privileges, and Immunities, and other the Premises were hereby particularly granted, and the Letters-Patents concerning the same at large recited: Under and subject nevertheless to the Provisoos, Restrictions, and Limitations contained in these Presents, and in the former Charters, to the said Company. Provided always, and upon Condition nevertheless, and Our express Will and Meaning is, that if the said Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, *do not accept of*; and from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, act according to, and put in due and effectual Execution, and *submit and conform in all Things, unto such Orders, Directions, Additions, Alterations, Restrictions, and Qualifications relating to the Constitution, Continuance, Determination, Rights, Powers, or Privileges of the said Company, or the Government thereof; or of the said Governor and Company; or the Encouragement, Management, Regulation, or Advancement of Trade; or of the present or future Joint-Stock of the said Company; or concerning any future Subscriptions, to be made by way of Increase, or Addition to the Joint-Stock; or for ascertaining the true Values of the said Joint-Stock, at, and during the Times of any such future Subscriptions; which, and as We, Our Heirs or Successors, by the Advice of Our or Their Privy Council, shall, from Time to Time, at any Time before the 29th Day of September, which shall be in the Year 1694, think fit to make, insert, limit, direct, appoint, or express, in, or by any further or other Charter, Letters-Patents, or other Writing, or Instrument, under Our or Their Great Seal of England, then, and in each and every of the Cases aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful, to and for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, by Letters-Patents, under Our or Their Great Seal of England, to determine, revoke, and make void these Presents, and the Grant hereby made: And from and immediately after the passing of such Letters-Patents of Revocation, or Determination under the Great Seal of England; these Presents, and all the Powers, Privileges, Grants, and other Things herein contained, shall cease, determine, and be absolutely void, to all Intents and Purposes, any Thing to the contrary notwithstanding. And further, We have given, granted, and restored, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do give, grant, and restore unto the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, and their Successors, all and every such Debts, Sums of Money, Duties, and Demands whatsoever, in Law or Equity, which, to the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, were grown due, or payable, at any Time before, or on the twenty-fourth Day of *March* now last past;*

Provided, that if the said Company do not submit, and conform to such Alterations, Restrictions, and Qualifications as the King shall make before the 29th of September next, it shall be lawful for his Majesty to revoke this Charter.

That the said Company's Debts be restored to them.

or

With a Power
to sue for, and
recover the
same.

Provided, that
all the Ma-
nors, Lands,
Goods, and
Estate of the
said Com-
pany shall be,
and are made
subject and
chargeable,
with all their
Debts to any
Persons, as
well Subjects
as Strangers.

or which are since grown due, or payable, or shall hereafter grow due, or payable, by any Person, or Persons whatsoever; as well our natural-born Subjects, as Aliens and Strangers. Giving, and by these Presents, granting unto the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, full Power and Authority to ask, sue for, and recover the same, by all lawful Ways and Means whatsoever; either in the Name of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or in the Name of the said Company, or otherwise, as Law or Equity shall require or admit of; and to retain the same to their own Use and Benefit, upon, under, and subject to the Trusts, Intents, and Purposes herein after mentioned, as fully and amply, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said first Quarterly Payment of the said Tax had been duly and regularly made into our *Exchequer*, according to the said late Act of Parliament in that Behalf. Provided always, and it is intended and agreed, and Our express Will and Pleasure is, that the said Governor and Company hereby constituted, and their Successors, and all the Manors, Lands, Tenements, Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, Chattels real, Chattels personal, and other the Premises hereby granted and confirmed, or mentioned to be granted and confirmed, and every of them, and every Part and Parcel thereof, shall be, and are hereby made subject and liable to, and charged and chargeable with, all and every such Debts, and Sums of Money, Duties, and Demands whatsoever, in Law or Equity, which the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company, do now owe, or are indebted, or subject, or liable to, or which at any Time before, or on the said 24th Day of *March* now last past, or since, did owe, or were indebted, or subject, or liable to any Person, or Persons whatsoever, as well our natural-born Subjects, and Persons endenized or naturalized, as Aliens and Strangers; and that the same shall and may be sued for, and recovered in such and the like Manner, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said first Quarterly Payment of the said Tax had been duly and regularly made into our *Exchequer*, according to the said late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and as if the said former Charters had not been forfeited, or made void. And our further Will and Pleasure is, and we do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, grant unto the said Governor and Company, or late Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, that these Our Letters Patents, and all and singular the Powers, Clauses, and Grants therein contained, shall be, and continue sufficient and available in Law, and shall be construed and taken, as well to the Meaning and Intent, as to the general Words of the same, most beneficially, and for the best Advantage of the said Governor and Company, or late

late Governor and Company, and their Successors, under and subject to the Provisoes, Restrictions, and Limitations herein, and in the said former Letters-Patents contained; notwithstanding the not mentioning, or not true reciting of any former Grants, Charters, or Letters-Patents, heretofore granted to the said late Governor and Company, or any of their Predecessors, by any of the late Kings or Queens of *England*, or any other Person, or Persons whatsoever; or the not mentioning, or reciting of any Castles, Forts, Plantations, Lands, Powers, Liberties, Privileges, Advantages, or other Matters, or Things, in the said Grants, or Letters-Patents, or any of them; granted, or mentioned to be granted and confirmed. Provided always, and these Presents are, and shall be upon this Condition, that if the said Governor and Company, hereby constituted, shall not pay into the Receipt of Our *Exchequer* at *Westminster*, for Our Use, upon the 25th Day of *December* next ensuing the Date hereof, the full Sum of nine thousand three hundred Pounds, of good and lawful Money of *England*; in Lieu and Satisfaction for the last of the four Quarterly Payments appointed to be paid unto Us by the late *East-India* Company, by Virtue of the Act of Parliament herein before-mentioned, for charging of Joint-Stocks: Then, and from thenceforth, these Presents, and all Things herein contained, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void, to all Intents and Purposes, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. In Witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents.

Provided, if the said Company do not, on the 25th of *December* next, pay 93,000 *l.* into the *Exchequer*, for the last Quarterly Payment of their Tax, this Charter shall be void.

Witness Ourselves at *Westminster*, the seventh Day of *October*, in the fifth Year of Our Reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal.

PIGOTT.

A Dis-

A Discourse concerning the EAST-INDIA Trade. Wherein is shewed, by Arguments taken from a Treatise written by Sir JOSIAH CHILD, that the said Trade may be carried on by a Regulated Company, to much greater Advantage of the Publick, than by a Company with a Joint-Stock.

THE many and great Advantages which all Kingdoms and Countries receive by Trade are so obvious, that it is what no Man denies; and there needs no Arguments to prove a Thing so generally admitted; and therefore it is, that the wisest and justest Governments have made it one of their chiefest Cares, to discover and establish those Ways and Methods that do best preserve and improve it: And this being the Measure observed for Trade in general, it is so likewise in particular Trades, especially such as bear a great Proportion in the Value and Influence of the Trade of any Nation or Country, and which, by an ill Foundation and a worse Management, are like to be lost, if not to the whole, yet to the greater Part of the Subjects of that Country.

Among other Trades, that to the *East-Indies* is become one of the greatest that is in *England*, and therefore well befitting the Care of our Representatives in Parliament, to declare and establish the Right thereunto, as well as the Methods of its Management; this being likewise one of the greatest and most beneficial Trade of all the Trades of *Holland*. as that Author observes in Page 144. of his ingenious Treatise. "The *Dutch*, says he, with good Reason esteem the "Trade of the *East-Indies* more profitable to them than are the Mines of "Gold and Silver in *America* to the King of *Spain*." Therefore, as of all others, it is that wherein the *Dutch* are most emulous of any Competitors; so we are under the more absolute Necessity to have a Share in it, and are the more concerned to secure and encrease it: One of the chief Designs of Sir *Josiah Child*, in that Treatise, seems to be, the shewing the Necessity and Advantage of encreasing the Trade of this Kingdom, so as to enable us to cope therein, with our Neighbours in general, and particularly with the *Dutch*, which is a Subject of very great Importance; and well worthy so great a Pen. And the Nation is much indebted to him for those many ingenious Maxims and Observations he has made publick, which were never more necessary to be considered than at present.

There are many of his Propositions, which may be made extreamly useful and advantageous to the Trade of this Kingdom in general, and particularly in the Settlement of the *East-India Trade*, by an easy Admission into it, under the

the Government of a regulated Company of Merchants, which is the Method the Author proposes as most beneficial to the Kingdom for all other Trades which are managed by Companies; and the *East-India* Trade being that wherein of all others, he has had a greater Share of Interest and Experience, it might reasonably have been expected he should have laid down such Rules and Methods for the future Conduct and Improvement of it, as might effectually have answered the aforesaid End of his Treatise.

But as the greatest Men are subject to human Frailties, so herein that Gentleman has given an Instance of it, for he has been most silent as to the Methods of the Government of that Trade; and though it be of so great Importance as well to this Kingdom as the *Dutch*; he has treated of it in the slightest Manner of most others, and given neither Rules nor Reasons worth mentioning either for the present or future Management of it. But yet in that little which he has observed concerning it, his private Interest has led him to contradict himself and his own Propositions, by which he has given a very great Blemish to that noble Undertaking, and shewed the World how difficult a Thing it is for some Men to be impartial, where private Interest comes to stand in Competition with the publick.

I shall, in order to the treating this Matter, consider these four Things.

I. The Propositions laid down by the Author, as his Opinion concerning Trade in general.

II. The Reasons which he has offered for the Management of the *East-India* Trade in the present Method.

III. Shew how inconsistent the present Constitution of the *East-India* Company, is with the Author's Propositions and Opinion, laid down as to Trade in general.

IV. I shall answer some of the most popular Objections which are made against the Determination of this Company, and the Management of that Trade, in any other Manner than by a Joint-Stock.

I might add likewise a Fifth, to shew how contradictory the present Constitution of the *East-India* Trade is to the Law of Nature, and the Liberty of a free-born People, and to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land. But of this I shall say nothing, it is a Subject which would deserve a particular Consideration; if the learned Arguments which have been made upon the Occasion of its Contest, together with the Opinions of most of the Judges which have been given upon this Matter, had not sufficiently proved it.

I. The Propositions laid down by the Author, and his Opinion as to Trade in general.

The great Design of the Author being to lay down Rules and Methods for the Encrease and Improvement of the Trade of this Kingdom in general, and for enabling us to cope therein with our Neighbours, and especially the *Dutch*, he has proposed several, as necessary to the attaining that End; and principally the Encouragement of Industry and Ingenuity, and the Abatement of Interest, as mainly conducing to it, the Advantages of which are largely handled, and take up a great Part of that Treatise. And in Page 153, speaking of the Balance of Trade, he asks "What is to be done in *England* to improve the Trade thereof to such a Degree, as to equalize or over-balance our Neighbours in our national Profit by our Foreign Trade?"

"The Method I propose, *says he*, for the answering this great Question, is (following my own Principle, that if Trade be great, and much *English* Shipping employed, it will be good for the Nation in general, whatever it may be for private Merchants.) First, to lay down some general Rules for the Enlargement of Trade in *England*, and then some Ways of reducing those general Rules into Use and Practice: The general Rules for the Enlargement of Trade are not many.

"1. Encrease of Hands in Trade.

"2. Encrease of Stock in Trade.

"3. Make Trade easy and necessary, *i. e.* make it our Interest to trade.

"4. To make it the Interest of other Nations to trade with us."

And after in *Fol.* 159, speaking of the 4th general Rule, to reduce it to Practice, *viz.* to make it the Interest of other Nations to trade with us. "We must be sure, *says he*, to furnish them at as cheap, or cheaper Rates than any other Nation can or doth; and this I affirm can never be done, without subduing Usury especially, and doing those other Things before-mentioned, that will conduce to the Increase of our Hands and Stock; for our being in a Condition to sell our Neighbours cheaper than others, must be principally, when it is an Effect of many Hands, and much Stock."

Object. "But it may be said (*says the Author*) how shall we profit by this Rule of selling cheap to Foreigners, whereas the contrary is said to be the Way to Riches, *viz.* to sell dear, and buy cheap?"

To which he answers, "That in a strick Sense it may be so for the private Merchants; but in this Discourse, *says he*, I am designing to shew how our publick national Trade may be so managed, that other Nations who are in Competition for the same may not wrest it from us, but that ours may continue and increase, to the Diminution of theirs; if there were no others to wage with us, we might, as the Proverb says, make our own Markets; but as the Case now stands, that all the World are striving to engross all the Trade they can, that other Proverb is very true and applicable, *All covet, all lose.*"

And

And to avoid Mistakes which may be made in the Consideration of these Matters, the Author, in his *Preface* to that Treatise, advises the Reader, "That in all his Meditations on these Principles, he should warily distinguish between the Profit of the Merchant, and the Gain of the Kingdom, which are so far from being always Parallels, that frequently they run counter one to the other; almost all Men by their Education, and Business, having fixed their Eye and Aim wholly upon the former, do usually confound those two, in their Thoughts and Discourses of Trade."

And speaking of Companies of Merchants, *Fol.* 81, 82, he says, "It hath been a Moot-Case, whether any incorporating of Merchants be for publick Good or Hurt; for my own Part, *says he*, I am of Opinion,

"1. That for Countries with which his Majesty hath no Alliance, nor can have any by Reason of their Distance or Barbarity, or Non-communication with the Princes of *Christendom*, &c. where there is a Necessity of maintaining Forces and Forts (such as the *East-India* and *Guinea*) Companies of Merchants are absolutely necessary.

"2. It seems evident to me, that the greatest Part of these two Trades, ought for publick Good to be managed by Joint-Stocks.

"3. Its questionable to me, whether any other Company of Merchants are for publick Good or Hurt.

"4. I conclude, however, that all Restrictions of Trade are naught, and consequently, that no Company whatsoever can be for publick Good, except it be easy for all or any of his Majesty's Subjects to be admitted, &c.

"I. Because the *Dutch*, who thrive best, and have the surest Rules to thrive by, admit not only any of their own People, but even *Jews* and all kind of Aliens, to be free of any of their Societies of Merchants, or any of their Cities, or Towns corporate.

"II. Nothing in the World can enable us to cope with the *Dutch* in any Trade, but Increase of Hands and Stock, which a general Admission will do, many Hands and much Stock being as necessary to the Prosperity of any Trade, as Men and Money to Warfare.

"III. There is no Pretence of any Good to the Nation by Companies of Merchants, but only Order and Regulation of Trade; and if that be preserved (which the Admission of all that will come in, and submit to the Regulation, will not prejudice) all the Good to the Nation that can be hoped for by Companies, is obtained."

And a little after, *Fol.* 83, making Inferences from what he had been observing concerning regulated Companies of Merchants, he reduces them to four, *viz.*

"1. That restrained and limited Companies are not alone sufficient to preserve and encrease a Trade.

"2. That limited Companies, though established by Act of Parliament, may lose a Trade.

"3. That a Trade may be carried on to any Part of *Christendom*, and encreased without Companies.

“ 4. That we have declined more, at least have encreased less in those
 “ Trades limited to Companies, than in others, where all his Majesty’s Sub-
 “ jects have had equal Freedom of Trade.”

These being the Propositions which are laid down by the Author for his
 Opinion as to Trade in general, I shall consider the second Thing proposed,
viz.

II. The Reasons offered by him for the Management of the *East-India*
 Trade in the present Method.

The *East-India* Trade, under the present Constitution, standing upon such a
 Foundation as contradicts the Author’s Propositions for the Conduct of all other
 Trades, and which is accounted by him to be prejudicial to the publick Good,
 and destructive to Industry and Ingenuity; and considering what he says from
 the Considerations he had made of Companies of Merchants in general, Page
 84. “ That all the Trade to any Part of *Christendom* might be carried on,
 “ and increased, without Companies;” it might rationally have been expected,
 that such Reasons should have been proposed for the Management of that
 Trade in the present Method, as should not have been liable to any Objection,
 and that he would have shewed wherein it differs so much from all the Trades
 of *Christendom*, that it ought to stand on so different a Constitution.

But he has not attempted to prove any such Thing, nor shewn a Necessity
 of having any Company of Merchants at all for that Trade; much less one
 with a Joint-Stock exclusive: For what he says in Page 81. “ That for
 “ Countries with which his Majesty hath no Alliance, nor can have any by
 “ reason of their Distance or Barbarity, or Non-communication with the
 “ Princes of *Christendom*, &c. where there is a Necessity of maintaining Forces
 “ and Forts, (such as the *East-India* and *Guiney* Companies of Merchants
 “ are absolutely necessary;” is a perfect Begging the Question: But it does
 not make appear, that Forces and Forts are necessary for the carrying on of
 that Trade; nor if they were, that they could not be provided for without
 a Company with a Joint-Stock; which, if he had proved, it might have seemed
 as evident to others, as he says it does to him, that the *East-India* and *Guinea*
 Trades ought to be so managed; but as he only mentions those Things as
 Arguments for a Company of Merchants; so, if they were necessary, they
 make nothing at all to his Purpose, as to a Company with Joint-Stock;
 for I will admit, that a Company of Merchants is necessary for those Trades:
 —And yet I doubt not, but it will appear very plain by the Sequel of this Dis-
 course, that if Forces and Forts were necessary, they might be maintained by a
 regulated Company of Merchants, as well as by a Company with a Joint-Stock;
 for the Author allows, that Order and Regulation may be had in a Company
 of Merchants without a Joint-Stock, and declares, that there is no other Pre-
 tence of any Good to the Nation by any Company of Merchants, than only
 Order and Regulation — And in Page 88. he confesses, that the *Turkey*-
 Company maintain Ambassadors, Consuls, &c. so that ’twill naturally follow,
 and he himself must admit it, that the *East-India* and *Guinea* Trades may be
 carried on by a Company of Merchants without a Joint-Stock; and that if
 Forces,

Forces, Forts, &c. were necessary for the Good and Security of those Trades, they might be maintained by such a regulated Company, as well as by a Joint-Stock; and of this their own Permission-Trade is a sufficient Demonstration; for which Licence to Trade they have exacted from their Fellow-Subjects, 30, 40, and 50 *l. per Cent.* a much greater Tax than what is necessary to be levied by a regulated Company, for the Support of their Charge. And it cannot be supposed, if the Author had not been fully convinced of his being upon a wrong Foundation, but that a Person of his great Parts and Ingenuity would have given some better Reasons to the World, why those Trades ought, as he says, for the publick Good, to be managed by a Joint-Stock; than barely his own asserting, that so it seems evident to him. The Reader may well be surprized, how the Author should come to draw such a Conclusion from those Premises: And as it has been already observed, he has given no Reason for this his Opinion, although it be so contrary to his own Maxims; so that it's plain, nothing but his own Interest in the *East-India* Stock could make that seem evident to him to be best in this Trade; of which the direct contrary, in his Opinion, is most for the publick Good in all other Trades. And as it would not have been decent in him, to tell the World for a Reason, how great his Concern was in the Joint-Stock of the *East-India* Company; so it would not have convinced any other, who had not the same Reason as the Author, to have it seem evident to him, by having so large, or at least some Share therein. Yet it must be allowed to be a convincing Argument, and of a very great Weight, as to the Author, but of no Weight at all, as to the Publick; and it shews, how necessary the Author's Advice is, in the *Preface* of his Treatise, to distinguish between the Profit of the Merchant, and the Gain of the Kingdom.

As for the Barbarity of the *Indians*, the contrary thereof is so well known, that it will not pass for any Argument, there being no People in the World more civilized: Our late Carriage towards them has indeed given them too much Occasion to account us barbarous; but they have not by their Behaviour ever given us any Cause to esteem them so.

Having thus considered the Author's Reasons, which he has offered for managing the *East-India* Trade in this Method, I shall consider the third Thing which I proposed; which is,

III. To shew how inconsistent the present Constitution of the *East-India* Company's Trade is with the Author's own Propositions.

I think there needs no other Argument to prove this, than only what I have already observed, and taken from the Author's said Treatise; but because something more particular may be expected, I shall do it briefly.

It is plain, by the Author's Opinion, *Fol. 81.* that all Restraints in Trade are naught: "I conclude, however, says he, That all Restrictions of Trade are naught, and consequently, that no Company whatsoever can be for the publick Good, except it be easy for all, or any of his Majesty's Subjects, to be admitted, &c." Joint-Stocks, especially exclusive ones, are Monopolies, and are effectual Restraints in Trade; so that they perfectly contradict the
 Author's

Author's Principles, being so many Shackles to Trade, and Curbs to Industry and Ingenuity ; which hinder the Increase of Hands and Stock in Trade, and give most of the Advantage that is made thereby to Men of great Estates ; who, though they are never such idle Drones and Sluggards, lazily reap and enjoy the Benefit of the Labour and Pains of others, who having smaller Estates, are more active and industrious ; and they are inconsistent with one of the chief Rules laid down by the Author for the Enlargement of our Trade, Page 154, viz. " To make it the Interest of other Nations, to trade with " us ;"— they making Goods dear, instead of making them cheap ; and so force us to trade with other Nations, to supply ourselves ; instead of making it their Interest to trade with us ; as is visible by the excessive Prices of all *East-India* Goods, above what they would have been, if all their Majesties Subjects had enjoyed an equal Freedom in the Trade, and the vast Quantities which have been of late imported hither by Stealth from *Holland*.

If all the Trade of this Kingdom were carried on by such exclusive Joint-Stocks, as those of the *East-India* and *Guinea* Companies, this Nation might produce half a Dozen Men, of Estates equal with most Dukes ; and all other Traders must remain their Slaves, their Vassals. — And therefore what the Author says of Usurers, Pag. 24, 25, may, with very little Variation, properly be applied to those who are so earnest and solicitous for the Continuance of this Company, and oppose the carrying on of this Trade in a regulated Company.

" The Sufferers, I know none, but idle Persons, that live with little
 " Labour, not working with their Hands or Heads, to bring either Wax or
 " Honey to the common Hive of the Kingdom ; but swelling their own
 " Purses by the Sweat of other Mens Brows, and Contrivance of other Mens
 " Brains ; and how unprofitable it is for a Nation, to suffer Idleness to suck the
 " Breasts of Industry, needs no Demonstration."

In a regulated Company of Merchants, there is a constant and easy Admission for all Men ; which is the increasing of Hands and Stock in Trade, so much commended by the Author ; and which he declares to be as essentially necessary to the Prosperity of any Trade, as Men and Money are to Warfare.

Yet the Author magnifies the Admission into the *East-India* Company, and finds Fault with the Narrowness of that into the other Companies of Merchants : Whereas, the Charge thereof is generally small, and the Privilege great ; for any one, who is once admitted into a regulated Company, may drive as great a Trade as he pleases, without Limitation ; and 'tis such an Admission, which increases Hands and Stock in Trade ; two of the general Rules, which the Author lays down in *Fol.* 154, — for the enlarging our Trade. And though all the Restraints that are in most other Trades, under regulated Companies, may easily be removed ; and those may properly be said to restrain themselves, who are not admitted, because they do not think it worth their while ; yet the Author is of Opinion, that even those Restraints ought to be taken away, and the Freedom of Trade made more easy ; and in the Author's Answer made in the Company's Name, to the Regulations proposed by the Lords of the Council,
 he

he says, "Trade is a free Agent, and must not be limited or bounded; if it be so in any Nation, it will never prosper." And in another Place of the same Answer; "Trade must be free for the publick Good; otherwise it will die or flie away." Yet he approves of the Restraint in the *East-India* Trade, as necessary for the publick Good; though that be such a Restraint as is in effect a total Prohibition of all others but themselves; however, the Admission into the *East-India* Company for 5*l.* is what he speaks of in Pag. 89, 90. as one of the main Causes of all their Success.

"Undeniable Experience, *says he*, hath convinced all Gain-layers in this Matter, that the *East-India* Company, since its having had so large and national a Foundation, having likewise had a Succession of better Governors, Deputies, and Assistants, than ever it had upon that narrow Bottom it stood formerly, when none could be admitted to the Freedom of that Company, for less than a Fine of 50*l.* and the Success hath been answerable. For the first Company, settled upon that narrow limited Interest, although their Stock was larger than this, decayed, and finally came to Ruin and Destruction. Whereas, on the contrary, this being settled on more rational, and consequently more just, as well as more profitable Principles, hath, through God's Goodness, thriven and increased to the trebling of their first Stock."

But here I must beg leave to observe, that the great Success of this Company's Trade, so far exceeding the former, is not owing to the Admission of any one for 5*l.* as the Author would insinuate, but to some such Causes, as these, *viz.*

I. The great and general Use and Esteem of Callicoes and *East-India* Commodities, of which the Consumption has been above ten times more than it was formerly.

II. The War in which *France* and *Holland* were engaged for so many Years, when we enjoyed Peace, which gave us an Opportunity to furnish not only those Countries, but all the World, with most Sorts of *East-India* Goods; which, together with the low Duties formerly paid, have been the chief Reasons of this Company's great Success.

Nor are the Advantages which the Nation received by the *East-India* Trade owing to the Management of it by a Company with a Joint-Stock; for the same might be had under a regulated Company, and much greater. Those which the Author mentions chiefly, are in 144, 145, and 146.

"I. That Trade, *says he*, employs twenty-five or thirty Sail of the most warlike Ships in *England*, with sixty or an hundred Men in each Ship, and may, in two or three Years more, employ a greater Number, &c.

"II. It supplies the Nation constantly and duly with that (in this Age) necessary Material of Salt-petre.

"III.

“ III. It supplies the Nation for its Consumption with Pepper, Indigo, Callicoos, and several useful Drugs, near the Value of 150,000 or 180,000 *l. per Annum*.

“ IV. It furnishes us with the Pepper, Cowries, Long Cloth, and other Callicoos and painted Stuffs, proper for the Trade of *Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, and Guiney*, to the Amount of 2 or 300,000 *l. per Annum*.

“ Now, if not only the aforesaid Advantages be seriously considered, but also what Detriment the Nation would sustain, if we were deprived of those Supplies, both in Point of Strength and warlike Provisions, in regard of Shipping and Salt-petre, but also in respect of the Furtherance it gives to many other Trades before-mentioned, it will easily appear, that this Trade, though its Imports exceed its Exports, is the most advantageous Trade to *England*, and deserves all Encouragements; for were we to buy all our Pepper and Callicoos of the *Dutch*, they would raise our Pepper (which now stands but about 3 *d. per Pound in India*) to, or near the Proportion which they have advanced on Nutmegs, Cloves, and Mace, (which cost the *Dutch* not much more *per Pound in India* than Pepper) since they engrossed the Trade for those Commodities, and the Use of Callicoos in *England*, would be supplied with foreign Linnen at greater Prices; so that what may be secur'd for this Nation's Consumption would, in all Probability, cost them at least 400,000 *l. per Annum* more than now it doth, and our foreign Trades for *Italy* and *Guiney* would in part decay for want of the aforesaid Supplies.”

Most of which Advantages the Nation has now lost, by having this Trade managed by a Joint-Stock, and is never like to recover them again, unless by the Cheapness of *East-India* Goods, which may be procured by an open Trade, and can scarce ever be attained by any other Method. The *French*, by their high Duties, had perfectly prohibited all Callicoos, and other *East-India* Goods before the War, but what comes directly from thence on their own Ships; the *Dutch* import so large Quantities, that they do not only supply themselves, and those other Countries which we formerly supplied, but even the Consumption of this Kingdom; and besides them, the *Danes, Portuguese, and Genoese* are all courting this Trade.

This Company, instead of employing twenty-five or thirty of the most warlike Ships, and of importing 180,000 *l. per Annum* in Pepper and Drugs, and exporting again 200,000 or 300,000 *l.* in Callicoos, and other Commodities for *Spain, Italy, &c.* have not had home, in three or four Years Time, that Value in all Manner of Goods; though most Sorts of *East-India* Commodities are, and have been sold for double, some treble, and four times as much as formerly; and for Salt-petre, they have scarce had any home of late; so that for want thereof, a Bill is now brought into Parliament to license the importing of it from *Holland*, that Commodity being now sold at about 8 *l. per Cent.* which was formerly sold for little more than 40 *s. per Cent.* And it is observable, that the Want of *East-India* Goods is not occasioned by the present War, or a
Want

Want of Leave to send out Ships, but for Want of Stock to lade home those Ships which they had; so that the restraining the *East-India* Trade to this Company, and not permitting others to trade thither, has hindered the Improvement of it, and in a Manner wholly given it to the *Dutch*, who never had so great Cargoes from thence, as they have had now of late.

What remains to be considered is,

IV. To answer some popular Objections which are made against the Determination of this Company, and the managing the *East-India* Trade, in any other Manner than by a Company with a Joint-Stock.

In considering which Objections, I shall reduce them into four Particulars.

I. The Trade will be spoiled by paying dear for our native Commodities here, and selling them cheap abroad, and buying foreign Commodities dear abroad, and selling them for less than they cost, to the Ruin of those who trade, and Destruction of the Trade itself; as was experienced by the open Trade formerly, when the *Indians* were the only Gainers; and besides, the *Dutch* will run away with all the Trade.

II. Private Merchants will only look to their private Gain, whereas Companies with Joint-Stocks lay out great Sums of Money, without any present Profit, only upon the Prospect of future Improvements and Advantage.

III. If Joint-Stocks exclusive are so prejudicial to the Publick, and such Discouragements to Industry and Ingenuity, how came any Joint-Stocks ever to be established, and the *Dutch* to manage their *East-India* Trade in that Method?

IV. Forts and Castles are necessary, and the Trade cannot be carried on without them, and they cannot be maintained without a Joint-Stock; they have cost the Company above a Million of Money, and are their Property; and they cannot be forced to part with them; and if they should, how could they be paid for them?

These seem to be the most considerable Objections which have occurred to me, to have been offered against the carrying on the *East-India* Trade by a regulated Company; and if, upon Examination, they should appear to be of no Weight, it will then doubtless be admitted, that, for the publick Good, the *East-India* Trade ought not to be carried on by a Joint-Stock, (and especially an exclusive one) but in an open Trade by a Company of Merchants, like the *Turkey*, or other regulated Companies.

A Third Collection of TRACTS.

First Objection. *The Trade will be spoiled, &c.*

The Author himself answers this Objection, in Pag. 84, 85.—“Caveat
“Emptor, *says he*, Let particular Men look to themselves, and so doubtless
“they will, in those Trades for which there are now Companies, as well as
“they do in others, for which there are no Companies. It is the Care of
“Law-makers, first and principally to provide for the People in gross, not
“Particulars; and if the Consequence of so easy an Admission, should be to
“make our Manufactures cheap abroad, and foreign Commodities cheap here,
“*(as is alledged)* our Nation in general would have the Advantage both
“Ways.”

If in an open Trade People will ruin themselves by trading to Loss, it is
an Argument the Trade will be drove; and then it will not be in Danger, by
being open, to fall into the Hands of the *Dutch*, which it is very likely to do,
if it continues in this Company; the *Dutch* do not desire to have their *East-India*
Goods sold so cheap here to ruin us; for they will get little by that Way
of trading, the Charge of their Trade so much exceeding ours, by reason of
the great Garrisons which they are forced to maintain to secure their Cinnamon
and Spice-Trade; and it is undeniably certain, that the *Dutch* desire nothing so
much as the Continuance of this Company, nor fear any thing more than a
regulated Company for this Trade.

This Objection may as well be made against all Trades which are not drove
by Joint-Stocks. It may probably happen, that those who may trade in a
free and open Trade, under a regulated Company, may not get two or three
for one, on the Goods which they may import, as the Company now do, by
reason of the excessive Prices they sell at, by being engrossed into one Hand,
and their having starved the Trade; but in Time of Peace may get 20 or 30
per Cent. only, and they will be very well contented to get no more; which
small Profit must, in a little Time, quite beat the *Dutch* out of all, (except the
Spice-Trade;) for it is very well known they dealt but very little in Callicoes,
and other Manufactures, till the Prices of *East-India* Goods were enhanced to
such extravagant Rates as they have been of late. Nor did they or we get so
much on those Goods formerly, when a larger Trade was drove; nor can the
Profit be so great on that Trade hereafter, which Way soever it shall be ma-
naged. But it is better for the Nation to have 10 *l. per Cent.* gained on 300 *l.*
employed in Trade, than to have but 100 *l.* employed, by which the Mer-
chant shall get 30 *l. per Cent.* The making a great Profit on a particular
Trade may be fit for particular Men to consider that drive that Trade, but was
never yet thought a Consideration worthy the Legislators providing for, so as
the Nation in general got by the Trade; for the great Profit which particular
Men may make, is for the most Part directly opposite to the Interest of the
Publick; and it is contrary to the Author's Maxims, laid down in Pag. 84,
85, and in his *Preface*, as is already observed.

“ For

“ For we must distinguish, *says he*, between the Profit of the Merchant and the Gain of the Kingdom; which are so far from being always Parallels, that frequently they run counter the one to the other.”

The more Traders there are, the better it is for the Publick, though perhaps it may be worse for the private Merchants that drive those Trades. The more Goods are exported and imported, the more Ships employed, the more Custom paid, the cheaper our Manufactures are abroad, and the greater the Consumption of our own Goods, the Nation in general will have the Advantage, tho’ the Traders may not; and the cheaper *East-India* Goods are, the Subject will pay the less for what is consumed at home, and the more of them will be again exported abroad, for other Nations and Countries, who will thereby be encouraged to trade with us.

But it may very well seem strange, that the Cheapness of Commodities should be made an Argument against that Method of Trade which will make them so, seeing it is what the Author chiefly aims at in his Treatise, in respect of all other Trades, by the lowering Interest, and making Ingenuity and Industry necessary; and is what he lays down as an essential Maxim to be observed, which will enable us to cope in Trade with our Neighbours, and especially the *Dutch*; and yet this is the main Objection against an open Trade to the *East-Indies* by a regulated Company, without a Joint-Stock. But this, when it is considered, is so far from being an Objection against it, that it is one of the strongest Arguments which can be used for it; and it is one of those general Rules which the Author lays down for the Enlargement of the Trade of *England*, in *Fol. 159*.

“ To make it the Interest of other Nations to trade with us, we must be sure, *says he*, to furnish them as cheap, or cheaper than any other Nation can or doth, &c.”

As for the Instance, that it has already been found by Experience, that when this Trade was formerly open People ruined themselves by trading to Loss; there was not one tenth Part of the Callicoes and other *East-India* Goods consumed that there is now, and has been of late Years; and if that be an Objection allowed against an open Trade for the *East-Indies*, it will likewise hold against any Trade at all being drove thither, because that there was formerly a Loss by it, even whilst the Trade was managed by a Joint-Stock, as well as there was when it was open; as may appear in *Fol. 41* of that Treatise.

“ There are, *says the Author*, some Men yet living, who do remember a greater Trade to *East-India*, and a far greater Stock employed therein than we have now; and yet we were so far from thriving upon it, that we lost by it, and could never see our principal Money again.”

Yet it is evident, by the Author’s Opinion, *Pag. 148, 150, and 154*, that the Merchant may lose in a Trade, and the Nation still gain; and that there is a great Difference between the Gain of the Kingdom, and that of the private Merchant.

Pag. 148. Says he, “ If our Trade and Shipping encrease, how small or how soever the Profits are to private Men, it is an infallible Indication that the Nation in general thrives; for I dare affirm, that categorically in all Parts

“ of the whole World, wherever Trade is great, and continues so, and grows
 “ daily more great, and increases in Shipping, and that for a Succession, not of
 “ Years, but of Ages, that Trade must be nationally profitable.”

Page 150, the Author says further, “ Where a great Trade is driven, espe-
 “ cially where much Shipping is employed, whatever becomes of the poor
 “ Merchant that drives the Trade, Multitudes of People will be certain Gain-
 “ ers, as his Majesty, and his Officers of Customs, besides Shipwrights, Butch-
 “ ers, Brewers, Bakers, Rope-makers, Porters, Seamen, Manufacturers, Carmen,
 “ Lightermen, and all other Artificers, and People that depend on Trade or
 “ Shipping, which indeed, more or less, the whole Kingdom doth.”

And Page 154, as has been already observed, he calls it, “ The following
 “ his own Principle, that if Trade be great, and much *English* Shipping em-
 “ ployed, it will be good for the Nation in general, whatever it may be for
 “ the private Merchants.”

But to answer this Objection more fully ; It is very observable, that there is
 a far greater Trade drove from Port to Port in *India*, and from thence for the
Red Sea, *Persia*, the *South-Sea*, *China*, and the *Manillas*, which goes from thence
 to the *Spanish West-Indies*, than what is drove to *Europe*; and the particular Mer-
 chants buy their Goods in all those Trades without any Joint-Stock, and yet they
 do not ruin themselves, nor do they lose the Trade, or give away all the Profit
 to the Natives ; sometimes they get more, sometimes less, as there is a greater
 or less Quantity of Goods at the Market, and as there is more or less Demand
 for them in like Manner, as in all other Trades : And it may not be amiss to
 observe, that they have neither Forces, Forts, nor Castles in *India* to drive their
 Trade. I shall only add, that many of the Members of this Company do
 publicly declare themselves in favour of an open Trade by a regulated Com-
 pany, if the present Company should be dissolved ; which shews plainly, that
 it is nothing but private Interest which makes them now against it.

Second Objection. *Private Merchants will only look to their present Gain, &c.*

This Joint-Stock Company, instead of discovering any new Trades, has
 lost several Trades which the *English* Nation had formerly ; they have given
 the *Dutch* the whole Spice-Trade ; we had the Islands of *Polleroon* and *Am-
 boyna*, and a Factory at *Maccassar*, which if they had recovered back from the
Dutch, according to the Treaty of Peace, would have furnished us with Spice
 enough for ourselves, and wherewithal to supply other Countries ; and they
 have likewise lost the Trade of *Bantam*, and thereby given the *Dutch* an Op-
 portunity to engross not only the Pepper-Trade, but likewise in time to shut us
 quite out of the *South-Sea* and *China* Trade ; which last, though it has been
 in a Manner wholly neglected by them, might be made more beneficial to this
 Kingdom, than most of their other Trades.

They have in a Manner lost all other Trades, excepting only their Trade in the
 Mogul's Dominions, which, if it had been possible to lose, and for the *Dutch* to
 have

have engrossed, the Company have taken a great deal of Pains to give them an Opportunity to do it; all the new Trade which they have discovered, instead of those which they have lost, is our Settlement at *Bencoolen*, a Place which finds a great Vent for our Manufacture, if the Lives of poor *Englishmen* may be called a Manufacture, as they have been accounted by some of the great Men of that Company, upon the Occasion of our first settling there; that Place has proved a *Golgotha* to our *Englishmen*, and let it cost what it will the fortifying, that is all the (morally speaking) impregnable Asylum, as they call it, to the *English* Nation, which it is ever like to be. If this be all the Improvement which has been made by a Joint-Stock in the *East-India* Trade, during thirty-six Years, it had been well for *England* there had been no Joint-Stock in that Trade, or none of this Improvement; we had saved several hundred poor *Englishmen's* Lives, which have been sent thither to die like Dogs.

Third Objection. *If Joint-Stocks are so prejudicial to the Publick, &c.*

For Reply thereunto, it is to be observed, that in the Infancy of Trade, and especially of such as are remote, where particular Persons would not adventure, for fear of the Disappointments that commonly attend the first Undertakings, Joint-Stocks have been thought necessary; but are not so when a Trade is fully discovered and settled, and when it can be carried on as well, or better, by particular Men, without a Joint-Stock; for as Joint-Stocks may be useful in making the first Discoveries and Settlements of Trades, and especially of such as are remote; so they have always been prejudicial to the future Improvements and Increase of those very Trades after their first Settlement, by not leaving a full Scope to Industry and Ingenuity; as may plainly appear by the slow Progress, little Improvements, and less Discoveries which have been made in the *East-India* and *Guinea* Trades, since their being first frequented, if compared with the Improvements of most others since that Time, where Industry and Ingenuity have had their full Course, and been freed from these Shackles; of which there needs no other Demonstration, than those vast Improvements that have been made in our own *West-India* Plantations; which could have been in no Manner of Proportion so considerable, if they had been managed by a Company, and especially a Company with an exclusive Joint-Stock. And this the Author acknowledges, *Fol. 84.* "We have, *says he*, declined more, at least "have increased less in those Trades limited to Companies, than in others, "where all his Majesty's Subjects have had equal Freedom to trade." And it is very remarkable, how great Enemies Restraints are to Discoveries and Improvements, by the great Countries and People which are yet unknown to us, towards the *South Pole*, compared with those towards the *North Pole*; which Countries being as remote from the Sun, might doubtless afford a great Consumption to our Woollen Manufactures, and supply us with some useful Commodities in lieu of them: And the Want of these Discoveries can be imputed to nothing but the Restraint of Trade, occasioned by the *English* and
Dutch

Dutch East-India Companies, and the Severity of the *Spaniards*, in prohibiting Trade into their *West-Indies*.

And though it be acknowledged, that the *Dutch* carry on their *East-India* Trade by a Joint-Stock, yet that is no Rule for this Nation to do the like, if it may be managed to more publick Advantage in some other Method: For the Question is not, how the *Dutch* manage this Trade, but, how the *English* may do it, so as to be the most beneficial to this Kingdom, and to enable us best to cope with the *Dutch*; and whether that may not be done better without a Joint-Stock, than with one?

The *Dutch*, it is true, began their Trade to the *East-Indies* by a Company with a Joint-Stock; and they first settled themselves by Conquest, pursuing Dominion and Empire; and are under a Necessity of continuing their Trade in that Manner, though the Charge of their Garrisons and Governments is so excessive, that nothing but the Spice-Trade, and the confining our *East-India* Trade to an exclusive Joint-Stock, could have hindered them from being ruined long since.

Our first Settlement in the *East-Indies* was by Trade, as Merchants; and must subsist by a fair and upright Dealing with the Natives; a just and punctual Compliance in our Bargains and Payments; thereby preserving a mutual Intercourse, and good Understanding with them; for we have no Territories, Garrisons, or Castles, which afford, or secure us any Trade, but such as we might as well, nay better, be without.

The *Dutch East-India* Trade, and their Government, are so interwoven, that what lessens the one, affects the other; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that they should be so solicitous to preserve and increase it, and to oppose any thing which might seem to lessen it.

Fourth Objection. *Forts and Castles are so necessary, that the Trade cannot be carried on without them, &c.*

Their Forts, &c. are such as are to be regarded, either for the Revenue, arising by them to the Company, or as they are necessary to carry on the Trade, and all the Charges which have been disbursed on them, are not to be reckoned as their Cost; for they have had the Use of them, and the annual Charge ought to be placed to the Trade. If the *Turkey*, *Hamburg*, *East-Land*, or any other regulated Company of Merchants, should make an Account of all the Charges of their Ambassadors, Residents, and Factories, since their first Foundation, it might probably, in some of those Companies, exceed the Charge of the *East-India* Company's Forts, &c. But the annual Trade has borne the annual Charge; and they do not, upon that Score, increase the Charge of the Admission of any one into their Company and Trade.

If their Forts are so great a Revenue as they pretend, they need not part with them, but may keep them, and have home the annual Revenue from thence.

And

And if they are necessary to carry on the Trade, those who succeed them in the Trade, will consider the Necessity which they have of them, and in such Case cannot be without them; and their Value may be adjusted by Persons indifferently chosen, as has been always formerly practised upon the like Occasions; and the Money may be raised to pay for them, either on the Trade, as all Impositions are in the *Turkey*, and other regulated Companies, or paid by the Government out of the Customs arising by the Trade, which would soon more than compensate that Charge by their Increase.

The Forts and Islands have hitherto gone along with the Trade, and the Company's Successors have been accounted those who have succeeded them in the Trade; and therefore they cannot properly be called their Freehold, because of their national Property in them; nor can they, if they would, sell them to the *French*, or *Dutch*, as they pretend, *Bombay* and *St. Helena* being annexed to the Crown, and holden of the Manor of *East-Greenwich* at a certain Quit-Rent; neither would the *French* or *Dutch* buy them (because they would be of no Use to them) though the Company had as good a Power as they might have a Will, to sell them to any who they thought might prejudice *England* most in buying them; but it shews a great deal of Confidence, as well as Ill-nature in them, to pretend to do it if they could. If they are not willing to part with their Forts, let them see who they will hurt most; for it is plain, the Trade may be as well, and better carried on without them. At *Bengal*, the Flower of all the Trade of *India*, we never had a Fort, nor any thing like it; and yet the greatest and most profitable Part of the *East-India* Trade has been from thence. We trade in all Parts of the Mogul's Dominions with as much Security as any Foreigners do in *London*; and this is demonstrated by their own, and private Ships trading in many other Places where they have no Forts; for they have no Garrisons in any Place where they have a Trade but *Fort. St. George*, and our new Acquisition of *Fort St. David's*; and there they might have the same Trade without them, and be freed of the Charge of maintaining them.

Bombay is a good Harbour for our Ships, but affords no Trade, and we should have the same Benefit of that Harbour, although the Island were under the Mogul's Dominion.

If we have Peace with the Natives, we want no Forts; and if we are encouraged by our Forts to make War, we shall soon repent, as the Company may, that they ever had any; and, on that Consideration, as well as the necessary Charge of keeping them, it had been well for this Nation the Company had never had any. In Time of War with the Natives, we may perhaps with Difficulty keep our Forts, but we cannot drive our Trade; the War we had with the Mogul has been a sufficient Proof of this Assertion.

Their Forts are of so little Use, that after the Company have been paid for them, the best Thing which could be done for the Advantage of that Trade, would be to demolish them; following therein the Example of the wise *Dutch*, who have lately demolished *Pollicate*, a Fortification which they had near *Fort St. George*, and of greater Strength than any we have in *India*, and which was
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the only Fort they had in all the Mogul's Dominions, and thereby our Trade would be freed of all the great and unnecessary Charge of maintaining them, and we should be better secured by an intire Dependence on the Mogul's Protection.

If Forts and Castles were of any Use in *India*, it could only be in the Countries of small Princes; but they can never be of any Use in the Mogul's Dominions, who is one of the greatest Princes in all the World. And if Forts, &c. were necessary, they might be maintained by a regulated Company of Merchants, as well as by a Company with a Joint-Stock.

What I have already observed, I hope may suffice to shew, that the *East-India* Trade may be carried on by a regulated Company, like the *Turkey* and *Hamburgh* Companies; and that such a Constitution would tend most to the encreasing Hands and Stock in Trade; and the encouraging Industry and Ingenuity would be the most advantageous to the Publick; and which, according to the Author's own Opinion, is best in all other Trades, and therefore may be supposed to be so in this, and is the likeliest Method to enable this Nation to cope therein with our Neighbours, and especially the *Dutch*, and to hinder their engrossing that whole Trade. And the Author must either disapprove the present Method of managing the *East-India* Trade, with a Joint-Stock exclusive, or must give better Reasons for it, than barely his own asserting, "That it seems evident to him, that it ought for the publick
" Good to be carried on in that Manner;" or else he must proclaim to the World, that, where his private Interest is concerned, he can and will contradict himself.

As the Design of this Discourse was only to shew, that the *East-India* Trade might be managed to much greater Advantage to the Publick, by a regulated Company of Merchants, than by a Company with a Joint-Stock; so, what I have mentioned of the *Guinea* Trade, has only been occasional, because the Author has joined the *East-India* Trade and that together, when he says, *Fol.* 81. "It seems evident to me, that the most Part of those Trades
" ought, for the publick Good, to be managed by Joint-Stocks:" If it had been the Subject of this Discourse, to have shewn, that the *Guinea* Trade ought, for the publick Good, to be managed by a regulated Company of Merchants, rather than by a Company with a Joint-Stock, there might have been much more said to prove it. But what has been observed concerning the *East-India* Trade, may, I suppose, convince any unprejudiced Person, whose Judgment is not biased by his own private Interest.

If a regulated Company shall be thought, by the Wisdom of the Parliament, best for the Management of the *East-India* Trade, it is not doubted but it will be settled in that Method; and that some Provision will be made, in such Manner as shall be thought most proper to prevent the Company's dividing all or more than their Estates, until they have paid the Debts they owe in *India*, that so the *English* Nation may not hereafter suffer for their Embroils.

Considering how small a Trade the *East-India* Company have driven for several Years, and how great the *Dutch*, there is a Necessity of some speedy
Resolution

Resolution in this Matter.— I shall conclude therefore this Discourse, as the Author does his Preface, with a very small Alteration: “ I think no true
“ *Englishman* will deny, that the Season cries aloud to us to be up and doing,
“ before our Fields become unoccupied, and before the *Dutch* get too much
“ the Whip-hand of us, whom (in such a Case were they freed from their
“ *French* Fears, which they labour under at present) I fear we should find as
“ severe Task-masters, as ever the *Athenians* were to the lesser trading Cities of
“ *Greece*.

“ Neither are the *Dutch* the only Neighbours we have for Co-rivals in
“ Trade, but the *French* King, and King of *Sweden*, are now as active, cir-
“ cumspect, industrious, and perspective too in this Affair; and have, and
“ are ordering Things as prudently for promoting thereof, as the *Dutch*
“ themselves.

“ There is nothing can be said for publick Good, but will cross the parti-
“ cular Ends, as well as Opinions, of many private Persons; and still the
“ more is said, the more are disobliged; but my Duty to my Country, over-
“ coming those Considerations, I have adventured this second Time to expose
“ my Conceptions to publick Censure, with this Confidence, that after these
“ Principles have suffered the accustomed Persecution of Tongues and Pens,
“ naturally and constantly accompanying all new Proposals, they will at length,
“ or something very like them, come to be generally received, and honoured
“ with the publick Sanction, concerning the Time whereof I am not careful;
“ but for my Country’s Sake I could wish it might be shortened.”

*Remarks upon the LONDON GAZETTE, relating to the
Streights Fleet, and the Battle of Landen in Flanders.*

THE Penner of this Intelligence has, for some Time, written with such an unusual Range of Fancy, as if his Design was rather to entertain and amuse, than inform his Reader. To do him Justice, he seems to be not only a Master of Style, but of the Matter he treats about; for he makes no Difficulty to conceal, displace, and perplex Things at Discretion: So that an ordinary Observer must be oftentimes at a Loss to know how the World goes. His peculiar Talent is to lessen a Disadvantage, and make it invisible. It may be, he appears with this sanguine Air, because he is unwilling to put us to Pain with unacceptable Truths. But how much soever he may be commended for his Temper, it would in all Likelihood be better for us, if we were plainly dealt with. To skin over a Wound before it has been sufficiently probed and laid open, is the Way to mortify the Part, and often kills instead of curing. When a Man’s Fortune is sinking, he should be made sensible of his Condi-
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tion; that if he despairs of stopping the Leak, he may quit the Bottom. The *English* and Confederates have lately received two Blows at Sea and in *Flanders*, which, it is feared, will take some Time to recover. These the *Gazetteer* runs over so lightly, and describes with such a handsome Neglect, as if the Loss, if any, was inconsiderable.

That he does not deal clearly with us in this Case, I shall endeavour to shew, by bringing the fore-mentioned Accidents under a short Review. And here it may not be improper to acquaint the Reader, that I intend to keep within the Verge of the Confederacy, and to bring no Evidence against the *Gazetteer*, but what is either drawn from himself, or from some other Authority, which he is equally obliged to acknowledge; and if I mention any *French* Proof, it shall be when it agrees with his own.

I shall begin with the Loss of the *Streights* Fleet; and here I shall,

1st, Very briefly shew the *Gazetteer's* Account of this Accident to be perplexed, and disagreeing with itself.

2^{dly}, That it is imperfect, and far short of Matter of Fact.

1. His Account is dark and inconsistent. His Business here is to let us know the Fortune of the *English*. Now, had he been disposed to inform us of what had passed, he would (after the List of those which escaped with the Admiral) have immediately mentioned the others which gained the Ports of *Spain*, and distinguished the *English* from the rest. This Account had been easy and intelligible. But his Design, it seems, was not to be understood. To this Purpose he gives you the Number of those with Admiral *Rooke*: Then tells you how many were missing; and, at last, sets down those which were got into *Cadiz* and *St. Lucar*, and intermixeth them with *Dutch*, *Danes*, &c. and with Part of his latter List: And by this confused Relation, he has conveyed himself out of Sight. But, upon Enquiry, I believe it will appear, he has lost himself, as well as his Reader.

Let us compare his List from the *Gazette*, July 17.

His first List contains those *English* Merchants-Ships which were with Admiral *Rooke*. The Number of these is sixteen, beginning with the *George*, and ending with the *Fidelity*. His second List consists of those *English* Merchant-men which were missing; this begins with the *Chandois*, and ends with the *Mary Flower*; and in all makes twenty-four Ships.

His third Account is of those Ships which escaped into *Cadiz* and *St. Lucar*; which, though it does not reach the Number of what was missing, yet it brings in nine *English*, seven in *Cadiz*, and two in *St. Lucar*, which were unmentioned in the former Lists. Their Names are

The *Jobanna* and *Anne*, the *Success*, commanded by *Isaac Stoneham*, and therefore different from the *Success* in the missing List, whose Master was *David Bishop*.

The *Sarah* and *Elizabeth*, the *Sarah*, *Marmaduke Raydon*; the *Sarah*, commanded by *Lawson*; the *John*, commanded by *Ware*; the *Tetuan Merchant*; Captain *Cooper*, his Ship not named; the *Malaga Factor*, Captain *Newland*; and therefore different from that Ship of the same Name in his second List, which was commanded by *Richard Love*. Now, where a Man pretends

pretends to be particular in naming the Ships which were safe, and those which are missing, one would think, the joining these two Numbers should comprehend the whole Fleet: But besides that, he is far short in the Sum Total, as will appear by and by. There is an unusual Accident happened to the Computation; for he has brought in nine Merchant-men, seven to *Cadiz*, and two to *St. Lucar*, which were unmentioned in the former Lists: So that, by his Account, we have nine Sail, which were neither safe nor missing, neither in the Enemies Hands, nor in their own, which I confess is something extraordinary.

I am now, in the second Place, to prove his Account far short of Matter of Fact.

We must go back to his former Lists. The Number with Admiral *Rooke* is sixteen, the List of those missing is twenty-four; so that it seems the whole Fleet of *English* Merchant-men bound (as himself tells us, *Gaz. July 17.*) to *Smyrna*, *Scanderoon*, *Messina*, *Galipoli*, *Alicant*, *Cadiz*, *St. Lucar*, *Venice*, *Tunis*, *Malaga*, and *Leghorn*, consisted but of forty Sail. But this is a great Mistake, for it is granted by all the Merchants of *London* (and by many of them too much felt) that the *English*, when they fell in with the *French* at *Lagos-Bay*, were about eighty Sail of Merchant-men.

This Number the *Gazetteer* ventures to abridge to forty, to conceal the Loss of the rest. And here we may observe, that the Fleet bound to *Smyrna* consisted of eight *Dutch*, and eleven *English*; the *Dutch* were all taken and destroyed at *Lagos*; and two of the *English* were then destroyed, and four since at *Gibraltar*, making above two Thirds of the Value of the eleven; the *Sussex*, worth above 50,000 *l.* was likewise burnt at *Lagos*. The *Gazetteer* owns the Misfortune at *Gibraltar*, (and that at *Malaga*) but as for the rest, he knows not of one *Englishman* taken, except the *Friendship*, a small Vessel of about seventy Tons. (*Gaz. July 17.*) This Relation he afterwards repeats with more Assurance. "Of the *English* (says he) there is not one Ship taken, either Man of War, or Merchant-man, except a small Vessel called the *Friendship*." (*Gaz. Aug. 3.*) Now, by this Account, one would imagine all was well; but if we observe him a little closer, we shall find he is not so hardy as to affirm, that none of the *English* were burnt or sunk at *Lagos-Bay*. This he durst not say. Now, if they are destroyed this Way, they are as much lost as if they were taken, though not with the same Advantage to the Enemy: But the *Gazetteer* hoped to conceal the Matter, by saying they were not taken. And since the *Confederacy* is deeply concerned in this Misfortune, I shall just mention the Whole from the *Dutch* Prints. The *Recueil*, *Aug. 6.* informs us, that the *French* took two *Dutch* Men of War, one of 66, the other of 68 Guns, and burnt a rich Pinnace, and an *English* Man of War of 56 Guns. Besides these, the *French* took 25 Merchant-men, and burnt 45, which in all make 74. All this was done at the Bay of *Lagos*. The same Intelligence (*Recueil*, *Aug. 13.*) continues the Narration of this Misfortune, and says, that the *Sieur Coetlogon* burnt four *English* *Smyrna* Ships, and one *Dutchman* at *Gibraltar*, and took seven; that Count *d'Estrée* took four, and burnt some; so that here are sixteen more lost, which, added to the former Number of

seventy-four, makes ninety, besides those burnt by Count *d'Estrée*. And if the Ships destroyed at *Malaga* are not included, the Misfortune rises still higher.

Having shewn what an untoward Account the *Gazetteer* has given of the *Streights-Fleet*, I shall now proceed to the late great Battle in *Flanders*. Here, if we enquire of the *Gazette*, *July 27*, we shall find that the Enemy was beaten back in all their Attempts, and the Advantage on the Confederate Side, till four in the Afternoon.

This Account is contradicted by a Paper, published by Authority, and called, *A Relation of the Battle at Landen*.

For here we are told, "that though the Enemy had been beaten at the Left, they had nevertheless kept a Part of the Village of *Winden*, and made themselves Masters of the Hedges of the rising Ground, which laid the Flank of our Retrenchment open to them, &c." Now, this is a flat Contradiction to the *Gazette*. For, if the *French* kept Part of the Village of *Winden*, and continued possessed of a considerable Post, through which they broke into the Confederate Army, and forced them to quit their Camp, as this *Relation* affirms; then 'tis plain, they were not beaten back in all their Attempts, as the *Gazette* pretends. So that we have two Relations, both published by Order of the Court, directly clashing in their Narrative: Now, he that can swallow Contradictions, and believe an Evidence who convicts himself, may be a good-natured Man, but I am sure can be no wise one.

Farther, *Gazette*, *Aug. 3d.* tells us, that when the Left-wing went off, which stood after the Right was routed; this Left, says the *Gazette*, retreated towards *Lewe*, without being attacked by the *French*; who had already suffered so much, that they were willing to part with us. This Story is not only incredible in itself, but plainly contradicted by the Relation of the Battle, &c. which was printed but a Day or two before this *Gazette*, and about a Week after the first News of the Battle; so that there was Time enough for a full Information. This Print makes no scruple to say, "that when the Left-wing were ordered to retire to *Lewe*, the Enemy, whose Horse were drawn up in two Lines upon the rising Ground, adventured to attack them in their Retreat." Now, what is to be done in this Case; here are two *White-Hall* Papers, both of them positive and peremptory in their Stories, and yet fall foul upon each other. The Relation, &c. frankly owns, that the Confederates were attacked in their Retreat: The *Gazetteer* (I suppose) finding this Relation grated a little upon the People's Stomachs, tells us very roundly, that the *French* were willing to part with the Confederates, and let them retire without Disturbance. Thus to please the People, the *Gazetteer* ventures upon a desperate Expedient. For by contradicting a Paper, which stands upon the same Authority with his own, he sinks the Credit of the Court, and brings a Suspicion upon that he writes himself. Well! when two Witnesses disagree in their Evidence, we are sure one of them must be in the wrong; and that the *Gazetteer* is out, will plainly appear, if we consider, that when the same Party gives a different Account of any Disadvantage, we may be assured, that Relation which makes the Misfortune greatest has most of Truth in it. For, as a Man who trades upon Reputation,

Reputation, will not magnify his Losses beyond Reality, for fear of being blown up; so a State-Faction, which is sunk in its proper Strength, and lives only upon Art, will be sure not to make Things worse than they are. So that, if at any Time their Memories happen to fail them, or they presume upon the Easiness of the Reader, or the Greatness of a Misfortune makes them drop a Secret, and disorders them into Contradictions, we are then to believe that Part of the Account which is least favourable to the Reporters; for no Man in his Wits will tell an Untruth to his Disadvantage. To apply this Remark, we may conclude the *Gazetteer* a Misrepresenter, and that the Confederates were pursued, as the Relation of the Battle, &c. affirms, and that the Relater gives us the Truth, though not the whole Truth, will appear farther, if we observe,

2. The Condition of both Armies, when the Confederates were said to be pursued. How Things went, I shall describe from the *London Gazette*, and Relation of, &c. above mentioned, which may be both drawn up by the same Hand for ought I know. 'Tis certain, they both come from *White-Hall*, and pass the Nation for Intelligence of equal Authority. The *Gazette* tells us in these Words: "That the *French* broke into us (*i. e.* our Camp) at the Head of our Retrenchment, which our Men were no longer able to maintain: "That the Enemies Numbers prevailed: That upon this Occasion, we were "forced to remove, and change the Form of our Lines of Horse, who were "thereby put into Disorder. The *English* Horse and Guards were sent for from "the Left, but before they came up, the Enemy had poured in so many Squa- "drons, that they had neither Time, nor Ground to put themselves into regu- "lar Lines. At length, when it was found impossible to remedy this Disorder, "and the Enemy advancing with fresh Forces, the Foot of our Left, as also "the Dragoons, &c. were ordered to retire towards *Lewe*: The rest of the "Army retreated towards *Tirlemont*." Thus far the *Gazette*, the Relation, &c. give much the same Account, only somewhat plainer; particularly, it tells us, that the *French* Cavalry forced the *Hanover*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Spanish* Troops to retire; that is, they beat them. That to remedy this Disorder, Part of the Left-wing was ordered to advance, but before they could form themselves, the *Dutch* Horse retired, and the Right-wing were forced to pass the River, and the *English* were quite encompassed. And then it follows, that the Left-wing were ordered to retire to *Lewe*, and that the General himself passed the Bridge at *Neer-Hespen* with great Difficulty.

And when Matters were come to this Pass, when the *French* had fought up to the Mouth of the Confederate Cannon, forced their Retrenchments, and broke into a fortified Camp: When they were superior in Number, Order, and Success, and had surmounted all the Difficulties of the Enterprize: When the *Hanover*, *Brandenburgh*, *Spanish*, and *Dutch* Troops were beaten: When the last Reserve of *English* had neither Time nor Ground to draw up in, but were encompassed by the Enemy: In fine, when all the Nations were broken and routed, the Right-wing forced to fly through a River, and the Left ordered to shift for themselves: When Affairs were in this Posture, does any

any Person of common Sense imagine that the *French* would not push the Advantage, and pursue the Confederates? Were they too generous to set upon an Enemy, who was in no Condition to resist? Had they no Inclination to revenge the Loss of their Friends? Were they afraid of making the Victory too absolute, and of over-loading themselves with Glory and Spoil? Few Men, one would think, would impose such Stuff as this upon the Belief of the Nation. 'Tis true, the *Gazette* was hard set; for all the publick Accounts owned, that the *French* forced the Camp at four in the Afternoon, and that the Confederates were broken and ruined from that Time. The *Gazetteer* was aware, that allowing a conquering Army four Hours of Day to trample and slaughter in, must needs give the People a horrid Notion of the Defeat. And therefore to prevent the Impression of Truth, he denies what had been publickly owned before, contradicts the Paper published by Authority, and that with such wretched incredible Reasons, as cannot be put upon Men without the greatest Affront to their Understandings.

I shall go on with the *Gazette* to compute the Loss of the Battle, which may be reduced to two Heads, the Men, and the Baggage and Cannon.

1. With respect to the Men.

The first *Gazette* of *July 27*, says, 'tis certain, they have lost double the Number of Men we have. The *Gazette* of *August 3*, is still more hardy, and tells us, that 'tis certain, that our Loss is not so great as that at *Steenkirk*; and that the *French*, according to their own Account, had lost more than double the Number. One would think by this Relation, the *French* had printed an Account of their Loss; but upon Enquiry we shall find no such Matter: For this very *Gazette* has the ill Luck to tell us, in the *Paris* Article of *August 2*, that the List of the Killed and Wounded is not yet made public.

What does the *Gazetteer* mean then by their own Account? Why, he will inform you in another Part of his Works.

The *Gazette*, *July 31*, is clear in the Point. For there a nameless Captain, who came Express about his own Business, who neither saw the Fight himself, nor pretends to be informed by any who did. There this Gentleman affirms, that the Relation that was printed at *Lisle* (in *Flanders*) the *Sunday* after the Fight, owns they have lost 16,000 Men.

Very well! I'm afraid this Relation will miscarry for want of a little Geography; for the Battle being fought upon the 29th of *July*, *N. S.* the *Sunday* after falls upon the 2d. of *August*. At which very Day the *London Gazetteer* has the Misfortune to tell us, that then there was no List of the Killed or Wounded published at *Paris*.

And can we imagine, there should be a List printed at *Lisle*, when there was none at *Paris*? Durst any Subject in *Flanders* publish an Account of so great a Battle, without Authority, and Instructions from the Court of *France*? Does any Government, much less the *French*, allow so wild a Liberty as this? And as for the *French* King's Leave, it could not be sent at the Time the Captain pretends. For the *London Gazette*, *August 31*, says, that M. *D'Artagnan* arrived at *Paris* upon the 31st at Night, *N. S.* with the News of the Battle. By
this

this Account, the Journey from the Camp to *Paris*, which we may imagine was made with Speed, cost the Express two Nights and two Days, *i. e.* from *Wednesday* at Night till *Friday* at Night, for that was the 31st. Now, if the Court had been at *Paris*, and a Dispatch immediately sent to the Governor of *Lisle* to publish the News, there would remain but one Day and two Summer's Nights to perform the Journey, and print the Narrative; for from *Friday* at Night to *Sunday* is no longer, which makes the Story impossible. Thus far the *London Gazette*; but by that of *Paris*, *August* 8. we are assured, that Mr. *D'Artagnan* did not arrive at the *French* Court, which was then at *Marli*, till *August* 1, which, if there be any Degrees in Impossibilities, makes the Relation still more incomprehensible. Besides, to what Purpose was this romantic Haste? To none that I know of, except to oblige the *Lisle*-Men with a Favour which it seems the *Parisians* were not vouchsafed, and to furnish out the *Gazetteer's* Captain for his Voyage to *England*. To proceed, the *Gazette*, *July* 31, says, "We are assured, that our Loss does not exceed 9 or 10,000 Men, including the Prisoners and Wounded." The Relation of the Battle, &c. which came out a Day or two after, seems to have none of the *Gazette's* Assurance but tells us, that our Forces being not yet all of them come together, we cannot give a certain Account what Loss we have had. The *Gazette*, *August* 3, says the same Thing, adding withal, this remarkable Passage; that 'tis certain, our Loss is not so great as that at *Steenkirk*; which, according to the last Year's *Gazettes*, did not amount to 3000 Men. *Gazette August*, 4, 1692. This is still more mystical; therefore we must try if we can inform ourselves other Ways: Now in order to the satisfying this Question. We must,

1. Know how strong the Confederates were before the Battle: How far they are, or expect to be reinforced, and to what Number the Army will amount after the Reinforcement. These three Things will give us a true State of the Loss. Now the *Gazette*, *August* 3, confesses the Army, when they fought, to be about 45,000; which Expression ought rather to be interpreted above the Letter than otherwise, it being the Interest of the *Gazetteer*, after a Defeat, to diminish the Confederate Forces. However, we will be so fair as to take him at his acknowledged Number of 45,000.

The 2d Thing to be enquired, is the Number of the Recruits, which we may learn from the *Gazette* of *July* 27, in these Words: "Our Army will be speedily reinforced with 25 Battalions, and 40 Squadrons, who are with the Duke of *Wittenburgh*; besides which, there are 30 Battalions at *Liege*." The *Gazetteer* must mean, that the Battalions at *Liege* were to make Part of the Reinforcement, otherwise to what Purpose were they mentioned? If this were not his Meaning, he might as well have said, "Besides the Reinforcement, which we expect from the Duke of *Wittenberg*, there are 30 Battalions in *New Batavia* in the *East-Indies*; which, though true, would be horribly impertinent." We may observe farther, that these Forces the *Gazette* mentions at *Liege*, were not long since detached thither, ten Battalions being sent but eight Days before the Fight. (*Relation of the Battle*, &c.) 'Tis no Wonder therefore, if they should be drawn back after so great an Accident.

And

And if this Point were not sufficiently proved, Mr. *Dyckvelt's* Letter to the States-General would put it beyond Dispute. This Gentleman, who had a publick Character in the *Dutch* Army, gives his Masters a short Account of the Action in a Letter of *July* 30, which is inserted in the Slip of *August* 4. At the End of the Letter we have these Words. "Our Army will be very numerous in a short Time; for besides 25 Battalions and 40 Squadrons, with which the Duke of *Wittenberg* forced the Lines, there are moreover 30 Battalions at *Liege*."

Taking therefore these *Liege*-Battalions into the Reinforcement, as we evidently must, let us see what it will amount to. There are 25 and 30 Battalions, which make 55. Now, reckoning 500 to a Battalion, which is no extraordinary Computation, and the Number will be 27,500 Men. Add to these the 40 Squadrons of Horse at 150 in a Squadron, and the Cavalry makes 6000; which, added to the former, mounts the Reinforcements to 33,500. If you please, we will cut off 6,500 of this Number, and state the Recruits but at 27,000, and then the Reckoning will be made upon a low Foot. Having done this, let us see how numerous the Confederates will be after the Reinforcement. For Satisfaction in this Enquiry, I shall as formerly apply to the *London Gazette*. That of *August* 3, affirms, that the Confederates, after the Duke of *Wittenberg*, &c. has joined them, will have an Army of 50,000 Men. Let us cast up the Whole. The Confederates were 45,000 before the Fight: They have, and expect a Reinforcement of 27,000, which, added to the other, makes 72,000. After which Reinforcement, they pretend no higher than 50,000 Men. Now, if we subtract 50 out of 72, there remains 22, which Number contains the Loss of the Confederates. So that, even by the *Gazetteer's* Reckoning, the Battle has cost the Confederates 22,000 Men. This Account agrees with several Letters of good Intelligence from *Flanders*, and with the *Paris Gazette*, which mentions the Killed and Wounded to amount to above 20,000. To this the *Recueil*, a *Dutch* Print, *August* 13, adds 1500 Prisoners, of which 200 are Officers of Note.

I mention the *Paris Gazette*, because it concurs with our *Gazetteer*. Besides, this *Gazette* is a Paper of Reputation, and is more relied on, even in the Confederacy itself, than that of *London*. To give one Instance, we may remember the last Summer, that the *Paris Gazette* gave us as fair an Account of their Loss at Sea, as we received at Home from Admiral *Russel's* Journal; as may be seen by comparing the two Papers. Now, those who give a just Relation of their Misfortunes, cannot in Reason be suspected of Art, when they report any remarkable Success. In such Cases, there is scarce any Temptation to restrain Truth; for the naked Representation of Fact is a sufficient Advantage. Indeed, great Kings scorn to embase their publick Intelligence with such incredible Alloy. For in soft Language, to deceive and misrepresent, to maim and murder Truth, are mean and inglorious Practices. I wonder any thing that pretends to be a Government can stoop so low. But we gained so much by romancing in 88, that I'm afraid we shall never leave it. Then the *French* League, and the Impostor-Prince, and the Handful of
Irish,

Irish, who, after they were routed and disbanded, were to massacre the whole Nation, *English* and *Dutch* Armies, and all: These, and a great many other Bull-beggars worked beyond Expectation in that *Annus Mirabilis*. But if they think to keep the People under the same Vassalage of Belief, and always ready to swallow the same Aburdities, I hope they may be mistaken. To return to our *Gazetteer*; some of whose scattered Sentences being tacked together, we see, make it evident, that the Confederates have lost above 20,000 Men. However, the *Gazetteer* gives us to understand, that our Loss is not so great as that at *Steinkirk*. Did we then in Earnest lose 20,000 Men at *Steinkirk*, and could we not find in our Hearts to own above 3000? This is a Discovery would never have come out, had it not been upon this Occasion. In short, either our Loss was greater at *Steinkirk* than in the late Battle, or it was not; if it was, then we may perceive what an exact History we had of that Action the last Year; if it was not, then this Summer's *Gazette* endeavours to impose very unfairly upon the Nation. Now, though it is pretty plain, the *London Gazettes* did not give us much above a third Part of the *Steinkirk* Misfortune, yet it was, in reality, far short of the present Accident: For I desire to know of the *Gazetteer*, whether more than one Third of the Army was engaged at *Steinkirk*? Did the Confederates then lose their Cannon, and great Part of their Baggage? Was the General's Plate taken at *Steinkirk*, and his Tent left to the Duke of *Luxemburg* to write his Letters in? Did the whole Army go off routed, and broken into little Bodies at *Steinkirk*, or did Mr. *Harcourt* come in, and defeat several Thousands in their Retreat? But, after all, 'Tis certain the French have lost double the Number we have, *Gazette*, Aug. 27. Pray how is this certain? Did we remain upon the Field to count the Slain? No, we were forced to retire. Have we mustered since the Battle? We don't pretend to this neither, I suppose, because our Forces are not all of them come together. (*Relation of the Battle*, &c.) Have we received an Account from the French? That cannot be; for this *Gazetteer*, Aug. 3, tells you, they have published none; and the *Paris Gazette* says the same. How then are we certain? No Doubt by Instinct, as we are certain of every Thing else. For I perceive the *Gazetteer* does not pretend to come by his Knowledge the same Way with other Mortals. Most People, I believe, would be so far from thinking the *Gazetteer*'s Relation certain, that they would scarce imagine it possible. Indeed how should it? For the French were granted to be almost two to one. This gives them the Advantage of fighting fresh Men against those who were fatigued. Farther, they forced the Camp, and had three or four almost unre-sisting Hours to slaughter in; and to compleat the Misfortune of the Confederates, several Thousands of them were set upon, and pursued into a River, by a fresh Enemy. (*Recueil*, Aug. 13.) I shall now,

In the second Place, examine the *Gazetteer*'s Relation concerning the Cannon and Baggage, &c. and here the first *Gaz.* July 27, says nothing of the Matter, which is a plain Confession that all was lost (and thus we must construe the *Gazette* in like Cases.) The *Gazetteer* was apprehensive of this Inference; and therefore, in his next of July 31, he brings in his Captain, who

secures all into a Trifle. And since he has put this Captain upon the Nation for an Intelligencer, he must be answerable for him. Now this Gentleman assures us, "That we have lost none of our great Cannon, but only seven or eight Field-Pieces." I confess this looks so like a Jest to all Men who can distinguish between a Cannon and a Pistol, that I was some Time before I could believe the *Gazetteer* would put it upon us. I could not at first imagine he would give his Pals to such a ridiculous Story to travel the Nation: I was willing, for the Credit of the *Gazette*, to suppose an Error in the Press; and that instead of *we have lost none of our great Cannon*, &c. it should have been said, *We have saved none of our great Cannon, but seven or eight Field-Pieces*. That this was the true Reading, I thought I had Reason to conclude, both from particular Relations of this Circumstance, and from the general Issue of the Battle. However, considering the *Gazetteer's* Custom, I believe the Print may be much more correct than the Story. Let us examine which Way the Cannon could be saved, to bring the Point to a short Issue. If the Artillery was saved, it must be sent off either before, in, or after the Fight. That it was not sent away before the Fight is unquestionable; for, would the Confederates part with their Cannon, when the *French* were in Sight; when they expected an immediate Attack, and designed to keep within their Intrenchments? Would they unfortify their Camp, and lay themselves open to the Enemy? We may as well suppose they would send away their Pikes and Muskets, as their Cannon, upon such an Occasion. Farther, to suppose the Artillery sent away during the Fight, is as unaccountable as the former Scheme: For, can we suppose they would part with their principal Defence at the Time they were using it? We may as well imagine they detached half their Men, and chose to fight with the Remainder: From hence it appears, that unless the Cannon was saved in the Retreat, we must give it for lost. Now, I appeal to any one of common Sense, whether this was not impossible, when the Defeat was so intire, and the Flight made with such Haste and Precipitation? Could the Horse lodge the Artillery in their Holsters, or did the Foot run away with it under their Arms, as St. Dennis is said to carry off his Head? I desire not to be misunderstood, I am far from being pleased with the Misfortune of any Party; I lament the Loss of the *English*, and heartily wish we might have Peace and Justice, without the Expence of an Ounce of Blood; but such a Reporter as the *Gazetteer* cannot be too much exposed. To be short, the Loss was so visible, that the *Dutch*, despairing to hide it, have frankly owned a great Part of it in their *Recueil* of Aug. 10. where we are told, "That after the Camp was forced, the *French* took sixty Pieces of Cannon, and cut off eight or ten *English* Battalions, who were posted to guard it." And their next *Recueil*, Aug. 13, owns the losing of some Mortars. It is now Time to look after the Baggage, if there is any. The *Gazette*, Aug. 31, assures us, "it was all saved, being sent away the Day before the Fight." Under Favour, not all sent away; for, no Doubt, they left Ammunition to fight with; they left Provision and their Tent too, unless they intended never to eat, or lodge there more. Now, to put their Men, after they were fatigued with fighting, and embarrassed with the Wounded, upon a March of several Miles

Miles for Lodging and Refreshment, is a Strain of Discipline somewhat extraordinary. I think the *Gazetteer* is too free with the Confederates; for, as he represents the Matter, they seemed to despair at the Approach of the Enemy, and resolved before-hand to quit their Camp. But to say this, is Injustice to the Confederates, who behaved themselves with Bravery and Resolution, and were far from making such an ignoble Provision as the *Gazetteer's* Account supposes.

This Relation, together with that of Count *Tilly's* taking the *French* Baggage, sixty Pieces of Cannon, &c. was so superlatively extravagant, that I thought it had been calculated only for the Meridian of *England*, and that the *Gazetteer* would never have sent it beyond Sea in his *French* Translation; but upon Enquiry, I find he has Courage in all Languages; I suppose he might present the Allies with this Narrative by way of Triumph, to shew to what Degree we may be practised upon, and how far he is Master of our Understandings.

But if we are thus far out of our Wits, he does unkindly to expose us in foreign Countries, especially considering from what Quarter the Distemper began. Upon this Occasion, it may not be improper to observe one surprising Passage from the Relation of the Battle, &c. This Relater does not stick to affirm, *That we have lost some Standards, and taken as many.* Taken as many! That, considering the Event of the Day, seems very strange; pray let us hear the *Holland* Prints in this Matter; for the *Dutch* are both well planted for Information, and, without Doubt, inclined to do Right to their Allies and themselves; we have no Reason therefore to suspect their Testimony, to their own Disadvantage. Now they (*Recueil*, Aug. 13.) are so candid as to acknowledge, that the Confederates had taken but seven Standards and Colours, and lost above eighty. The Whole is thus: In the Beginning of the Day, the Confederates are said to have taken about twenty-six Standards, &c. (which, though far short of the Number possessed by the Enemy) yet even these were all regained to the seven above-named. And after they were lost, to what Purpose should they be mentioned? This was so mean an Equivocation, that the *Holland* Print was ashamed to use it. However, it is the only Shelter to which the *English* Relater can pretend; and thus we have taken as many Standards as we lost. That the *Dutch* should have so much more Modesty than we have! Into what Declensions of Honour and Conscience are we fallen! Thus I have shewn what an excellent Account of Fact we are likely to receive from the *London* Intelligencers; I have shewn in what material Points the *Relation*, &c. and the *Gazetteer* clash with each other, how the latter contradicts himself and the Confederate Prints abroad, how he turns Defeats into a Kind of Victory, charges through Impossibilities, and even exceeds the Liberties of a Romance. These are blessed Memoirs to transcribe into History: Truth must be handed to Posterity in a noble Light at this Rate, and the Chronicle obliged for ever. And if he treats us in this Manner just at home, what Discoveries may we not expect from more distant Places? What admirable Return of News we make from the *East* and *West-Indies*, from *Moscow*

and *Constantinople*? And can any *Englishman* see his Country thus used without Resentment? Is it not enough to have our Ships burnt and taken to a prodigious Value, to lose our Trade by Sea, and our Armies by Land, without being bantered into the Bargain? To bear us down, that all these Accidents are insignificant, is like cutting a Man's Throat, and then swearing to him he ails nothing? To imagine such wretched Stories as these will pass Muster, is to treat the Nation with the utmost Scorn and Contempt, and, in effect, to proclaim them Fools in Print.

One would think the *Gazetteer* might have moved with a more moderate Compass: Had he only flourished an Advantage, and lessened a Misfortune; had he called running away, retiring; and broken the Loss, by the Softness and Distance of his Stile, this had not been so surprising; such Strokes of Breeding and Rhetorick are expected from him. Farther, had he published the gaining a Penny, and concealed the Loss of a Pound: Had his Expression been perplexed upon Occasion, and his Meaning mystical and two-handed; this Freedom might have been, in some Measure, charged upon the present Service, and pleaded off by the Privilege of an Heathen Oracle. But to make us believe we have no Senses; to run a-tilt at notorious Fact, and attempt the extinguishing the Sun, is too much in all Conscience.

I thought this Gentleman had finished the Battle, by his intermitting *Gazette* of *Aug. 7*. But I perceive I am mistaken; for *Aug. 10*. he invokes his Muse afresh, and runs a great Length of Poetry. I hope the Key I have given to interpret his Flights, will make him better understood, and more admired for the future.

As for the other little News-Papers, they are below Notice; I shall therefore dismiss the Argument.

Aug. 1693.

The Dear Bargain, or, A true Representation of the State of the ENGLISH Nation under the DUTCH. In a Letter to a Friend.

YOURS of the first of *May* came safe, by which you have exacted a Task from me, which I fear I shall not be able to perform answerable to your Expectation. However, I will not decline giving you the best Satisfaction I am able; and this so much the rather, because I have of late had some Conferences with the most judicious Men of the Nation, and some Opportunity of entring into the very Secrets of the Cabal, which have been so industriously concealed even from our Representatives.

As to the first Question, what was the Design of the late Parliament, begun *Feb. 23, 1688*, to vote a taking into Consideration the State of the Nation, and what

what obstructed their Proceedings thereupon; and how it comes to pass that nothing hath been proposed, till of late, on that Head, in this Parliament, I shall answer it in few Words.

As to the Design of the House, many honest Men, no Doubt, intended (what you mention) an impartial Enquiry into the Transactions of the last Summer, and the present Grievances we lie under, but the major Part intended nothing less; all their Design was to get Money to support the present Government, that it might support them; and therefore to induce the Country more readily to submit to the most heavy Burthen of Taxes, they were pleased to seem to allow, that an Enquiry should be made into the publick Revenue, how it had been expended, and who were chargeable with the ill Conduct and Success of our Affairs, both by Sea, and in *Ireland*; but neither the Government, nor they, as I said, ever intended either.

For as to the Expences; the Accounts were given in so general, so extravagant, and so uncircumstantiated, that a very judicious Member of the House told me, he blushed to see their Impudence in offering them. A further Scrutiny was expected, but to divert that, some Miscarriages were acknowledged, and Sir *Richard Haddock*, and Commissary *Shalos* were exposed, but without Intention, as we see, of ever letting them come to a fair Trial; and when the Money-Bills were perfected, and it was but whispered in Parliament, that other Persons and Miscarriages were to be inquired into, there followed a precipitate Prorogation, to shew that Money had been the sole Business to be effected; and the questioning some great Men (amongst whom the State *Gaviston* in *Holland* might have been one) was a galling Sore, which was not by any Means to be touched.

It is now obvious, that the getting of more Money was the primary Inducement to the dissolving of that Parliament; for it being found that no more Milk could be got from that Teat, a topping Lord advised the Trial of another, and undertook that a Church of *England* Parliament would give down afresh, as much as could be expected; and it appears that his Lordship was not mistaken.

As to the other Part of the Question, how it comes to pass that there hath been no farther Progress made in that Affair by this Parliament; all the Reason I can give is, because they are more intent upon securing their King, since he appears cordial to our Church's Interest, than they are for the Ease of the Subjects.

However, after they have voted the bleeding of the Nation, even to its swooning, they are pleased to cast some cold Water upon it, by a Vote of *April*, for a Bill to enable Commissioners to take an Account of all publick Monies since the 5th of November, 1688. But since they had so near finished the Supplies before this was moved, it looks like giving a Cordial after a mortal Wound, and can be of little Use now, but to hasten their Dismission into the Country, to be the Executioners of those they have sentenced to bleed almost to the last Ounce.

As

As to your second Desire, of having my Sense of the Condition of the Nation; since neither of our Representatives (through a timorous, or time-serving Spirit, have entered upon a Disquisition of the true State of the Nation, whilst they might have done it, that is, before their Money-Bills were passed, I shall, with as much Brevity as a Matter of such Importance will allow, give you such a Representation of it as may serve to awaken us out of this wonderful Lethargy, with which we are so oppressed, that we seem to have no Sense of the present, or infinitely greater Miseries which are rolling down upon us.

The Matters I shall treat of shall be reduced to these following Heads;

First, *The State of our Trade.*

Secondly, *The Condition of our Country.*

Thirdly, *The Posture of our Military Forces both by Sea and Land.*

Fourthly, *The uncertain State of our Religion.*

Lastly, *Some Considerations about the Government.*

In setting down the State of the Nation in these Particulars, I shall, with all Plainness and Impartiality, shew in what Condition we were before this Revolution, to what this Government hath brought us, and to what it is yet likely to bring us farther, if it goes on as hitherto it hath done.

First then, *As to Trade.*

I call to witness the whole trading Part of the Nation, however affected, and particularly that of this great City, both at the *Exchange*, *Custom-house*, and, with their Lordships Leave, at the *Treasury* too, if, to the very last Year of the last Reign, there was not more Merchandize exported and imported, than had been in the Memory of Man; for the veriest Enemies of King James confess, that he was more intent upon the Advancement of Trade than any of his Predecessors: To this he had the greatest Regard in his Negotiations abroad, and in his Councils at home; witness his Care and Industry in breaking the Woollen Manufacture, which some of his Dissenting Subjects, who fled from *England* for fear of Persecution in the Beginning of his Reign, had begun to set up at *Leewarden*, in *Friesland*, and *Lunenburg*, notwithstanding all the Encouragements were offered to them in those Countries of Houses *gratis*, a Fund of 20 or 30,000*l.* and that such Progress was made in it, that near upon forty Looms were daily kept at work; which great Work he effected by promising Pardon and Liberty of Conscience.

For the Sake of promoting Trade, he would not enter into the Confederates League, nor hearken to the Overtures of *France*; hoping by such a Neutrality

lity to put the most Part of the Trade of *Europe* into the Hands of his own Subjects.

For the Sake of this, he, in the mean Time, made those Acts of Grace and Indulgence to all his own discontented and Dissenting Subjects, that they might be able and willing to undertake so great a Traffick, by having united Interests, notwithstanding Diversity of Opinions) and a lasting Ensurance of a quiet Enjoyment of what they got to themselves and Families.

For the Sake of this, a Scheme was drawn about *August*, 1688, of a farther Improvement of Traffick in his Kingdoms of *America*, applicable to other Places; whereby our Merchants would have been able to undersell all their Rivals in *Europe*.

Lastly, For the Sake of this, he ruined and sacrificed all that was dear to him; for hereby he enriched the ill-affected Part of his Subjects against himself, and made the rest wanton. He made the *Dutch* jealous and envious, and in Spite of their Avarice, contribute to that fatal Expedition. So that, while those of King *James's* Religion looked upon him as a Martyr for that, the trading Part of the Nation ought to look upon his Sufferings as the Effect of his Endeavours to enrich them.

In this happy and hopeful Way of thriving was the Trade of the Nation found at the Beginning of our Change: How hath it been improved? How preserved? Some indeed were made believe that all would have been bettered by the Change; that the *Dutch* Fleet and ours joining together, we should both have carried on the same common Interest, and commanded the Seas and Traffick together: But by the Sequel it appears, that this was only suggested to make the credulous Merchants advance the Loan of 3 or 400,000*l.* to settle the new Government. Some of the most eminent Citizens were so confident of the Truth of this happy Conjunction, that one of them told me, *Such effectual Care would be taken to depress the Power of France, that a Cock-boat of theirs should not pass without a Licence; so that if King James meant to return, it must be in Muscle-shells.*

But this was reckoning without their Host: The *Dutch*, as cordial as they were, did not intend to part with their Advantage so. It was enough that they had saved our Religion and Property for us, and sent us a King after our own Heart, who should do our Business for us at home, before we ventured abroad. Accordingly, having got Possession of our Ports, Magazines, Stores, and Navy, well fitted and prepared to his Hand, and the Land-Forces all yielding to him, the first he did was a Work of Retaliation and Gratitude, to furnish them who had helped to set out him: The *Dutch* Merchants therefore had very sufficient Convoys, outward and inward; by which Means they got the first Markets for Sale of all their own Commodities, as also the Pre-emption, or Forestalling, if not the Monopoly, or sole buying of all foreign ones. They have also got a free Trade into all Factories and Plantations abroad, (a Matter of the highest Importance and dangerous Consequence for the future) and are letting in the *Spaniards* also for a Share into our *West-Indies*, upon very good Consideration for themselves; witness the Negotiations here of Don *Castalio*,
liano,

liano, under Pretence of furnishing *Jamaica*, formerly belonging to *Spain*, and other our Plantations with Negroes.

In the Interim, our outward-bound Vessels lay halling, and at Anchor in the River, and all other Ports, all the last Year, for want of Convoys, or by Embargo's, or stripping them of their Seamen, whereby above two Millions of our Commodities, to the no small Loss of the Merchants, were stayed in the River and Port of *London* only, besides the like Damage, from the same Causes, in other Ports of the Kingdom.

And it is too well known, that after a tedious and endamaging Expectation, all the Merchant-Ships which could be made ready, in Hopes of a safe Convoy in Company of the *Queen of Spain*, to the Number of 400, some while before her Voyage, suffered infinite Damages by an Hurricane on the 11th of *January*, 1687, to the Value, as some compute, of half a Million more; besides the Loss of near upon a Score of Merchant-Ships, and some Hundreds of Seamen washed upon the *Kentish* Shore. It may easily be conceived how chargeable the very refitting again of the Merchant-Ships, the Supply of fresh Goods and Men have been; yet after their Voyage, under Convoy with the *Queen of Spain*, another most violent Hurricane hath shattered them near the *Groin* to that Degree, besides the Loss of more than as yet can be known, or is fit to own, that the Merchants will in the Upshot find a very sad Account of this Adventure, if they miss the *French* in their going or returning.

If there were only a Suspension of Trade for a while, there were some Plea for Patience and Hope; but the Mischief is as desperate for the future, as it is irrecoverable for the past: For, *First*, the *French* have given us a *Coup d'Essay*, a Foretaste of what we must expect this Year, by what they have done the last. It is notoriously known, and too smartingly felt, that they have taken in our own Seas, in the *Streights*, and elsewhere, since the War began, near upon three Millions Worth of our Merchandize, with above 400 Vessels, and 3000 Seamen, and are now in Conjunction with the *Algerines*, to seize our Ships in Foreign Ports; they are upon the Matter Lords of our own Seas, and by Disasters, Storms, and Surprize, we want near upon fifteen of our Men of War we had in King *James's* Time; and we hear of no new ones built, but are put to the pitiful Shift of fitting Merchant-Men, which now want Traffick, to be Men of War.

The Seamen that used to be employed by our Merchants, have been often taken out of their Ships for the Use of Men of War of this new Rate, when it was found, after long beating up of Drums for the new Marine Regiments, that none came in but such as would make the Black Guard look thin by Torch-light. A cruel Method hath been taken of pressing Men, even such the Law exempts, and with that Rigour, and so contrary to the Statutes, and with such Reluctancy of those pressed, that the Round-houses in the City, and Prisons in the Country, have been for some Months continually fill'd with them; and as one Company was transported, others have been seized and secured; neither have Women escaped, to be made Laundresses and Nurses. Yet the Parliament hath taken no Notice, to give a Stop to such tyrannical and arbitrary

trary Proceedings, only upon Complaint of the Earl of *Carnarvan*, April 24, of the Rudeness and Insolence of one Press-master, who seized an old Man, above 60 Years of Age, in the Boat his Lordship was coming in from *Greenwich*, and threatened to do the like to his Lordship. The Lords ordered the old Man to be set at Liberty, and the Press-master to be taken into Custody, but proceeded no farther to have the Abuses in general rectified. However, this Unwillingness to go without Compulsion is a certain Sign how little Zeal the very Mobile have now to the Cause, and how small Service can be expected from them; though this Kidnapping will contribute to the general Design of weakening the Nation, of which I shall have Occasion to write more fully hereafter. Upon the Whole, we can see little Hopes of our own Abilities alone, whereby we shall be able to keep ourselves from being Prisoners in our Island, and less from the *Dutch* Assistance. Where then is the Prospect of Recovery? Certainly not so long as the War with *France* doth last.

But, *Secondly*, Suppose that War ended, and the *French* humbled to our Wish, we shall still have the *Dutch* to deal with; they have been always our Rivals, and are now our Masters. Do we think they will ever let us get up again, or re-enter into that universal Trade which they have occupied during our Cessation? It is their Interest (and they know it and love it too) that the *French* should drain us as they do. A Man would think there was very good Intelligence between them; we hear of very little Harm they do each other, either by Land or Sea, and I believe they will not fall out into any greater Hostilities on our Account; they have dealt fairly hitherto, and upon the Square, the *Dutch* have our Trade, and the *French* our Ships and Men: Indeed they have no great Ground for a Quarrel, nor ever had of their own, but they have great Motives to keep it up, now it is begun, at our Charge. When we are quite undone, and brought as low at Sea as the *French* were some Years ago, then indeed the *Dutch* and they may fall out in Earnest, and be as troublesome to each other as we and the *Dutch* have been formerly; mean while we have all the Reason in the World to look about us.

The States are as wise as their Neighbours, and as good at Self-preservation and getting Wealth; they could timely slip themselves out of the League in the last War with *France*, and now they cannot but foresee how the elevating their Prince to the Throne of *England* may give him some Advantages over their Liberties, or engage them in a War diametrical to their Trade.

The *Loveisten* Faction is not yet extinct, and the Blood of the *De Witts* may be yet remembred; and when we hear their Statues shall be set up, that of the Prince's will not long continue undemolished. If therefore, after our being thus disenabled, they should clap up a Peace with *France*, where should we be, unless we were Masters of a wiser Conduct than has yet been discovered?

It is to be wished our great Council had learnt a little State-craft from them. It is worth a sober Thought to consider, how industrious the *Dutch* have been to make use of this Opportunity, to know all our Ports, Shipping, Magazines, and Revenue. And they would do well to enquire into the Reasons why their Ambassadors, the last Year, were made the Committees of our Councils.

They know, no Doubt, what Use to make of these Advantages, as well as they do to hinder us from having the like over them.

They take care we shall have no Men of War in their Ports, and Mynheer *Bentingb* himself shall be no more admitted to their secret Consultations, since he is become an *English* Earl; but we, kind-natur'd Fools, not only expose our Weakness to them, but give them up our Trade, and pay them too for their enslaving us; for whereas our Loss of Trade to them, and the giving such a Diversion to the *French*, has been worth to them more than all the pure Silver in their Bank, and all the seven Provinces; yet we have been so kind, and so afraid to displease them, that we have, upon their Demand, notwithstanding their Debt owing to *England*, ever since Queen *Elizabeth* succoured their *poor distressed States*, ensured them 600,000 *l.* for an Acknowledgment we are their Vassals.

It was not so with us in former Times; for the very blackest of Parliaments, and *Oliver Cromwell* himself, though they had murdered King *Charles* I. and banished his Son, and had nothing but their own Army to rely upon, and in the very Infancy of their Government; yet had that due Regard to the Interest of *England* in Point of Trade, that they undertook a War against the *Dutch* with such Vigour, that they forced them to better Terms, and a more commodious Adjustment of Trade, than we ever had before.

Soon after the Restauration of King *Charles* II. Acts were made against Importation of foreign Commodities in any other than *English* Vessels, or from any other Place but that of their Growth; also to prohibit the bringing in of several Manufactures, and particularly Buttons; and that no Hides, tann'd or untann'd, should be exported: But since the *Dutch* have become our Masters, nothing is to be questioned they bring in; as may be seen in the Entries at the *Custom-house*, even to Hair and other Buttons. Even our Men of War and Yachts bring in, and help us to some prohibited Goods, which our Merchants cannot fetch; and under Pretence that the Act for bringing Goods of the Growth of the respective Countries in *English* Bottoms only was prejudicial, and had been sometimes dispensed with in the last two Kings Reigns, our present Governors, more to gratify the *Dutch*, and cover our Weakness and Inability to traffick for want of Convoys, than out of any just Scruple of using the dispensing Power in such a Case, have repealed those Laws for that very End, that we may have such Merchandize only from the *Dutch*. And lest we should have the Advantage of vending abroad Shoes and Boots made in our own Country, by which a great Part of *Northampton*, and above a thousand Families subsist, Liberty must be given, by a new Act, to transport Leather; yet, at the same Time, we must have Saddles and Bridles brought from our Allies, to the great impoverishing of our Artificers, who must pay Polls and Taxes to feed and cloath the Riders.

If Things be carried thus by *Dutch* Councils and Interest, we may expect, e'er long, to have every thing brought in *Dutch* Bottoms also, and then all our Merchants must turn *Dutch* Factors. Thus, in some Particulars, the Dispensing Power is not quite extinct, as to the *Dutch*; our Laws, of the greatest Importance

Importance as to Trade, must be made bold with, even to the Face of the Legislators, to gratify them.

This partial Connivance towards these good Neighbours of ours is attended with one Aggravation, which much dejects our Merchants, and ought to fill them with Indignation; and that is, the Neglect of all their Complaints, both in relation to this Grievance and all others.

They are able to name and convict the immediate Authors of these Abuses; they offer to prove the Bribes and Corruptions, which have induced those who ought to have secured them, to unman their Vessels, and expose them to the *French*; and though the *Lumley Castle*, which had been three Years abroad, and the *East-India* Ship did not fall into the Hands of the *French*, yet the Merchants have more Reason to thank the Care of the Masters that they came safe home, than the Kindness of the Sea-Commanders, who took their Men out of them, without making them any Satisfaction for the Arrears of their Wages, and threatned the Master to put him in his own Bilboes.

Whoever desires farther Satisfaction in other Particulars of this Nature, may find Petitions exhibited to the Parliament, even in the printed Votes, of Persons endamaged by such Abuses, but no Account of their Redress.

There they may find Capt. *Churchil* accused for his exorbitant Exactions for Convoys, and other Fees; whose Case was so odious, that for very Shame he was sent to the *Tower*, but released in three Days, because he was my Lord's Brother forsooth, and a Member; one would have thought the second Reason should have kept him there; seeing such Crimes are more enormous in them, who are sent by the People to redress and punish the like in others.

But alas! What do we talk of Redress, when there is so great a Number of such *Officer-Members* amongst our Representatives? No less than fourscore brave brisk Sparks, who are the most assiduous and active in the House, especially when the Money-raising Debates are on Foot; the one Hand plays into the other, the Member acts for the Officer, and the Officer does better Service in the House than in the Field, and is a Kind of double Representative, for his Borough and for his Regiment; one of which feeds on the other, and he on both; and no Doubt but they who have the beneficial Offices in the *Treasury*, *Admiralty*, *Custom-house*, and other Branches of the Revenue, are of the same Kidney.

This was the Policy of the old Long Parliament of 1640, to concert these two Capacities, *Arma & Toga*, the Gun and the Gown, in one and the same Interest; till old *Oliver*, with a *self-denying Ordinance*, split them asunder, and devoured both.

Indeed the Silk-Weavers had better Success in their Complaint than the Merchants; but they may thank their Number and their Poverty; they had nothing to lose, and ventured no more; there was more of Fear than Compassion in the Alleviation of their Grievances.

— *Ne magna Injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

And the Bill for Impositions on new Buildings, and prohibiting more, found its Stop from the same Apprehension of numerous Petitions, from the infinite Numbers of Carpenters, Bricklayers, &c. our very Champions for the new Foundations of their Monarchy being afraid to pull an old House about their Ears.

For had it been a Sense of Pity or Equity which put a Stop to that prejudicial Act, why might not so many thousand Families, in the like Condition, and of such like Trade, in this City principally, and over all the Kingdom, now unthought of, and unregarded, pretend to the same Relief? Are not all the Shopkeepers, all Artificers and Labourers, to the very Porters and Draymen, involved in the same Predicament with the Silk-Weavers? Do not all their Employments depend on the Merchants, and their Livelihoods on their Employments? How then can they subsist when he fails? Indeed the Shopkeepers hold up a little yet, by raising the Price of their Wares, because of their Scarcity; but that is like living upon Cordials, and cannot last long. When the regular Circulation of Commerce is intercepted above and below; when the Merchant can bring in no more Supplies from abroad, nor the impoverished Customers come up to the raised Price of the old Stores, they must be contented to be without foreign Commodities, when they want wherewith to get home-bred Necessaries.

If the Damages sustained thereby had only fallen upon the Merchants themselves, a lesser Charity than mine would have mixed some Reproach with Pity, for the Misfortunes they have drawn upon themselves: But, alas! they strike too far into the very Vitals of the Nation, and run over the whole Body of the Inland People, who, to the Number of 200,000 Persons, are, and are like to be reduced to Beggary, for want of Transportation of our Staple Commodities. And this gives me a Transition to the next Head of this Memorial, viz.

The Consideration of the Country.

Let us see, first, how our Representatives left it at their first coming up to the Convention, and then in what Plight it hath been ever since this Revolution. They talked once of sending Commissioners to enquire into the State of the Fleet, and of their Army in *Ireland*; would they had done so in their respective Countries; I believe the Account would not have been very welcome, especially when they were told who were the Authors of it.

We cannot but remember, that in King *James's* Time, and for a great Part of King *Charles II.* for almost 15 Years, there had neither been Land-Tax nor Poll; the whole Country enjoyed the unspeakable Benefits of Peace and Plenty, at full Liberty to improve to the utmost Advantage, the Production of their Labour

Labour and Industry, without one Penny of Charges for all the Ease and Safety they enjoyed: The Tenants and Farmers grew rich; the Landlords had their Rents well paid, and their Estates improved: Nothing was wanting but a true Sense of their Happiness, and a Desire to preserve it.

And though there was an Army then, it was of Natives, which cost the Country nothing; the King maintained it out of his own Revenue, taking all the Care possible the Soldiers should not in any Sort be a Burthen or a Grievance to the Country.

This is a short Summary of all those Blessings, which, if dilated upon, would turn this Remonstrance into a Panegyrick, very unacceptable to those who are accountable for the Loss of them.

I wish I had the Art, with the same Brevity, to sum up the Miseries and Calamities which have succeeded these Blessings; and which, worse than *Pharoah's* lean Kine, have in twice seven Months consumed the Harvest of as many Years; but there is too much Confusion and Disorder in this, to admit of any Rules or Methods of Expression; Complaints, in Things of this Nature, will be poured out their own Way, and in their own Measure; there is no digesting of them; a Man may as well discipline the Rabble, as describe these Grievances of the poorer Sort of the common People.

For to begin with them, what a dismal Sight is it to behold the perishing State of such an infinite Number of Men, Women, and Children, in almost all Counties of *England*, such as Spinners, Carders, Weavers, &c. employed about the Woollen Manufactures; such as Miners, and other Labourers, in the Lead, Tin, Alome, and Iron Works, who are now turned off, or so abated in their Wages, that they are forced to beg, steal, or rob, for the Subsistence of themselves and their Families, to the continual Terror of their Neighbours who have any Thing to lose, and to the cramming of Jails with the Carcasses of so many wretched Criminals, who were before useful and necessary for the Prosperity of the Nation? And this being the notorious Condition of the vast Body of the inferior Commoners in the lesser Towns, and adjacent Villages, throughout *England*; was there not one Burgess in either of the Parliaments, to put in a good Word for so many poor Dependents of theirs, that they might be left out in the Poll-Bills? But they must be sentenced to pay for their Heads, because they had nothing else, and to ransom, by a Kind of *Turkish* Tribute, their numerous Fry of young ones too; it being all the Stock they had to be rated for.

Was Chimney-money so great a Burthen, that it should be taken off, and this put in its Place? This I say, which fell heavy on those who had neither Children nor Chimnies to pay for, poor Servants of both Sexes, whose Wages were half decimated, and every Pound went for a Child; the Sweat of their Brows was taxed, and *Adam's* Curse aggravated with a new Imposition; the poor Man laboured all the Year for Bread, and paid for it when he had done.

But perhaps the Condition of the next Rank of Commoners is more tolerable, I mean, that of House-holders, such as Farmers, and petty Free-holders,

holders, whose Livelihoods consist in their Stocks and Husbandry, managed and improved by Frugality and Industry: Nothing less; for the Misery increases, in proportion to their Ability; and their Tax-masters have, with very great Discernment, allotted them out their Share in the common Calamities; for, besides what they have suffered from our new standing Army, (of which I shall speak more under the next Head) they have been so handled by the Raters and Leviers of our modern Taxes, that the same hath been exacted three Times over, from the same Fund; when, besides the Land-Tax of Twelve-pence in the Pound, there hath been as much upon the Stock, and as much upon ready Money, not regarding whether, or how much the Owners were indebted, sometimes even to the Value of the Land itself; so that in some Cases, and in several Places, where Monies have been lent out upon Mortgages, and personal Securities, (suppose to Men of Trade, and in order to it) a threefold Tax hath been exacted from the same Income; and now this Year the same is to be trebled, besides the Survey of the last, and a new most rigorous Poll-Bill, beyond all Precedents, as well in relation to Strictness, as that two shall be granted in one Year, and made concurrent with the other Impositions; and when these Payments are over, we are put in Hopes of a convenient Augmentation at every Session of Parliament to be doubled or trebled, according to the arbitrary Necessities of the Government; so that out of the Stock of the Countryman, being already so greatly diminished, by the fallen Price of Wool, Corn, and Cattle, &c. left upon their Hands, or sold at under-value; by that Time their Rents are paid, their Tithes, and Church Dues, their Rates for the Poor, (never so numerous as now,) their other Constable Assessments, Excise and County Charges, being deducted out of the Remainder, how much is still left to pay the Publick? And that done, how much yet to provide for old Age and Children?

As to the Condition of the Gentry, and other Sorts of Free-holders, it is in all Respects proportionable to the other, and the Emptiness of their own Purses will soon make them sensible of the Poverty of their Tenants; and this impoverishing of the Gentry will soon be so much the more unsupportable to them, as the Condition they are born to, and have hitherto lived in, renders them unfit to get their Maintainance by Labour and Industry.

To these I might add the excessive Losses many have had, by the *Mobile's* plundering of their Houses, burning, and destroying what their Rage and blind Zeal prompted them to, and the Expences others have been put to, at the Beginning of the Change: Every one knows what a Charge the Country was put to, in arming, to defend themselves against the imaginary massacring Enemies, which the false, but designed Alarms affrighted them with. Others (who are less to be pitied) were at voluntary, but yet excessive Charges, in equipping themselves, to shew their Zeal for the Prince of *Orange*.

But the Free Quarter, which the whole Army had given them, or took, for some Months, put the chiefest Charge upon the Country; to all which we may add the Havock that has been made by the new-raised Regiments, the
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standing *English* Army, and the Foreigners, prodigiously increased by new Recruits, the *Danes*, and the Fry of their Wives and Children, which, to the Number at least of 30,000 of all Sorts, live upon the Country, and devour more in a Day, than they pay for in three, if they pay any Thing at all. All which Expences the Country hath been put to in these Particulars, will certainly amount to as much more as hath been paid to the States for their Assistance.

If this were like other Calamities, such as dry Summers, and hard Winters, it might be borne with, in hopes of better Times; but when they are like to last as long as the Government itself, which has no other Bottom to subsist upon, but this continued Pressure of the poor Country; and when the Gentry and rich Citizens hedge in their own Stocks, partly by being in Commission for the regulating and raising these Taxes upon others, and dealing civilly with themselves; partly by getting into profitable Offices in the State, or in the Army; are not the Countrymen like to be in a miserable State, being already near upon reduced to the Condition of *French Peasants*, which we so pity and declaim against, under the Slavery of the Lord *Dutch* and Lord *Danes*? So that the imaginary Fear of *French* Government will soon bring us to a real Experience of the so much talked of Canvas Breeches, bare Legs, and wooden Shoes.

That it must come to this, is too evident, (for we are no more the *English* Nation we were sixteen Months since) and they, who alone can hinder it, have no Intention, it seems, to prevent it; as may be guessed by the Saying of one of our modern Patriots, who, to an honest Man's compassionating the Sufferings of the Country, replied, "That if a Colt of a Month old could bear a Pound Weight, the next Month it would bear two; and so in a very few Months, might become a very good Beast of Burthen, and if need were an excellent Pack-Horse." A very fit Allegory, first 12 *d.* in the Pound, then 2 and 3 *s.* in the Pound, a doubled Poll, and in a little Time a Supply unstinted. But such had best beware, our *English* Breed are very skittish; they will be apt to kick and wince, and cast their Masters; we have known them throw their Burden, and turn their Riders to Grass.

I come now to the third Head, *The Military State of the Nation*; in which, as in the two former Points, I shall briefly touch what it was in King *James's* Time; then make a Parallel what it is at present.

I shall not inquire into the Motives, which in this Age induce all States and Princes to maintain a standing Force; their Jealousies of their Neighbours, and the Necessity of having a disciplined Power to defend their Countries, seems abundantly sufficient. As to King *James's* Army, I have already touched how careful he was, to keep it from being any wise burthenome either to the publick or private Persons. To which I may add, that on the contrary, he made them beneficial in all Places where they came, by causing them duly to pay for what they had; and so advantageously spending the Commodities
of

of the Country, that it made them welcome to their Quarters, and raised the Price of the Market to the Profit of the Buyers and Sellers.

It is true, there were three Regiments of Dragoons, and some Foot, who had been at *Tangier*, who lived disorderly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation, and strictest Command to the Officers to prevent it: But these were the very first who revolted to the Prince; boasting that, besides the early Service, they had done him greater, by oppressing the Country; which they did for no other End, but that they might alienate their Affections from King *James*, and make them more readily admit the Prince, who pretended stricter Care and Discipline.

It is evidently known, that no Prince or General was ever more indulgent to his Troops than he; he not only fed and cloathed, but advanced them; and had so much of the Spirit of the *Roman* Generals, that he treated them as Fellow-Soldiers, and permitted the General-Officers to sit covered at his Table; he took a most special Care that all Things, even to Superfluities, should be provided for them; and was in all Things more like a Father than a Master to them.

They were all Natives of their Country, and so the most likely (as well as the most obliged) to preserve its Peace, and defend it against Strangers: How many Families of the Nobility and Gentry did there find an honourable and plentiful Provision for younger Brothers, who must otherwise have remained exposed to Idleness, and all its vicious Consequences? How many private Persons, unapt or unable to drive a Trade, were therein settled in a Profession and Employment, which might maintain them competently, without Danger of Jails or Gallows?

Neither was he less careful of his Stores: It is stupendous to conceive how he had furnished all his Ports with Artillery, and Magazines of Arms and Provisions; insomuch that the Officers of the Ordinance acknowledged, that no less than 50,000 Arms, with all other Ammunition proportionable, were lodged in the *Tower of London* alone.

This for the Land Forces.

And as for the Fleet, all the Officers of the Admiralty, and Secretary Deputies in particular, can testify, that his Naval Magazines were so well provided, and his Ships in so good Order, his Seamen so well paid, as the like had not been in any two Ages before; insomuch that his Stores alone, by a modest Computation, cost him betwixt two and three Millions; and that which adds to the Wonder is, that in his short, and otherwise expensive Reign, all this was defrayed out of his own Revenue, without any publick Tax, notwithstanding the extraordinary Charges he was at in raising new Forces, and equipping his Fleet upon the Prince of *Orange's* Invasion; yet he paid his Army to the Middle of *December*, before he left *England*; and left in the *Exchequer*, in ready Money, near 160,000 *l.* and in Arrears of Customs, Excise, Chimney-Money, and other Branches of his Revenue, 400,000.

Now to give the Reverse of this Description: Have we not seen all these Provisions in few Months squandred away, or transported out of the Kingdom?

dom? Is not the Tower almost emptied of Arms and Ammunition? Have not all our Naval Stores been long since exhausted? And though, besides the Revenue, (with which alone, as I said, King *James* did all this) there has been given to the Prince above three Millions; yet, to the Wonder of the World, all his Soldiers, both by Sea and Land, are greatly in Arrears; and if they do not belie their Masters, have little more than Subsistence-Money paid them. And as to the Seamen in particular, they are not only left unpaid, but have been so ill provided with wholesome Victuals, that above Half of those, who were on Board the last Year, are dead of a Kind of Plague; yea, more perished, as some old Seamen told me, than in any three of our former Sea Engagements; and those that have been set on Shore, in hopes thereby to have recovered their Health, have many of them, for want of Money, been found wandering to their Friends bare-foot, and bare-legged, even glad of any Alms in their Journey; which shews, that since their Commanders have espoused the *Dutch* Interest, they have put off the charitable Nature of true *English*: This Usage being so publickly known, it is not to be wondered, that the *Gazettes* every Week give us an Account of so many Deserters out of the Marine Regiments.

And what is the Cause of all this, but the sending away the Money into *Holland*, which should have been laid out upon Provisions in Season, and not to have left them to have been taken upon Tick, even beyond the Credit of our Purveyors?

What End and Motive some may have thus to exhaust our Stores, and weaken our Naval Force, is not difficult to surmize, when we find such Shoals of *Dutch* and *Danes* come over to supply our Want of Seamen, and take Possession of our Men of War, as well as our Forts and Havens: And whereas for a Recruit of all these Losses, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Torrington* have, though with great Difficulty, near upon compleated their Marine Regiments; yet because they are most of them raw, unexperienced, Men, and have been forced altogether against their Wills, and promise no great Zeal to the Cause, we may upon rational Grounds conceive, they may be sent to serve their Apprenticeship, and learn their Trade under the *Dutch*, who will lend us some of their more expert ones the while, as well as our Land Forces have been sent to *Holland*, in Exchange for our more trusty *Dutch* Deliverers.

This Design of utterly disabling the Strength of our Nation, and bringing us to depend intirely on Strangers, will appear more manifestly, if we consider the Treatment, and the Usage of our Land Soldiers, and the Miseries they have been reduced to *Here*, in *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

As to *England*; though the Army which was left by King *James*, and to which, as I have told you, he had so tender a Regard, was indeed most ungrateful and treacherous; insomuch that, in the Judgment and Language of the *Dutch*, they deserved to be stiled worse than Dogs; for these, say they, will love and defend those that feed them; yet they had Reason to expect some tolerable Conditions from their dearly obliged new Masters.

But what have they done for them? Are they better paid, better cloathed, or preferred? On the contrary, are they not slighted, laid aside, and contemned? Dares he trust those that are employed, without Spies to watch their Conduct? Has he not dispersed them over the three Nations; sent them into *Holland*, nay, into our Plantations in the *West-Indies*, where what is become of some of these last is kept close, no Discovery can be made, after strict Enquiry? They are like the ten Tribes, led away captive, never to be heard of more. Could he imprint more indelible Characters of his Opinion of them? Could he give a more proper Reward for their Treachery and Cowardise?

The Treason may be loved, but it is impossible the Traitors should be either loved or trusted. Is it not, think you, upon this Distrust, lest they, who had deserted a Master, who was tender of them as of the Apple of his Eye, should have any Grudgings to return to their Duty, that he is resolved to disperse them, and post them where they may soonest be dispatched, that the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, and other Foreigners, more trusty to his Service, may possess our Country?

To effect this his secret, but unalterable Resolution, the Troops, and Regiments of King *James's* Guards, were first dispatched into *Holland*, under the Command of the Lord *Churchil*, who, if he could have been intirely confided in, would not have been intirely removed so far from the Prince's Person.

Let us now see how they have been there treated, and how this covert Design of weakning *England* succeeded there.

At their first Landing, as several of their Letterstestify, they were looked upon as Persons, rather feared and suspected by the Prince, and such as he had a Mind to be rid of, than as Auxiliaries for the Confederates Service; and their Reception was so cold, the Affronts that were put upon them so many, the Revilings for their Treachery and Cowardice so sharp, and their Quarters so very bad, that they could not without a Sigh, remember old *England* and the best of Masters.

They were quartered in such dear Places, that their Pay could not maintain them; especially since the Dearness of the Country was augmented by the Extortion of their Commander in Chief; who having contracted with a *Jew* (as he who made the Bargain told me) to find the Soldiers Bread at Four-pence Half-penny a Loaf; this famous Lord, the worst *Jew* of the two, made the poor Soldiers pay Six-pence; by which Excise upon his own Soldiers, he might, by modest Computation, put 2000 *l.* in his Pocket; which Oppression was the more grievous, by how much their Allowance of the Horse-Guards was less by Three-pence in a Day than the *Dutch* Guards have here, and our Country cheaper by more than a third Part.

From this Scarcity, and the Change of Diet; from *English* Beef, Mutton, and Veal, with wholesome Beverage, and an open Air; to feed upon Herbs and Roots; drink a muddy Beer, and suck in a foggy Air; the Soldiers were starved into Diseases; and being in an unhospitable Land, and under new and pitiless Commanders, had no Care taken of them, but were suffered to die like

like *English* Dogs, as they were usually stiled by them; there you might see them sprawling by Parcels, and groaning under the double Gripes of their Bowels, and their Consciences, to see themselves cheated out of their Allegiance, Country, Health, and Life itself. The Number of those who died there, amidst those Miseries, not in Battle, for they would not give them that Honour, amounted to 5,400, before Major *Birch* returned hither for Recruits, as he told the Doctor, his Brother, in the Presence of an eminent Member of Parliament; though he and others, the more easily to get Recruits, have, at other Times, and in other Companies, the Policy to conceal it.

Thus much for *Holland*.

As for our Armies in *Scotland*, we hear not much indeed of any Sickness there; they were upon the same Continent, and in Places where they could command all Things necessary; but we hear how miserably the Country has been harraßed by them, and how they have been treated in the Country; we hear how considerably they have been diminished, by the Valour of half their Number of new-raised, and half-armed Highlanders; who, though not above 2500, slew and took Prisoners near upon 4000 of *Mackay's* old disciplined Men; and had the valiant *Dundee* over-lived that Day, that Kingdom had, long e're this, been reduced to Obedience to their lawful King. May the Courage and Conduct rest upon some other, who may not only oppose the Oppression of their Country by Foreign Forces, but drive out the rest of those who have dethroned their lawful King, and abolished Episcopacy there!

But the dismal Scene of all is *Ireland*; there it is the Hand of Heaven hath visible met them, in the Middle of their Impieties, who durst venture to face him whom they had betrayed; and chose to follow an ungrateful Foreigner, against God's own Apointed; to whom they had so often sworn Fidelity and Allegiance, and to whom he owed his Rise, as is known to the World.

I take Heaven to witness with what Compassion and Horror I enter upon this Point; for though all these Plagues, in the Opinion of most, fell justly and seasonably upon so many desperate and incorrigible Enemies to their King; yet Humanity itself must needs shrink at the Sight of so many Agonies, transcending most of the cruel Executions that hath been inflicted on Malefactors; for, when all is done, they are our Fellow-Country-men that suffer, and the Loss of so many will fall ultimately upon the whole Nation, so far weakened, and rendered more defenceless: No pleasant Theme, I am sure, for any true *English* Man to descant on; yet something must be said for a Warning to those who yet survive, and a Terror to the rest of our deluded People.

This Army consisted, the last Year, of the most active of those who had deserted King *James*, of some new-raised Regiments, besides the *French* Refugees, who had been so charitably received, and liberally relieved here, and of some trusty *Dutch*.

As for the new-raised Men, they were most of them profligate Persons in their Lives and Fortunes; the Officers most of them Outlaws, and Bankrupts; the Soldiers, some culled out of the Rabble; others raked out of Jails, five, ten, or fifteen from a Prison, where they would have staid till Execution in other Times; some were run-away Apprentices; others Journey-men; debauched Servants, or Footmen, who entered into this Service, as into *Romulus's Asylum*, to avoid the Punishment of their past Crimes, and to act them on with the like Impunity.

Hence came all the Calamities of the wretched Countries through which they passed, not only by free Quarter, sixteen Days together in a Place, upon the middle Sort of Commoners; but also by pilfering and stealing, downright robbing, and breaking Houses in the Night; and taking away from *Roman Catholics*, and others so stigmatized by them, not only their Provisions and Horses, but sometimes their Cattle, rifling their Houses, and making Havock of what they could not devour: Of all which I have seen Letters from several in the Northern Counties.

In particular, how the *Dutch* Officers shot, and carried away several Heads of Deer, from the Duchess of *Buckingham's* Park, at *Nun-Appleton*; and Captain *Beal*, and his Brother, from *Hastlewood* Park; but some will excuse this as no Felony in Soldiers; and that it was for their Masters Service, to feast themselves and Soldiers: But I know not what can be said in Defence of Colonel *Villers*, who caused all the Gift-Horses, belonging to very many several Persons, neither Papists, nor popishly affected, to be driven out of Sir *Roger Strickland's* Park; many of which, not fit for Service, he sold for 5 s. a-piece. Neither was this done only by him in these Places, but in several other Counties in his March; as it was likewise done by other Officers; whereby their Soldiers were encouraged to follow such Examples in taking Cattle; causing the Countrymen to carry Hay-stacks, and other Provisions, from remoter Places, to their Quarters, as if they had been ravaging in an Enemy's Country.

And when Application was made to some Justices of the Peace, whom I could name, the Answer was, *They knew not how to relieve them*: Besides this, it is well known, how they have beaten, kicked, and wounded, even mortally, those who offered to save what they had, with this stabbing Sarcastm ever in their Mouths, *Damn ye, ye Dogs, do not we fight for your Religion?* And yet no Punishment of, nor Enquiry made after, the Authors of these Villanies; the Inferior Officers going Shares with them in the Booty, and the superior ones not daring to question either, because they gave them little other Pay.

After they had thus marched over the most plentiful Parts of *England*, like so many *Egyptian* Locusts, they rendezvouzed, covering the Face of the Country, with Dearth and Desolation; till a bidden Wind carried them to the Sea, never to be seen again in *England*.

There went over, and joined, them in this Expedition, an Army of 22,000, as my Lord *Ranelagh*, and Mr. *Harbord* know; but there went only back into Winter.

Winter-Quarters, as Mr. *Waller* related to the House, 10,000; and as latter Accounts informed, those were reduced to 5 or 6000, till the General armed those of the Country he could purchase.

By several Letters from divers of Sir *Thomas Gower's* Officers, immediately after the decamping, it was certified, that they had not left 16 Men in a Company; and in one Letter from a Captain in that Regiment at *Newry*, a much drier Place than the Camp, it was expressed, that the strongest Company did not exceed 26.

Out of the Regiment which *Schomberg* declared to be the best that went over, there died the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, six or seven Captains, besides inferior Officers; which Regiment, since recruited by two others which were broke, is now under the Command of the Earl of *Drogheda*; I doubt not but the like Instances may be given of others.

For the continual Rains over their Heads, and a boggy Camp under their Feet, together with the Want of necessary Cloathing, Food and Physick, and a perpetual Duty, brought the Disease of the Country upon them; and the Stench and Corruption of That, a pestilential Fever, which robb'd them of their Senses first, and then their Lives.

That this was a Camp-Plague, appeared by the Blisters, and their Carcases turning immediately black, and stinking as a Gangrene, and by the Lice and Vermin which issued out of their Plague-Sores.

That this was also a Plague, sent upon them by the immediate Hand of God, appears by a Nobleman's Relation of its Beginning: "For says he, we expected to have done Wonders, by so brave an Army, so well equipp'd, the like of which was never sent from *England*; nay, we carried all before us, till we came to *Dundalk*; there King *James* sent a Remonstrance to our General, representing his Innocence, and the Malice of his Enemies; for a Trial of both which he summon'd us to Battle, concluding with these Words, *And may God so prosper my Arms, as my Cause is just, and I never design'd the Prejudice of my Subjects!* To which our General made a short Answer, concluding it in these Terms, *And may God so prosper my Arms, as mine and my King's Cause is just!* A heavy Curse, which was immediately heard by Heaven; for in less than three Days, the Plague broke out to that Degree, that we never after durst face our Enemies."

Yet this severe Judgment of God made little Impression upon the Living; for, as many Letters, as I have seen, testify, there appeared not so much as Humanity, much less Christianity amongst them; Cursing, Swearing, Damning, and all Sorts of Profaness, were still there to an high Degree; and their very Hospitals were, as one expressed it, the most lively Representations of Hell, for the Blasphemies, as well as Torments.

Sir *Thomas Gower's* Gentleman indeed relates, that his Master, upon his Death-bed, begg'd God Almighty's Pardon, for he was a young Man, and drawn in; but I hear not of many who imitated his Example on their Death-beds, or that his Repentance moved others to Remorse.

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This Plague came with that Violence upon them, that the Living scarce sufficed to bury the Dead; insomuch that they chose to carry the dead and dying Bodies promiscuously by Cart-loads to the adjacent Shore, to be there buried by the next Tide; for few, except those of Quality, could obtain a Grave: Some, 'tis true, as the Minister of *Belfast* assured a Friend of mine at *Carlingford*, (as being then an Eye-witness of it) were so afflicted to see their Fellow-Soldiers lie dead in the Fields, swarming with Lice, and the rest allowed no other Grave but the Sea, that when they felt the Approaches of Death, they desired to see their own Graves made, and begg'd their Friends to bury them, which they did, for any thing we know, before the Breath was quite out of their Bodies; for he spoke with one of them, who sat to see his Grave made, and returning two Hours after saw him buried. The Carcasses remoter from Sea were put thirty or forty in a Hole.

Nay, the Inhumanity of the surviving was such, that when any of the Sick, through the Violence of their Diseases, fell once to the Ground, let their Cries be never so vehement for Help to remove them to the Hospitals, or other convenient Places, they should sooner be stripp'd than assisted. In this Condition a Lieutenant, arriving at *Carlingford* with Colonel *Lumly*, found his Brother; for walking along the Shore, he heard a Voice, from among the dead Bodies, calling to him, by the Name of Brother, for Help, and going to the Place, he found it was indeed his Brother, who had been at the Ships to buy some Bread and Cheese, but falling there, he had been robb'd of it, instead of being help'd by his Comrades.

Neither was the Inhumanity of their Officers less; for I have seen Letters from undoubted Hands, which said, that at first, no Care was taken for any Hospitals; but you should find those who were sick of Fevers, Small-Pox, and Flux, lying on the cold, wet Ground, having no other Drink but Water, and sometimes not that neither. And though there was no marching in the Camp but in Mire, yet were they kept almost perpetually upon Duty; every third Night upon the Guard, without Fires to dry themselves by, when wet to the Skin; so that they dry'd their wet Cloaths by the Heat of their Bodies, and never put them off till rotten.

Yet there is one Thing very signal and remarkable in this Calamity, that there died above 100 *English* for one *Dutchman*: I know the *Scotch* Account, Jan. 22 last, ascribes it to the *Dutch* being more cleanly, and using more Exercise; others may also impute it to their bodily Temper, more hardened to such Service, and inured to the like Air, and boggy Country in *Holland*; whereas the *English* were, many of them, new-raised, not accustomed to such Hardships, and much weaken'd, even in their Prime, by Dissoluteness and Debauchery.

This, I say, may be granted; but yet there are other, no less manifest Causes, of the different Fates of those two Parties: For, First, the *Dutch* were better provided for in all Respects, by the Partiality of the General; taken notice of, and much murmured at by the *English*: They had the selling of the Provisions and Victuals, nay even of the Water too, or the Oversight

Overfight of their Disposal, and so serv'd themselves first. When Commissary *Shales* was put out, a *Dutchman* was substituted in his Place. And under Pretence there might be some *Deserters* amongst the *English*, the *Dutch* and *French* were quartered in the Out-Quarters of his Camp, which was sure to be the freest from Infection, as having most open Air, and the first Service of Provisions.

Again, most of the Surgeons and others, who were at last ordered to attend the Sick, were *Dutch* or *French*, Strangers to the *English* Constitution; nay sometimes scarce Novices in the Calling; as Captain *Topham*, and others, fatally experienced from Sir *Henry Ingoldsbys* *French* Surgeon, who was advanced to that Post from being his *Valet de Chambre*: So that, though there were Provisions of Medicines, even six Times as much as has sufficed other Armies; yet they took no Store of *English* Physick along with them, and what they did was of no Use, for want of skilful *English* Surgeons, and judicious Physicians; for where there was neither Wound nor Gun-shot, they knew not how to apply them.

Add to this, that Foreigners have not that Compassion and Care of the *English*, as of their own Countrymen; nor as the *English* would have had of theirs. Indeed we had an Instance of the *Dutch* Partiality, before they went from hence; for their Wives had Six-pence a Day allowed them, and some Proportion for their Children; but the *English* not a Penny.

All these Things put together, give us, I say, just Cause not to pass over the Miscarriages of our *Englishmen* as a common Calamity, incident, more or less, to all Campaigns; but as an Effect, in the first Place, of God Almighty's Anger against them, both for their past and present Sins, and in particular that of the Expedition itself: And, Secondly, caused, and perhaps intended, (I am sure it was their Interest) by those who might (humanely speaking) in some Measure have prevented it; which is no groundless Suspicion, if you consider the same different Treatment and Fate of our *English* Forces in *Holland*, as I have already mentioned; and the same Usage and Condition of our Seamen and Soldiers aboard the Fleet, dying of the same Diseases, caused by the same Neglect. I am sure every indifferent Man must necessarily conclude, that, if there was a Design to ruin the Strength of *England*, (and before I have done, I shall bring yet stronger Proofs that there was) a more compendious Way could not have been thought of to effect it.

Yet all this hath made little Impression; for we find this Year a numerous Army attends their King, and he hath taken several of the young Nobility with him, and made better Provision than formerly, both for his own Safety, and the Preservation of his Foreigners: Yet we know this Expedition doth but aggravate their General's Injustice; and we know that the Plague is not yet staid, but is again beginning among the new Recruits, the favourablest Account mentioning the Death of forty in a Week at the Hospital of *Belfast*, besides many more abroad; and their new Physician, Dr. *Smith*, and two of his Apothecaries, are already dead, in three Weeks after their landing. What
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may fall out after their encamping, may be conjectured, if not prognosticated, without consulting Oracles.

It remains now, that, according to the Method proposed at first, something be said of our *Religion* and *Government*, the two Things so much contended for, *the pretended Causes of all that has been done, and the real Causes of all that has been suffered.*

IV. *We will begin with Religion.*

In King *James's* Time *Popery* was the Word that alarmed us all; nothing else was handled in our Pulpits; even Vices seemed to be allowed that Liberty which was denied to this. Not a Word against Treason and Rebellion; not a Word for Obedience and Patience to be heard of: These were Popish Virtues and Vices, State-Subjects, fit for old *Elizabeth's* Homilies.

But I suppose all the World is now satisfied of which of these two there was really most Danger. Indeed, unprejudiced and considering Men did, even then, see how morally impossible it was that *Popery* could ever be introduced here, since all the Attempts in order to it had ever the quite contrary Success, uniting the Church of *England* more, and filling the publick Assemblies with many, who would not have gone thither, but to shew their Zeal, and Opposition to *Popery*, by that distinctive Sign. And though a greater Liberty was granted to the Papists, yet they made such an unskilful and ignorant Use of it, that they who wished them worst, were yet contented to allow them more; for they lost more by that short-liv'd Indulgence, than by all their former Sufferings; it only served to discover their Weakness, to draw them out of their lurking Holes, to make them known to those that hated them, and to set them up as a Mark for all the Nation to shoot at. The *Dissenters*, who seem'd to join with their Interest, were known to be the most averse to their Religion, and would never have concurred to any Act in their Favour, but what should, at the same Time, have tied up their Hands, and made it impossible for them to have done the least Wrong to others by it. In fine, they have proved a broken Reed to the credulous Papists, and left King *James* in the Lurch, when he had the most Need of them.

It was not then from the Papists that the Church of *England* was in Danger; but, *Illic trepidaverunt, ubi non erat Timor*; out of an unnecessary Solitude to secure themselves, they put Weapons into the Hands of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they had a little before laid prostrate at their Feet; I mean the Presbyterian Party: These indeed have helped them to drive out the Papist, but they have got themselves into his Place; they have drawn almost the whole Body of Dissenters into their Party; they have arrogated to themselves the Name of Protestants, in Distinction to the Church of *England*; they have all the *Hugonots* of *France* and *Holland* on their Side, and have begun their thorough Reformation in *Scotland* already, to be carried on, and compleated in good Time in *England* also.

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These are like to make another Kind of War than the Papists could : These are Men who have no Rubs in their Consciences, no Oaths of Supremacy to dispense with, no Test to strain at, no Penal Laws to start at : They have, or hope to have, all plain and level, the same equal Admission into Court and Parliament, Camp and *Westminster-Hall*, Corporations, Colleges, and Cathedrals too, though at present they seem not to have so strong an Interest in this Parliament as in the last.

They have already gained one single Victory over our poor Churchmen, in making them renounce their Allegiance, ten Times sworn by most of them, to the lawful Successors of the Crown : They have suspended the best and greatest of our Bishops : They have revenged the old Indignity of their renouncing the *Solemn League and Covenant*, in 1663 ; and the ominous Feast of *St. Peter's Chain*, in 88, hath quit Scores for the *English St. Bartholomew*.

They have made them renounce their Oath, *That it was not lawful to take up Arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, upon any Pretence whatsoever.*

I know it is alledged by the Champions of the new Church of *England*, that King *James* kept not his Promise, in protecting that Church which had asserted these Principles, by his granting Indulgence to Dissenters.

But certainly, if it had not been for the Artifice of the Designers of this Revolution, the Security of the Rights of our Church, by calm Debates in a Parliamentary Way, might as well have been consistent with a regulated Toleration to all Sorts of Dissenters in King *James's* Time as now ; and whatever Reproaches have been cast upon King *James* on this Account, whatever Uses have been made of it, either to draw his Subjects to Rebellion, or justify them in it, might be retorted with Advantage (were it to any Purpose) upon him, who had never got, nor kept his Throne, had he not made and broken more solemn Promises.

For when the Confederacy was entered into betwixt the Pope, the House of *Austria*, and the *United Provinces*, against the King of *France*, no more was intended by them, but that the Prince of *Orange* should make a Descent on some Part of *England*, and thereby divert King *James* from assisting *France* : And to induce those Catholick Princes to consent thereto, the Prince gave them Assurance, that he would effectually accomplish that Liberty for *Roman Catholics*, which King *James*, being a professed Papist, was not able to bring to pass : For the Truth of this, I need bring no other Proof but the Emperor's expostulatory Letter, and Count *Mansfield's* Negotiation ; and what a famous Sea Captain, who went as one of the Convoys to the Queen of *Spain*, who hath told it to more than one, how the very Religious he conversed with at his landing, expressed their great Expectations from the Prince of *Orange*, of Favour to their Religion ; telling him, that *if he had not come as he did to rescue them, King had exposed them all to Ruin, by giving Sectaries such Liberty ; but this King would establish them in full Liberty.* Indeed, the Captain said, *he could not but smile, to find such People so much imposed upon.* And in the Prince's Declaration, there is expressed a Promise of some Kindness to them

the while. Hence, when the Judges, in the first Circuit, desired to know his Pleasure, how they should deal with Catholick Priests, he told them, *He was under an Obligation to the Catholick Princes, not to molest them in the Exercise of their Religion; and that he was not so apprehensive of Disturbance from them, (because few and weak) as from the professed Members of the Church of England.* Indeed, then he had some Reason, if they had stuck to the Doctrine of it, taught by all the learned and eminent Fathers of it in former Ages.

Pursuant also to this, when he sent Col. *Hamilton* into *Ireland*, one of his Instructions was, to assure the *Irish*, that, if they would submit, they should have the free Exercise of their Religion, and their antient Estates restored to them. And, lastly, he brought along with him more Catholick Soldiers than ever King *James* had in his Army. Where was then the Crime of this most injured Prince, in endeavouring to do that which the Usurper hath promised to do for him?

And that we may not think him popishly affected in all this, let us see if he be as graciously disposed to the Church of *England*: What his Promises were to them before he came, they best know who invited him in to protect our Religion; but by all Conjecture, and by the free Confessions of those who were concerned, his Word was given, and Protestations made, to do quite other Things. Therefore, upon his first coming to *St. James's*, he vouchsafed to receive the Sacrament, according to the Rites of our Church, from the Hands of the Bishop of *London*, the Bishop of *Bristol*, and the Reverend Dr. *Burnet* assisting; nay, the Rubricks were so punctually observed, that all who did not communicate, (that is, the whole Congregation) were bid to depart; but this was that they might not see how far the new Convert was to seek in his Ceremonies, and how *mal adroitly* he performed them. But this, you may suppose, was for his Test-Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, at his entering upon his new Office, that he might not seem to favour the Dispensing Power, even towards his own Conscience.

Nevertheless, that he might give a good Example to Dissenters, and let them see he had some Regard to his Promise to them also, and that he was no Enemy to Liberty of Conscience, nor Friend to Ceremony, after he was made King, he was pleased to sit covered all the Time of the Sermon, betwixt his Queen and the Princess, without Respect either to the Ladies or the Preacher; for as to the Communion-Table, I believe he had not read the Rubrick.

For the same Reason he also silenced the Church-Musick, though he has been pleased, upon second Consideration, to establish it again, and act the Conformist.

Thus has he been *off* and *on* in *England*; but he has now, it seems, counted Noses, and finds the Church of *England* the major Part; and has therefore promised an hearty Compliance, and dissolved his first Parliament, as a Pledge of his future Kindness; but let *Scotland* speak how far he may be believed in it.

The Instructions given to his High Commissioner, Duke *Hamilton*, at his first going down, are positive and plain: *You are* (says he, in the fourth Instruction)

struction) to pass an Act, establishing that Church-Government which is most agreeable to the Inclination of the People, rescinding the Act of the Parliament in 1669, and all other Acts inconsistent therewith. Truly the very Spirit of our Reformation in 1642, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*: The Inclination of the People, it seems, is the Word of God, and the Standard of Church-Government; and accordingly, came a dispatching Instruction, in July following, in this quickning Expression: *You are to touch the Act passed for abolishing Episcopacy as soon as you can, and to rescind all Acts inconsistent therewith.* And, lastly, he hath re-established the Presbyterian Government there by Act of Parliament.

That the same is not done in *England* yet, is, because a Party do not think it seasonable; there are great Obligations to many of the Clergy of *England*, which are not to be forgot. It cannot be forgot who affronted King *James*, and brought him to Disesteem with his People; who invited him in, or so readily welcomed him, and petitioned him to accept of the Government. They have made new Liturgies, struck out old Prayers, and put in new, upon his single Order; (a Favour too great for King *James* :) They have renounced the Palladium of the *English* Reformation, the Regal Supremacy, and retracted all their Sermons and Treatises of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance.

Yet, notwithstanding these great and good Services of so many of the Canonical Clergy, some Steps have been made, and very large ones too, towards a *Scotch* Reformation of them: 1. By settling an Indulgence upon all Dissenters. 2. By suspending and ejecting the chief and most zealous of our Bishops, and others of the regular Clergy. 3. By advancing, upon all Vacancies of Sees, and Dignities Ecclesiastical, Men of notorious, Presbyterian, or, which is worse, of *Erastian* Principles. These are the insensible Ways of undermining Episcopacy; and when, to the seven notorious ones that are already, shall be added six more, upon the approaching Deprivation, they will make a Majority, and then we may expect the new Model of the Church to be perfected.

As for the diffusive Body of the Clergy, they also proportionably warp, and grow every Day more and more indifferent, by the means above-mentioned; and though they were never so well principled, yet the tender Regard to the Subsistence of Wives and Children, will make them as willing to comply with an Alteration in Church-Government, as it did in the Civil. However, it is sad to consider what Reflections some have had, who, through Fear of starving, or Want of Necessaries, have complied with the Times. I tremble at the Answer one gave a Justice of Peace at *Gloucester*, to whom, reproving him for not taking the Oath sooner, he replied, *It was too soon then to damn himself, to save his Family.* And another, with great Sorrow and Remorse, wish'd he had been starved, or hanged, or torn in Pieces by the Rabble, when he was persecuted by them, rather than have taken the Oaths; whereby, he fear'd, he had lost the Quiet and Comfort of his Mind. I will not relate the Melancholy or Madness some have fallen into upon this Occasion; I pray God their Repentance may be as great as their Apostacy!

But if there be but some few of such who are touched with this Remorse, in what a Condition, at one Time or other, must those be in, who knowing their former Oaths to King *James* to be lawful and just, and firmly believing, as well as solemnly declaring, that no Power on Earth can give a Dispensation in this Case; yet have, contrary to their Consciences, taken the Oath of Allegiance to him, who can properly (as the Bishop of *St. Asaph* rightly in the House declared) have no other Title but Conquest and Possession; surely, the pretended Election, by Persons who had no Power from the People to elect, make, and constitute a King, can give no Right.

And I cannot, without Astonishment, think what Account those will have to give at the dreadful Day, who, by imposing these Oaths, have involved so vast a Number of the Subjects in as great Perjury as ever was committed under the Sun. The imposing the Engagement, after the Murder of King *Charles* the Martyr, was but a Promise of being true and faithful to the Commonwealth, as established without King and House of Lords; but now an Oath of Allegiance is to be taken to one that hath not that Title of Conquest, as that Commonwealth pretended; nor of Succession, till his Father, Brother, Wife, Sister, and all their Progeny, are extinct: And the adding to this a new Declaration, as was designed, of renouncing King *James* and his Title; and neither directly, nor indirectly aiding or assisting him, but discovering all Things may be prejudicial to this Government, was to gail in the highest Degree the Consciences of Millions, who were content to yield Obedience to a King in Possession, but never can be induced to believe, that King *James* can, by any Act of Violence, lose his Right, and so cannot declare solemnly, that they owe no Allegiance to him.

Having seen then the Instability of the Clergy and Laity, let us now enquire whether there be any more Stability in the King they have set up to govern us. He himself seems very desultorious and unsteady in his Conduct towards these two Interests. A fresh Mark of which he has now given us in deserting the Presbyterians, and making new Offers to the Church of *England*; but that is because his own Interest is so. They that bid most shall have it; for, as the Bishop of *Winchester* said of him, *his Religion is in his Pocket*. The Commission before the late Convocation bid fair for the one; the gracious Speech to their Address, before their adjourning, bid as fair for the other: What slipped from him on *Twelfth-Night* must go for nothing, it was under the Rose, *Odi memorem compotorem*.

He hath, if any ever had, two Faces under one Hood; and though he hath a double Conscience, one for this, and another for the North Side of *Tweed*, yet he hath but one Principle, that Gain is great Godliness; and one *Dutch* Soul, Interest, to become all Things to all Men, to gain all to himself. Surely, a dark Lanthorn under a Crown or Mitre, is as dangerous as under a Parliament-House.

But considering the tottering Condition he is in at home and abroad, the Miscarriages in *Ireland*, the Untractableness of *Scotland*, the Recalcitation of *Holland*, the biassing of his Allies, and lastly, the Discontentedness and Mutability of

of *England* ; all he can do to linger out the Possession of his ill-gotten Prey, is to play well his old Game of Diffimulation, and keep up these two great contrary Interests in a Dependance on himself, and in a Fear and Hatred of King *James* ; for, if either of them suppress the other, his Business is done ; we shall either return to our rightful Monarch again, or sink to a Commonwealth : So that in this Case at least, his Kingdom differs from that of the Devil, *that unless it be divided it cannot stand.* It was Division brought him in, it is Division keeps him here, and he can rely on nothing else for the future, except that of the Sinner in Mr. *Cowley*, *Predestination is his Friend.*

Now, whether all this be conformable to the Promises he made to those who brought him in, let the Impartial judge ; let such also judge, whether King *James* or he are more guilty of Breach of Promise, and whether all Manner of Religion be not more in Danger under such a Person, who is really of none, than under one who is steady in some Principles. And that such a Man as this, in the very first Act of his Government, should dare to bring to pass those very Things, the very Repute of some of which, and the attempting others, ruined his Predecessor ; namely, that he should give Indulgence to Dissenters, fall foul upon the Bishops, (even those very ones whom he put in his Declaration as the Cause of his coming) grant an Ecclesiastical Commission against the Liturgy, abolish Episcopacy in *Scotland*, which King *James* never intended ; and lastly, keep a standing Army of Papists and Foreigners, contrary to his Promise in his Declaration, and be still bringing in more to enslave us ; I say, that he should do all this, and not a Man say to him, what dost thou ? Is not this the very Slavery we have cried out against ? Or rather, is it not a Token that we are delivered up to a reprobate Sense, and become the Instruments and Actors of those very Violations which we so much abhorred, and so outrageously punished in others ?

Having considered his veering with every seeming advantageous Gale in Matters of Religion, let us consider his Stability in his Commands, and Instructions to his Servants and Ministers ; of which I shall give but two Instances. When the Conditions upon which the Crown was to be conferred upon him were under Debate, Mynheer *Benting* told some of those he judged most fit to transmit his Master's Mind to the leading Members of his Party, that if they intended to clog the Crown with such Limitations, they little understood the Disposition of the Prince ; for he would never accept the Government with such Restrictions. If he might not have it with all the Prerogatives that the Kings of *England* had enjoyed, he would let King *James* loose upon them, to punish them for their ill Usage of him. This he imparted to one from whom I had the Account, and the Gentleman was industrious to inform such as he judged fittest with this Admonition ; one of which, knowing the Prince's Temper, bid him be very careful, for he might be crushed by it ; for if the Prince found such a Thing resented by any strong Party in the Houses, he would deny any such Direction. The Gentleman told him it was impossible for him to gain-say it ; for not only *Benting* had spoke to him, but to others ; and my Lord *Paget*, and some other Lords, had the like Direction for Application to the Peers ; yet, when it was seen that it could not be carried

as

as desired, all this was denied, and it was charged upon the officious Zeal of the Persons, who, for his Grandeur, and their own Ends, contrived it.

A fresher Instance we have in the Matter of the Abjuration, in which this King employed my Lords *S. D.* and others in the House of Lords, and Mr. *Wharton*, and others in the House of Commons, to promote it. But a noble Marquis and Count informing him, that though the Church of *England*-Men readily yielded him Obedience, and took an Oath of Allegiance unto him, yet he would find that they would almost unanimously refuse to abjure, as being of an higher Nature than Obedience, and a Sort of determining Providence; and all the Effect he would find by it, would be to create Dissatisfaction, Repining, and Opposition to it; whereby he would lose an infinite Number of Hearts that he had now: And if the Severity of Imprisonment and Fines were Penalties to be inflicted upon the Offenders, it would make them combine against him. This Consideration made him forthwith employ others of his Confidants to oppose it; which Instability in his Politicks, and his not backing those with his Countenance and Authority, whom he had put upon this ingrateful Work, caused those Persons to declare they would quit their Places.

It is true, he condescended much below the Dignity of his Character, to court their keeping their Stations; and hath been forced to confer 3000 *l.* a Year upon his Admiral, to hire him to take a Commission that for two or three Days he had flung up. And we may easily conceive, that, if he finds it will be like to succeed better for his Interest to pursue his first Intention, those two great Ministers of State who thwarted it, may expect a Removal by Command. However, the Layers-down of their Commissions may well conclude, that when he comes victorious from *Ireland*, he will severely remember the Undutifulness of such who put him to a *Cap*, and pray you, my Lord, do not leave my Service: For, to say the Truth, they have dealt so with their Sovereign, as they would not permit their Secretaries, Stewards, Masters of their Horse, or any other of their Servants to have dealt with themselves.

But these blessed Qualifications of our new King, and the Pharisaical Politicks against our Allegiance, under Pretence of our Religion, will more manifestly be seen now we come to consider,

V. What Sort of Government we have chosen to live under, in Exchange for that we have shaken off.

And this will appear by Enquiry what that Government was, what this is, and, if nothing interpose, what it will be, and that very speedily.

It is not my Design here, to descend to all the particular Transactions of Government under King *James*, either to justify them, or set them off by Comparison with the present, or probable future, since no human Government was ever, or will be capable of such a Design. The Faults and Errors with which his Enemies reproach him, are the ordinary Subject of History, in the Reigns of all his Predecessors, and of all other Kings and Courts in *Christendom*. For what is more obvious than Examples of Men of great Abilities and

and Merits laid aside, and Men unqualified, and odious to the Publick, put in their Places? What more common than buying and selling of Places, giving Mandates, and making Intrenchments upon Corporations and Colleges? What more usual in our Histories than the disgracing, suspending, and imprisoning Bishops and Clergymen? These, I say, are Common-places of all History, though not always found attended with such dire Effects upon the Princes, who perhaps were, or at least were said to be, the Authors of them.

But my Intention is only to assert in general the Innocence of him who has not so escaped, though owned by his very Enemies to have had a true *English* Spirit, and tender Affection to all his Subjects; a Zeal and Delight in advancing their Peace and Plenty at home, and Honour abroad; to have been an excellent, good-natured, generous Prince, the most constant Friend, the best Father and Master in the World, and the most merciful to his Enemies.

All these Qualities, I say, and the Effects of them, were experienced by the whole Nation in general, and by those in particular who had the Honour and Happiness of belonging to, or depending on him, in their several Relations, and need no other Proof than the black and foul Ingratitude that sticks upon those who have, in the Sight of God and Man, rendered him Evil, the worst of Evils, for all the Good they held and enjoyed from him alone. Let us consider them apart, and begin with the nearest to him.

King *Lear* and his Daughter is perhaps but a Fable, and *Tullia's* Father was but a Slave by Birth, and an Intruder into the Royal Family; but the paternal Love of King *James* towards his Daughters is as true as it is unparallel'd; his Care in their Education, Marriages, and Provisions for them, are Demonstrations of it. The Honours conferred by him, upon their Mother's House, and their Proximity to the Throne, deserved some Returns of Gratitude; but how they have been made, and what was expected from Obligation and filial Duty, the World now seeth and judgeth. I need say no more, let Nature speak the rest in all who read this.

What the royal Father suffers from his ungrateful *Tullia*, astonisheth even barbarous Nations, and scandalizeth Christianity; and yet not one Act of Love, of Pity, of Remorse, or Shame, to be returned! All to be trampled upon, and the Royal Author of them exposed, knowingly and avowedly, to the greatest Indignities of Pens and Tongues, all over the Nation. I need not here mention the many scurrilous Pamphlets, which have been published, licensed, and entered according to Order; the odious Ballads that have been printed and sung about the Streets; nor the abominable secret History of King *Charles* and King *James II.* so full of notorious Lies, false Inferences, and Malice, that no Government, certainly, but this, would have connived at it, or let it pass without condemning it to be burnt by the publick Hangman.

The Street where *Tullia* drove her Beasts over the Face of her dead Father, was called *Scelerata*, the unnatural, or impious Street, to all Posterity. What Street is there in all the Cities of *England*, where the like Impieties have not been acted by her Connivance, not to say Authority, to grace her unnatural Triumph?

Great

Great Enquiries were made after him who cut the Prince's Picture in *Guild-hall*, and a Reward proposed for them who could discover the Author, as one that would have committed the like Indignity on the Prince's Person, if he had had him in his Power: But was there the least Check to a *Killigrew*, *Hayford*, and their Companions, for their Rage against a Father's Statue, which they dragged about the Streets of *Newcastle*? Was there a Word said to the Inhabitants of *Gloucester*, who, when they had pulled down and broken every Limb of his Statue, carried the Head in a Barrow, and cast it into a Jakes, and wheeled the Trunk into the River *Severn*, and disposed of other Parts, and the Supporters, with the Arms of the four Kingdoms, with Contempt, at their Pleasure? Was there any Notice taken of those who committed his Picture to the Flames in almost every City of the Kingdom? If they who connive at Crimes are justly censured to approve them, what is all this Silence, but an Approbation of all the unnatural Impieties which these Actors would have done to the Person represented?

But let us pass to the next Instance of his paternal Merit, made out by the like Return of Duty in the younger Sister. Did there a Day pass, without some new Expressions of Love and Kindness to her; and not only in Visits, and those doubled, and in the Night too, upon her least Indisposition; but also in supplying all her profuse Expences, upon the least Intimation, notwithstanding his Frugality towards himself, and the great Charge he was at for the Publick? Nay, when her Husband deserted him, and she, on the other Side, went Northward, to countenance the Rising of the confederate Lords, a Person of Honour can tell what Words fell from the King, for the Danger his dear Child, so he called her, *exposed her Health to; and if she should miscarry by such a Journey, he should be troubled as long as he lived.* Was this a Father to be cast off, and abdicated, even with their natural Right to the Crown, in their Order? Was it a more honourable and happy State, to become the *Orphan of the People*, as some in the House stiled her?

As to his being a good Master, I know not which Sort of grateful Servants to begin with. The Bishop of *London*, from a Cornet of Horse, the Bishop of *Winchester*, from a Captainship; the first apostatizing to his Jack-boots again; and, for the second, I desire him to remember the parting Words of his kind Master; *My Lord, I foresee you will have Cause to repent your Proceedings towards me, as I do of mine towards you.* Words, one would think, might pierce an harder Heart than that of such an old Cavalier. What should I say of the Archbishop of *York*, rewarded so highly for one single Act of Duty, since he repented so soon of that short-lived Merit.

Next, for the Constancy of his Favours, and even Friendship, where once conferred; it is notorious that it was his Undoing: This made him deaf to all the Suggestions against the Contrivance of his Son-in-Law, to all that was offered to be proved against those of his Privy-Counsellors, who now, in the same Posture, reap the Fruits of their Treachery and Ingratitude to him; and this made him lay aside some who might have been otherwise extreamly useful to him, and take all the late Measures which exasperated the Church of
England,

England, and were suggested by those who were trusted by him, with a Design to ruin him.

I shall not sum up many Instances, but content myself with one, which I think is scarce to be parallell'd in History; the conscientious and religious Lord *Churchill*. See his Letter, and his Farewell-Kiss, sent therein to his betrayed Master: Let that speak aloud what he owed, and what he paid. But as to his Pretence of Religion and Conscience, give me Leave to make out that a little, for his Lordship's Sake.

He is a *Judas* on both Sides. I need not mention the Promise he had made to betray his Master who created him, if that Term be proper for such as are raised out of nothing, and to deliver him up, alive or dead; nor the Plot he had laid to effect his Treachery, under Pretence of Kindness; they are too well known to need my Relation. But you would be perhaps astonished, if you knew not his Temper, should I tell you he has, not many Months since, made Application to be reconciled to his old Master; and yet about the same time informed, he knew one that said there were an hundred Members in the House of Commons Well-wishers to King *James*.

He had a seeming Zeal to get the Princess 70,000 *l. per Annum*, and yet the Methods are known, by which, at the same time, he obstructed it. I have already shewn his conscientious cheating his Soldiers in the *Low-Countries*; to which I may add, that he had an Allowance for a Table for his Officers, yet he kept none; that he excelled in the giving false Muster-Rolls, even twenty in one Troop, and thirty-six in another; putting in Names, some killed in *Monmouth's* Rebellion, others dead in *England* since, and alive at this Day, out of all Service; the Lists of which have been shewn to me. Now is there any thing of Conscience in this Man's Conduct, from one End to the other? Is there any thing but meer *Judas* and Damnation? The first corrupted Favourite of his Royal Master, the first that went over, and the Man who advised the Prince, at *Windsor*, to secure the King in the Tower of *London*, and bring him to Justice, or to send him Prisoner to some Place in the *Low-Countries*, there to be dealt with, as Occasion served.

I have not Patience, after this Wretch, to mention any other; all are innocent comparatively to him, even *Kirk* himself: Neither will I insist upon the rest, though most deservedly rewarded; such as the Duke of *Ormond*, so kindly received by his Royal Master, when he made him a friendly Offer of his Service, graced with his Grandfather's Garter, and Succession in the Chancellorship of *Oxford*, at the very Time he was plotting against him. And what has he got by his Desertion? To be Captain of a Troop of Guards, and his Colonel, the Son of a *Coventry* Cutler, to take Place of him. The Duke of *Grafton*, divested of all his Commands, notwithstanding his *Dutch* Alliances, and reduced to an arbitrary Pension, *Quamdiu se bene gesserit*.

But that which ought to fill all Men of Honour, or even common Sense, with Indignation is, that this most abused, most injured Prince, has brought all these Miseries upon himself by his Clemency and Goodness to his Enemies. The famous Mr. *Pryn* ingenuously confessed to a Friend of mine, that if he

had been sentenced in King *Charles* the First's Time to have lost his Head, instead of his Ears, it had been well for the Kingdom: And, I may say, if King *James's* Sceptre had been made of Iron, and laid more heavy on some incorrigible Subjects, we had not been now enslaved by the Destroyers of his Father, by the Conspirators against his Brother, the Associates of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*; neither he nor we had been plagued with *Hamdens*, and *Speaks*, and *Kings of Hearts*, and the rest; who have made no other Use of his mild Government, but to ruin it. So that this Clemency hath been his only Fault, and they have punished him for it, and given him Cause at Leisure to repent, and do Penance for that God-like Virtue, in the regretful Words of murder'd *Cæsar*, *Mene hos servâsse, ut essent qui me perderent?* But he who has reaped the Fruits of their Treasons, has begun to punish them, and will, no Doubt, make them suffer all those, and worse Calamities, which their lying Spirit hypocritically foreboded from his mild and innocent Predecessor.

For let us, in the second Place, take a View of his Way of governing at this present, and then judge if we have not brought upon ourselves Scorpions instead of Whips, and laid more Weight on the Nation by the Touch of this little Finger of a Monarch, than his Father did by his whole Body.

After he had brought upon the Nation all the Calamities above specified (which perhaps were not to be avoided in such a Change) has he ever given the least Sign of Pity or Concern for our Sufferings? Could we be worse used, had he conquered us in Battle? Of all the Nobility, who either ran into him, or now fawn on him, whom doth he trust? What Employment have they, unless to discharge the odious Part of his Government on their Fellow-Subjects? We see who are removed from the Treasury, even the forwardest in his Service; from his Fleet an Admiral; some laying down the greatest Places, others like to follow; and those who now lead the Van of his Favourites, have but little Assurance that he will not discard them when they have done his Drudgery. The important and essential Consults and Resolutions are all managed by a few Foreigners, in a secret Cabal of *Dutchmen*; of whom, that he might form a standing Council, no less than five Ambassadors came over from *Holland* at once, whereas those States never sent above two to any crowned Head in *Christendom*; with these, and *Benting*, and some of the confederate Lords who were with him in *Holland*, (though these last very rarely) he concerted the Scheme and Model of his Government.

The principal Resolution taken was, that for Fear of the worst, seeing the Humour of the *English* is so giddy and changeable, they should be impoverished in their Estates and Trade, and weakened in their Forces by Land and Sea; so that, let the Success of Affairs be what it would, we should not be able to do any thing for one hundred Years, but in Conjunction with the *Dutch*. I dare appeal to the Consciences of them, if this be not true; and though they dare not own it here, yet the very Conduct of Affairs, and the Account I have given you in the first three Particulars, does loudly speak it.

For what has there been done to continue, much less to advance, the thriving State of the Kingdom he found it in? Our Ammunition, military and
naval

naval Stores spent; but in what Service? What Execution has been done with them, or what Care to lay in more? The despising and destroying of our Seamen and Soldiers, I have shewn before: The embezzling and Exportation of our Gold and Silver, in Specie, is not yet so publicly, at least so particularly manifested; but by the Accounts given, and the Incomes of five Millions he hath received, since he came to *Whitehall*, it is demonstrable, that he hath lodged somewhere vast Sums for his future Use.

These are but privative Instances of his destructive Government, namely, the gutting of the Nation, and making the Kingdom vacant, as he did the Throne. Come we now to the positive Part, what he has given us in the Stead, and thereby we shall see what his Government is like to be, being the last Act of our Tragedy, *viz.* absolute and arbitrary, without Regard to ancient Laws, or modern ones, even of his own enacting.

This, as horrid as it seems, will appear, I think demonstrative, from these following Proofs.

I. The bringing in of eight Thousand *Danes* already, and we know not how many more of them, or other Foreign Nations: It is well known, there comes over every Week, in Parties, great Numbers of Strangers, with their Wives and Children, who have Subsistence-Money allowed them, till they can be formed into Companies; of those, *Ludlow* was to have had a Regiment, as his Nephew has acknowledged; and though his Uncle was sent packing by a Sham-Proclamation, yet he is not gone for *Geneva*, but is still within Call, nay perhaps within the Reach of a Whisperm.

II. The Quartering of these Foreigners in our most considerable Places of Strength, both on the Sea-Coast, and within the Land: For can we imagine, it was only the Chance of a Tempest, and not a Design forelaid, that brought the *Danes* so directly to *Hull*, *Bridlington*, *Scarborough*, *Tinmouth*, and *Leith*; so that they have at once got a full Inspection into all the Ports North of *Humber*, as the *Dutch* have done on the South in both Seas: To which we may add, the long Continuance of them in the Country, traversing it, and quartering in all the great Towns in the North, and Gentlemens, and Farmers Houses, contrary to the expresse Laws, before they were dispatched into *Ireland*; not only that they might harass them, but be thoroughly acquainted with the Situation, Roads, and Nature of the Inhabitants, which are Matters of the greatest Importance to advance any Foreign Interest; and we know the *Dutch* are spread, like Locusts, over the whole Kingdom, and seem to be the last designed for *Ireland*.

III. The putting the highest Offices of Trust and Importance into the Hands of his own mercenary Foreigners, who have no other Interest, or Being but what depends on his Fortune, like so many Bashaws, or Beglerbeks upon the Grand Seignior; such as *Schonberg*, and *Huson*, *Benting*, *Solmes*, &c. All these

these, and their Janisaries, are pretended for the Reduction of *Ireland*, and subduing of *Scotland*; but their last Service and Reward will be the enslaving of *England*, as was experienced by us in the *Cromwellian* Army, after the like Success in those Countries. But we are not permitted to stay so long; for we see we are in a great Degree enslaved already, by the Numbers of Foreign Troops we have at present; and it is because of the Awe of those, as it was of *Cromwell's* Army, that our Parliaments dare deny no Money, nor the making of any Laws which are for the Security of the Government.

Now these Foreigners being made up of so many different Sects of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. how can they be continued in his Service, unless he first becomes so absolute, as to resume a Dispensing Power over the Sacrament-Test, and other legal Impediments, which may seem to check these successful Strangers in the Performance of what they come for?

But alas! What do I speak of *legal*, or *dispensing*? Will there be any Regard to the one, or Need for the other, in such an Inundation of armed Foreigners? Do we think they have such awful Notions of doing Things in a Parliamentary Way, as we have; and will take no Money but what the House of Commons will give them? Colonel *Mynbeer* will have more Authority than all my Lords joined together. Doubtless, we shall find them equally the Conservators of our Properties, and of our Religion, such as the *Normans* were to the *Saxons*, and the *Saxons* in their Turns had been to the *Britons*: The first under the Conqueror of this Man's fatal Name, had but one Landing-place, and made all *England* his own; the other under *Hengist* and *Horfa*, with but the sixth Part of the Number of our present Invaders, having got Possession of the Isle of *Thanet*, yet, by little and little, brought over so many from the same Shore from whence our new Recruits are coming, that they entirely ruined the *British* Monarchy. About 250 Years after, they themselves, in a great Measure, suffered the same Treatment from the lordly Ancestors of our new *Danish* Guests. They have in our Histories left a fair Example for their Posterity to follow, in the *Danegelt*, and other brutish Tyrannies: But let their Nephews have a Care of *St. Clement's* Bowl.

In sober Sadness, the very Remembrance of these bold Invaders ought to rouse us a little out of our present Lethargy, to stand upon our Guard against the new ones. They ought to open our Eyes, and make us jealous of all these delusive Pretences of Liberty and Religion, which have driven us upon the Brink of Slavery and Atheism.

It must be the Wonder of all succeeding Ages, that the pretended Fear of an inconsiderable Number of Papists in *England*, should scare us thus out of our Senses, Understanding, and Knowledge of our Interest, to change our blessed Peace for War and Ravage, the well-balanced Monarchy, under an indisputable lawful King, for *Mynbeer Benting*, who upon the Matter now rules over us.

It is the Wonder of all judicious Persons, that when we find our Ancestors have been so jealous of the Admission of any Foreigners into the Kingdom;

Kingdom ; and we cannot forget how vehemently the Parliament in 1648, represented the very Attempt of King *Charles* I. of hiring but 1000 *German* Horfe ; that neither the last Parliament nor this should once enquire into the Danger of above 30,000 Foreigners brought in, nor consider that this very Thing would perpetuate a War in the Bowels of these three Kingdoms, and will necessitate an arbitrary, oppressive Government, as long as they have Footing here.

But to return. We have a fresh Instance of his Arbitrariness ; 1. In the Prorogation of the late Convention, which, though it assumed a Power to make a King, and create itself a Parliament, yet could not support its being one Day against his arbitrary Resolution. But. 2. And more especially in the Dissolution of it. In the first, he shewed how little he valued that great Council, farther than their giving him Money ; and in the second, he shewed the Disesteem he had of his Privy-Council, tho' chosen out of the wisest, as he judged, and most obliged to his Interest, that the Nation could afford. For on *Thursday* Night, the 6th of *February* last, he very bluntly and magisterially told them, that he had determined to dissolve the Parliament, and ordered Mr. Attorney General to read the Draught of the Proclamation for that Purpose. When those Words were read, *By and with the Advice of our Privy-Council*, a certain Lord, seconded by some others, told the Attorney General, they had never heard the Matter proposed before that Instant. But their Sovereign bid him read on ; and when some again began to have the Matter debated, he told them, he was resolved upon it, and so something abruptly left them, like Cyphers, to look upon one another, and signify just nothing. So true it is, that he hath a *Dutch* Junto of his own, with whose Politicks, unless our Statesmen hit, their Advice shall be little regarded.

It is to be presumed he will not treat this Parliament better, as soon as he has got all the Money they will afford him, and have perfected such Bills as will secure his Government. And it may be, there is not a greater Instance of Arbitrariness in any King's Reign, than he hath shewn in his very Pardon, to single out some sitting Peers, who have conformed to his Government, sworn Allegiance to him, and have been neither impeached by the Commons, nor proceeded against by due Course of Law for any Crimes ; some of whom are guilty of nothing, but in acting in Commission with others whom he hath pardoned ; and one chargeable with nothing, but the sending King *James's* Declaration into his Diocese, which the most aged Prelate on that Bench, and others, had done with much more Earnestness ; hereby, as much as in him lies, exposing them to the Rabble, and impressing a Brand of Infamy upon them ; a Thing exceeding the demanding the five Members by King *Charles* I. who did it not till the House had voted their Protection, when he had exhibited Articles of High Treason against them. If he does these Things in the very Infancy of his Power, against those who set him up, what may we expect from him, should his Reign continue ? And since the Nation has suffered so much in 18 Months, we have Reason sure to wish they may not be multiplied upon us.

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I am confounded, I must confess, with Horror, to look only back upon the Miseries we have hitherto felt; but when I consider, that *Pandora's* Box is but just opened, and view a long Train of War, Famine, Want, Blood, and Confusion, entailed upon us and our Posterity, as long as this Man, or any descended from him, shall possess the Throne, and see what a Gap is opened for every ambitious Person who can cajole the People to usurp it: These Considerations, I say, chill my Blood in my Veins, and I cannot but lament my poor Country's Misfortunes with deepest Sighs and Groans.

It is to be hoped, I am not alone, but that the Eyes of all seeing Men are opened by the Smart of what they feel; and I appeal to their Consciences, to judge which is most reasonable, or is likely to be most beneficial to us; to keep up a Government built upon the most destructive Principles to the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, that ever was contrived by the most pernicious *Machiavels* in the World; viz. the original Contract with the People; a Government raised by Parricide and Usurpation, entered into by Violation of his own Declaration, supported by the Overthrow of all our Laws Sacred and Civil, and the Perjury of the Nation. A Government under which we have suffered all hitherto related, to set up the *Dutch*, our Rivals, upon our Ruin, and from which we have gained nothing of what we aimed at, either as to the Establishment of our Religion, or our Property; but on the contrary, greater Animosities and Confusion; a Government, which drives furiously on arbitrary Principles, and cannot long subsist without breaking into that Tyranny we suffered under the *Rump* and *Cromwell*. In a Word, it has brought along with it all the Plagues we dreaded under others, and gives us nothing but the dismal Prospect of all the Misfortunes which can befall a Nation, which hath greatly provoked God Almighty's Anger.

I appeal, I say, to all true *Englishmen's* Judgments, of what Persuasion soever in Religion, whether it will be more to our Interest in this World and the next, to support this Government, or to return to our known Duty, and call back our lawful King, who has shewn himself, upon all Occasions, a Lover of his People, an Encourager of Trade, a Desirer of true Liberty to tender Consciences, an Hater of all Injustice, and a true Father to his Country.

He alone can restore us to our former Tranquillity and Peace, and is studying how to do it. He alone can heal all our Breaches, and unite our Dissentions; and for his Endeavours in this he suffers. He alone can restore us to our flourishing Trade, and our Enemies know and fear it. He alone can prevent all impending Miseries, and make us happy, if we will ourselves; and the recalling him is the only Means left us to effect it.

If we recal him not, it is morally certain he will be restored by another Hand: For God will not let such Wickedness go unpunished. But I dare pawn my Soul he is more desirous to return by the Good-will of his People, than our present Master is ambitious to govern by the Power of Strangers. And we may be well assured, that by our King's Return, lasting Peace, with all the Advantages of it, will more especially be restored in one Month, than
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all the Power and Contrivance of this Government can do in 20 Years, if for a Scourge to these Nations, God Almighty permit him and his Foreigners to rule over us so long.

*A short and true Relation of Intrigues, transacted both
at home and abroad, to restore the late King JAMES.
1694.*

WE may see, by the Overturn of the late King, the Instability of human Greatness, and that Sovereignty is, like the Globe of the Earth, full of Windings and Turnings, having its Ebbs and Flows like the Ocean, which never rests, and which shews Government to be a slippery Path; for if the Prince chance to catch a Fall, though such a Mishap may not prove mortal, yet it so disables him ever after, that he cannot recover himself; which at this Time seems verified in the Fall of the late King, who now finds himself mistaken in his Measures; which renders all his Endeavours frivolous, and turns to no other Account, but to frustrate his Expectations, and to remove his Hopes from ever ascending the *English* Throne again.

The Nobles and Commons in Parliament assembled, after the late King's Coronation, demonstrated their Fidelity to him, by their unexpected Attainder of the late Duke of *Monmouth*, who, but a little before, was the People's Darling, and yet, notwithstanding, was sacrificed for the Preservation of the late King; an Instance of so much Integrity at that Juncture of Time, when the late King dreaded nothing more than the landing of the Duke of *Monmouth*, that if the late King had but esteemed the Affection of the People, pursuant to the Experience he had then of their Loyalty, and retained the same, and contained himself within the Rules of Moderation in Point of good Government, and not openly exceeded the Limits of the Law, and strove to content the People, which is the End of all good Government, a Duty incumbent upon Kings and Princes to do, he might have ruled and reigned to this Day, and all the Days of his natural Life, with as much Honour, Grandeur, and Satisfaction, as any Prince that ever reigned in *England*.

The late King had more Experience in Government than any Prince that came before him. He had seen the tragical Fate of his Father's Death, the Turnings and Windings in his late Brother's Reign, wherein he himself had an ample Share every Way, and was fifty-two Years a Subject before he came to be a King; so that it might be expected, from a Prince of his Knowledge and Years, to rule well, and to fulfil that Saying of *Mæcenat* to *Augustus*, *Nemo bene imperat, nisi qui ante paruerit imperio*. Whereas, had the late King but kept the Reins of his Government equal in his Hand, so as to be able to
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have made a Judgment when to drive fast or slow, and between both had kept a middling Pace, and, by an impartial Distribution of Justice, pleased the lower Orb, and trusted not too far to corrupt Ministers and Judges, who are the Plagues of all Governments, according to *Cicero*, *Acceptatio munerum est praevaricatio Justitiae & Veritatis*, he had been now, instead of a deposed Prince in a foreign Land, happy at Home. But now he can tell, that a People can do better without a King, than a King without a People; and as nothing would have pleased his Ambition, but to trample upon the Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects, so the Subjects thought themselves obliged to let him know, that the Affection of the People is the surest Foundation of Government, by their declaring their Averſion to the late King, and ſeating the preſent King and Queen upon the Throne.

The late King thought to imitate *Henry VIII.* the contrary Way, but came ſhort of his Undertaking; and loſing the Love of his People, loſt himſelf and three Kingdoms. *Henry VIII.* fought the Pope at his own Weapons, picked his Locks with his own Keys, locked in the Supremacy, and ſhut out the Pope; and for his Seconds, had the two great Convocations of *Roman* Catholick Divines, then reſiding in both the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, together with all the Monaſtical and Collegiate Theologues throughout the whole Kingdom; which beſpeaks the *English Roman* Catholicks, both at *Rome*, and all abroad, very ſcandalous, having no Reputation nor Eſteem any where out of *England*, but hated mortally.

The late King, to oblige the Pope, and out of his fervent Zeal to Religion likewiſe, went about to alter the Caſe, and to remove the Aſperſion wherewith all the *English Roman* Catholicks are branded, and fix it upon *English* Proteſtants, when he, with a Proteſtant Army, attempted to eſtabliſh Popery, againſt Law, in a Proteſtant Kingdom, and to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion: An Undertaking too dangerous (as it fell out) to be attempted; and no Wonder it ſhould, when a Prince, againſt all the Rules of religious Policy, and contrary to good Conduct in Point of good Government, without any more Neceſſity to compel him than his Ambition and Zeal, to take ſuch Meaſures as would not only incenſe the People againſt him, and inflame three Kingdoms, but alſo entail an intestine War upon the Kingdom: For *St. Auguſtin*, a great Doctor in the Church, as well as in the Politicks, ſays, *Remota Juſtitia, & quid ſunt Regna, ſed magna Latrocinia?* The removing of Religion and Juſtice lets in an Inundation of Sorrow, Calamity, and Diſtreſs, to the Overthrow of all good Law and moral Honeſty; which the late King now ſees, when, inſtead of being attended by his Nobles, Miniſters, and his Judges, and ſeated at home upon his Throne, he himſelf, with the Help of his more than corrupted Council, brought all upon himſelf, and is neceſſitated to be maintained at the Expence of another Prince; which ſhews the Uncertainty, as well as the Infelicity of human Greatneſs, to ſee a Prince that might have been happy, but would not; and now, inſtead of ruling and commanding his late great Officers, is again glad to receive and liſten to the meaneſt of his late Subjects: A Prince that would not hear the Counſel of the Wiſe, but embraced the Advice of Fools,

Fools, is accordingly accommodated; who expected, by his Exile, when he left his People, to ride triumphantly an absolute Monarch, as he thought; but so far from it at this Time, that that Prince from whom he expected Succour, has enough to do to defend himself, being surrounded by many Enemies; which leaves the late King no Hopes of Supply there, having to that Purpose received the King of *France's* Answer but in *February* last, which crowned all the late King's Misfortunes with additional Sorrow, as presently will appear.

The late King hath no other Remedy left him, as the Case stands now Abroad, but to court his late injured People, to bring him back again; which is not so easily to be comprehended: That Prince must be reduced to great Hardships, that first receives a broken Head, and petitions him that gave it for a Plaister; it looks as if no other was, or is to be had: But Woe be to him that takes that Measure for his Redress.

The late King believes, that the same People that betrayed and deserted him, may be prevailed with, by his Declarations and Protestations, to restore him again; but (God comfort him!) he is mistaken; the Case is since altered, and those religious Weathercocks, upon whose Promise he does (at this Time) depend, are as impotent to do him any Good, as they were potent to ruin him when here last; they have not that Virtue that is said to be in *Achilles's* Spear; they gave the mortal Wound, but they cannot heal it now they would, being out of their Reach.

And the late King expecting they could, to please them, hath excluded the Protestant Dissenters, and the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, both innocent of the Misfortunes that justly overtook him; and is so conscientious, that he condemns the Innocent, and pardons the Nocent, when he offers all the Protestant Dissenters, and the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, (the latter having been Sufferers with a Vengeance in his Cause) as an Oblation to the Passive-Obedience Men, who infused Non-resistance into the late Army: And now these are the late King's Creatures, and the only Persons that would abdicate the Gospel, as they did their Passive-Obedience King, rather than the Church-Livings.

The late King fulfils the true Character of his Family in himself, that have been all known to be unconstant and unfaithful to their Friends, and liberal and grateful to their Foes. But God has accordingly dealt with them; he has raised them a Multitude of Enemies, and left the Succession of this Crown (without any Seconds) to fight its Battle. And if it be remembered how that the late King, and his Brother *Charles* II. after their Return from Exile, treated the decayed Cavaliers, who lost their All in their Cause, it should leave him destitute of Friends. And if it be also considered, how many Noblemen and Gentlemen, that spent their Estates and Fortunes in the Defence of the Succession of this Crown, and how they were rewarded by King *Charles* II. and by the late King; having received for their Comforts in Distress, petitioning about *Whitehall*, nothing but sham References to the Treasury, and paid in cold waiting, long Attendance, Tricks, Disappointments, Promises, and Delays; that betwixt King-Craft, and Court-Cheats, and Sharpers, Persons of

unquestionable Families, unspotted Loyalty, and Sufferers in abundance, have famished for Hunger, and perished with Cold, and their Posterity to this Day left without any Satisfaction, and reduced to a very mean and low Condition; which should take away the least Encouragement from all Persons to intermeddle in the late King's Cause, but look upon his Fall, and the Overthrow of his Crown, as a Judgement due to the Family, and may say, *Justus es, Deus, & justum est judicium tuum*, It would be a pity indeed that all the Family should depart this World, till they, or some of them, atone for the manifold Abominations wherewithal they stand charged here, as well as before the great Tribunal, for what Evils they have committed against their People.

The *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, although in point of Interest and Perswasion different from us, yet, to do them Right, have deserved well from the late King, though ill from us; and for the late King to leave them and exclude them, is such an Instance of mean Ingratitude, that Protestants have no Reason to stand by a Prince that deserts his own Party, and a People that have been faithful to him and his Interest to the very last. That they were overcome is not so much to be wondered at, as their holding out against the Power and Wealth of *England*, and against all Nations to Admiration so long as they did, and at last to force such Conditions from us, as should render them a People never to be forgotten by the Successors of this Crown: But King *James* is the late unchangeable King *James* still, a King that is not to be found but upon Uncertainty. What have the Protestant Dissenters done to him, that he has in the Articles of *September* last excluded them? They had no Hand in undermining, betraying, nor deserting of him; they have carried themselves obedient to his lawful Commands; and because they did so, he, contrary to all his Pretensions of former Zeal of Liberty of Conscience, by his Exceptions in the said Articles, exposes them all to Ruin and Destruction; that is to say, when he returns. But when the Dissenters consider how he deserts those of his own Religion, they may content themselves with being as they are, out of the Reach of his Hatred; and seeing that his Favours are only reserved to promote his Enemies, and that he has lost all Abroad, let his Enemies grow potent every where, and numerous withall, and let him be so lost, that he may never be found here at Home.

Now seeing the late King hath exposed himself, by excluding a People that never prejudiced him nor his Interest, to gratify the Desires of those that have turned him out of all; it is hop'd, that as he had the Pleasure of excepting, that he will give leave to return him a *Quid* for his *Quo*, by directing such Measures, as may anticipate all his throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and by intimating to the Government such a Method as may for the future detect all the Devices on foot in order to his Restauration, and so have his Exceptions by his own Exclusion executed.

The following Relation, as had from Gentlemen of very good Note, who have seen most of the Transactions at *St Germain*s for about four Years last past, gives a very impartial Account of Affairs, and shews the Connexion of Foreign

Foreign and Domestick Intrigues, carried on, and managed with restless Industry now for about two Years last past, in order to the Restauration of the late King; which at last turn'd to no better Account, than to put a Period to his Expectations, by leaving him but small, or no Hopes to return ever again, as will plainly appear; the Truth whereof will want no Confirmation; for farther Enquiry into Foreign Affairs will remove all Doubts, and leave no Room for Contradiction.

About two Years since the late King had great Hopes to be restored with Triumph, and fed himself with the Thoughts of being an absolute Monarch, having about that Time received great Encouragement, as well from the Pope, as from the *French* King, which made him look above the Reach of his late Subjects, (as he thought) and to reject all my Lord *Preston's* Undertakings, and the rest concerned in that Intrigue; which was like to have cost my Lord *Preston* his Life, and for which he had no Thanks, but on the contrary was despised for meddling; the late King protesting then, that he had rather never see *England*, than come to treat or capitulate with his Subjects again: But he soon altered his Resolution, seeing Affairs Abroad thwart his Designs; and meeting with such unexpected Disappointments, which abated much of the Thoughts he retained but a little before; so that, of a sudden Motion, he with great Impatience consulted some of his Protestant Council, telling them that he was resolved to treat with his late Subjects, and give them any Conditions rather than stand out any longer; concluding that Nothing would more conduce to his Restauration, than to reconcile himself to his late Subjects.

In order thereto an Express was sent to *England*, with Instructions to my Lord *Middleton*, and some others, to treat with the People, and to know their Inclinations, by feeling how their Pulses beat, and accordingly to proceed: Which my Lord *Middleton* did, and drew a Declaration answerable to the Desires of the Churchmen of *England* and *Ireland*, and some other Heads of both the Kingdoms: And after some Debates, my Lord *Middleton* went away for *France*, and arrived at *St. Germain's* the Beginning of *March*, or thereabouts, 1692-3; produced the Declaration, which admitted of high Debates, and long Arguments *pro* and *con*, as their several separate Interests moved the Ministers of *St. Germain's*: But my Lord *Melford* started several Cases of Conscience against the late King's signing the said Declaration; insomuch that, to be satisfied therein, and to remove all Scruples of Conscience, the late King consulted the College of *Sorbon*, and the *Irish* College likewise. The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared against the said Declaration, and the *Irish* College for it.

The *Irish* College gave these Reasons, That the King was in Exile, banished his Kingdoms by his own Children and Subjects for his Religion; that as the Case stood with him, there was no Remedy for his Restauration left him, but to comply with his Subjects, and to sign any Instrument whatever, for to prevail with them to accept of him home again; and whatever he should sign, whilst in Exile, and under Tribulation abroad, he should not in Con-

science be obliged to perform after his Restauration, as exacted from him *per Force and Durefs*, which renders all Conditions and Agreements of that Kind neither obligatory nor binding, any longer than a fit Opportunity should offer itself to break them; [and wherein he would but imitate his Brother *Charles II.* who took the Covenant in *Scotland*, and after his Restauration burnt it at *London*, by the Hands of the common Hangman.] The Faculty of *Sorbon* declared against this Kind of *Machiavelian* Doctrine, and against the Declaration too: Yet notwithstanding, the late King did sign the said Declaration on the Consideration aforesaid. But my Lord *Melford* and my Lord *Middleton* fell out, and are to this Day irreconcilable; they do not contend for any Good either of them would do to this Side or that Side, but their Quarrel is like that of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, who should be the *greatest*, not the *best*: But *Melford*, (a Convert in Wolf's Drefs, under the Shadow of Religion) bears the Sway, *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum*.

The said Declaration, so signed by the late King, was ordered to be sent into *Flanders*, to be read there at the Head of the *Irish* Troops; but was to them the most unwelcome and unacceptable Message that ever they met withal, or that the late King could send them, finding by the said Declaration, that they lost themselves both at Home and Abroad, by the late King; which caused such a Consternation in the Camp, that the Soldiers, (who would be glad of any Occasion to quit the Service, and to return home) openly mutinied; having started the Question, that now being deserted by King *James*, why should they not go over to King *William*, and accept of Conditions? But the Question was carried in the Negative, and an Express sent immediately to *St. Germain's*, to let the late King know the Discontent amongst the Soldiers, and the Disorder in the Camp, occasioned by the said Declaration. Here King *James* returns to himself again, and after his old Custom of doing and undoing, gets another Declaration drawn, signs the same, to null the former, and sends away two Gentlemen, and two Clergymen of Note, with this new Declaration for *Flanders*, to pacify the *Irish*, and to give them Content; which for some Days gave some Satisfaction, but not so much as to harbour a good Thought of the late King, believing, that if ever he should be restored, they would be all lost through his Unconstancy; and that by reposing their Trust in him, they confided in a rotten Reed: But however they were appeased for that Time.

Here the late King, forgetting his Declaration, and Protestation to the *Irish*, sends the first Declaration for *England* without any Amendment, or taking any Notice of the last Declaration to the *Irish*; but with the former Exception against them, he lets it pass for *England*. Here (as they relate it abroad) it was published the 19th of *May* last; but several, not believing the same to be the late King's Declaration, but the Product of some other Invention to amuse the People, seem'd disgusted at it, and would give it no Credit: But that the People may be undeceived in the said Declaration, Notice was sent to *St. Germain's*, what the People said about it; and immediately to remove all Doubts touching the same, the late King caused it to be
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put in the *Paris Gazette*, where (to his great Dishonour and Disadvantage) it was published by Authority, which gave Content in *England*, and great Discontent to the *Irish* Army, who are ever since in great Disorder about it; but the King of *France* has promised to see them righted, who are all very unruly and weary of King *James*, (except some Officers, that cannot live so well at Home as in their Stations Abroad) and willing to quit the Service upon any reasonable Conditions whatsoever; especially the common Soldiers, who are extraordinary poor and dissatisfied, would give any thing to be at Home.

The Nobility and Gentry of *France*, finding a Declaration of King *James's* in the *Paris Gazette*, were surprized at it; and seeing him desert the *Roman* Catholick Interest, did look upon it as a very great Unconstancy of Resolution, which in Truth removed the Interest and Affection of the Clergy and Nobility of *France* from him, who, before that Publication, were all resolved for him, and to promote his Restauration to their Power; but since are grown cold upon the Matter, and but indifferent whether he be restored or not. In the Court of *France* the late King is extreamly much made of; but had he more Constancy of Mind, he would be much better looked upon there, where nothing else but Resolution is in Esteem.

The said Declaration, it seems, had such Effects, that some have been pleased to send away a Draught of Articles or Conditions, contained, as reported from Abroad, under twelve Heads, which the late King, in farther Confirmation of his good Will to that Party he relies on, hath in *September* last signed, as they say that came from thence. Since the Return of the said Articles for *England* signed, they say Abroad, that Preparations have been diligently used for the Restauration of the late King.

And that in *December* last an Express arrived from *England* at *St. Germain's*, which gave the satisfactory Account of the People's Return to their former Allegiance to King *James*; how true or false it was, that Court was so elevated with Joy, that nothing was talked of, but an immediate Return for *England*, all there striving who should be foremost upon the Expedition; others, to make some considerable Figure, came away, as they say, to have some Men in readiness against the Landing here in *England*. Frequent fresh News came from *England*, confirming the same; and every half-starved poor Man about Court used his Interest to have some considerable Employment; and he that could not be in a valuable Station, thought himself as good as lost; by which we may judge how the *Jacobites* here in *England* would be looked on. But it is thought the late King would continue his Favour to them, by leaving them always reserved to drink his Health, an Employment most suitable to their Principles; for certainly they that live in so merry a Mood in his Absence, cannot but do extraordinary well when he returns, that is to say, if their Money holds out; otherwise they may become *Williamites*.

About this Time, *France* was as full of the Expectation of a general Peace, to be concluded all Abroad, as other Places were full of the Rumour thereof; and to stay for the Ratification, was alledged to be the only Stop that prolonged

longed the late King's coming away, having all Things at Home and Abroad ready, doubting not in the least but all Things would have answered Expectation. But all the Preparations returned to nothing, and the great Joy, of a sudden, to Sorrow, insomuch that all the Tidings at Home and Abroad met together in the Dissolution of the Hopes of a second Restauration.

The late King having, about the fourth Day of *February* last, New Stile, acquainted the *French* King with the frequent good Tidings from his late Subjects, who now were returned to their Allegiance, and all free to hazard their Lives and Fortunes for his Return, which he said, were all true according to his Intelligence, and that he was most certain and sure, that none would oppose him in *England*; the *French* King told him, that he was glad to hear it, and wished it might prove so, but seemed to give little Credit to it.

The late King pressed hard to have some Succours to come for *England* the Beginning of last *March*, but still the *French* King doubted the Reality of the *English* to him, alledging thus, as King *James* repeated the same after his Return from *Versailles* to *St. Germain*s.

“First, says the *French* King, as you have Experience to know your Subjects; so I know them by their Character, and do believe them to be a People of no Faith, no Honour, and no Honesty, whom no Promise can oblige, nor Oath can bind: And as for their Clergy, I look upon them much worse than the Commonalty, having not only by teaching and preaching taught the People to forswear themselves, but shewed ill Examples in themselves by doing the same; they have sworn Allegiance to you, and since accepted of the Prince of *Orange* for their King, and swear Allegiance to him; how this swearing to both can be reconciled, I cannot understand: But let them swear what they will, I should not believe them, nor put any more Value upon their Oath than they do themselves, which is nothing at all. Neither do I understand how you can be assured of them that have no other Assurance to give you of their future Fidelity but their Oaths, which are worth as much now, as when they broke with your Majesty last; it is out of my Reach to put any Trust in such People, neither would I have you confide in them; for I doubt much their Integrity; and if they are weary of the War at a Distance, what will they not be, when it is with them at Home? That will be your Time to hear them, and not before.”

The late King still urged to come for *England*.

Whereupon the *French* King told him, seeing he had that Confidence in his Subjects, that if they did but demonstrate their Fidelity by some Action, as the seizing of any Citadel, Town or Fort of any good Consequence, and put such in his Hands as might be for the Safety of his Ships, and secure the landing of an Army; that after that was effectually done, he would give him Succours; but before, he did not think it safe to venture, considering how his own Affairs stood at Home and Abroad. The late King pressed no further upon him, but returned to *St. Germain*s, where he told all the Particulars; which put that Court into such a Fit of Grief and Sorrow, that they

they were all like so many People going to die. In five Days after, all the decayed Gentleman about Court were ordered some Advance-Money upon their Pensions, and commanded homeward, to make the best of their Way and Conditions, who are now upon the Road for *Flanders*; others coming for *England*, and the rest begging all along, being in a most deplorable Condition.

The *English* Protestants about that Court do wish themselves at Home again; for they are respected as Strangers, but hated as Protestants, and look'd upon as Spies from *England*; so are some *Roman* Catholicks too, who thereupon, both Clergy and Laity, were forbid the Court.

The Protestants are hated likewise by the People there, who have the same Notion of Religion, if not with more Zeal, as the People here: The Protestants are under the Calumnies of the late King's Declaration, and the Articles both against *Roman* Catholicks and Dissenters; and the *English* Protestants about Court on that Account are loathed and hated by the People there, who are full of it: For *English* Protestants to go for *France*, to propagate their Religion, where a native Protestant cannot live, is but like the Quakers that went to *Rome* to reconcile the Pope to be a Quaker; they are equally looked upon, though not equally treated; the Quakers were look'd upon in *Rome* to be Mad-men, and were sent to *Bedlam*; but our *English* Protestants are yet at Liberty, and in more Danger of the *Bastile* than of *Bedlam*, being of late upon their good Behaviour, but still much suspected.

The late King did all along rely upon the Pope's Interest to mediate a Peace Abroad, and address'd a great many other Princes to the same Purpose, hoping that a Peace Abroad would be a Means to bring him to his late Home: The Pope did use his Interest that Way, and so did the Princes of *Italy*, but it was to no Effect; for No-body seem'd willing but the *French* King to accept of the Peace, which in him was but to wheedle some of the Confederate Princes to listen to his Proposals, and accept of his Conditions, to divide and break the Allies, and that so by taking off some, and dispersing their Forces, he may with the more Facility crush the rest, and break all at last: But the Confederates, who are sensible of his Designs, will accept of no Conditions from him of his own Proposals, but intend to bring him to their Conditions; they all foresee he intends to become Emperor of the West, which he cannot attain to, but in consequence must extirpate the House of *Austria*, in whose Preservation all the Princes think themselves oblig'd to keep up the War, rather than voluntarily suffer themselves to be brought under a Yoke of Tyranny and Usurpation.

The Emperor is well satisfied, that the War made by the Grand Seignior against the Empire, was promoted by the *French* King, and since furthered by him; which Consideration requires the Emperor to decline all his Proposals, until the *French* King first allays that War rais'd by himself upon the Emperor. As for the King of *Spain*, the *French* King is a Plague to him by ravaging of his Territories, seizing his Towns and Forts, without any Pretence of Justice, and compelling his Subjects to swear Allegiance to him by
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the Law of Conquest, which by divine Law is no lawful Right, but a Homicide and open Robbery; for Mankind was free in the Beginning, but since by the Power of Usurpation subjected under a Yoke, which lost the World forty times over more Lives, to continue Man's Ambition over Man, than are left living in the World: Therefore as God's Laws are against destroying and killing of Men, certainly that Power which cannot govern, nor live, but upon the Destruction of God's Creation, cannot be called just nor lawful *Jure Divino*, but an absolute Tyranny; though some of our Divines will say, that a Conquest is a lawful Title; so it is by the Law of the Sword, but against the Law of natural Right.

Some perhaps may take occasion to question, by what Law did King *William* and Queen *Mary* ascend this Throne? A Question as soon answered, by a better Title than ever *Alexander the Great*, or *Julius Caesar* had to any Part of their several Conquests. King *William* and Queen *Mary* had the Choice and Affection of the People, which is the best Foundation, and surest Title that ever Prince had to build upon, and without which, no Prince can be safe on the Throne. But that Prince that has it, and knows how to keep it, and retains it, may reign and rule in Defiance of all Foreign Enemies; if it does not happen to him to have a corrupted Council, which is the Overthrow of any State, Kingdom, or Empire. We need not go Abroad for Precedents, having some of the Council at Home in being, that brought us almost to Destruction, and are as likely to do it once again, as ever they did before, if God prevents not. It is true enough, that where a Prince has not an Army to rule absolutely, no King of *England* can hurt the Privileges of the Subjects, if his Ministers and Judges be but faithful to the Prince and People, in discharge of their Trust according to Law; but otherwise all goes to wrack.

We exclaim against the late King's evil Counsellors, and who can say that there was one good amongst them? It is commonly said, that they that have betray'd the Secrets of one King against the Oaths commonly taken, have since betrayed another: Or how can this King and Queen believe themselves happy in the Counsel of those, whom they themselves know to have been false to the late King? Or is it to be thought the Kingdom is asleep, when a Clamour is raised against the late King's evil Counsellors, when at the same time the major Part of them are still in our Councils and Places of Trust? which denotes a long Snake in the Grass. But I shall do by them as God Almighty did, leave them, and return to conclude my Discourse; only adding, that the Court of *St. Germans* dreads nothing more than such an Alteration of the Lieutenantcy and Justices of Peace over all *England*, as it has pleased their Majesties of late to cause in *London*.

The Resolution of the Confederates against the Peace has altered the Measures of *France*, abolished the Thoughts of a Restauration, and has put a Period to all the Designs of an Invasion from *France* hither. It is of all Hands in *France* believed, that thro the Distraction amongst the Clergy and Gentry about the Taxes, the Scarcity of Money among the Commonality, with the Want of Provision, and the excessive Expences of the War to maintain so many

many Armies, the Glory of that Crown, without a Peace, cannot hold much longer; the Declination of the Wealth of *France* having reduced all People to a very low Ebb.

And if the late King and the *French* King did hold a Resolution to land an Army in this Kingdom, this Island is naturally so strongly situated, that they would find it a difficult Matter to land an Army here, having the Elements to fight with, and the Sea to conquer, before they can touch the Shore; and perhaps the Attempt, whenever tried, may prove as fatal to *France*, as the Overthrow of the *Spanish* Armado was to *Spain*. Which makes me think of *Hegisippus*, who personated King *Agrippa*, in his Discourse to *Claudius* of the Danger and Difficulty of invading *Great-Britain*; which Discourse ended, as *Florus* said of the *Ligurians*, and as I may say, and conclude,

Major labor est invenire, quam vincere.

'Tis not so hard for greedy Foes to spoil
Another Nation, as to touch our Soil.

WALLER.

*A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, giving
some Account of the last Sickness and Death of Dr.
WILLIAM SANCROFT, late Lord Archbishop of Can-
terbury. By the Rev. THOMAS WAGSTAFF, M.A. 1694.*

S I R,

WHEN you was pleased to desire of me a particular Account of the last and fatal Sickness of our late *Metropolitan*, and of his *Grace's* pious Behaviour under it, I could not but congratulate with myself the happy Employment you had put me to, and do hereby return you my most hearty Thanks for the fresh Opportunity you have been instrumental in giving me, of revolving in my Thoughts those admirable and Christian Virtues, so eminent and conspicuous in the whole Course and Tenure of his Life, and yet more illustrious at the Time of his Death: The Memory of him indeed will be always precious in the Eyes of good Men, and I am perswaded his Name will never be forgotten in these and the Neighbouring Kingdoms, nor ever remembred, or mentioned, but with Marks of Honour, Esteem, and Veneration. But such Memorials are general and languid, and will but coldly affect our Hearts, or dispose us to Imitation, except his particular Graces be ruminated on, and rivited within us by devout and serious Meditation. This will raise in us (as was in him) a Spirit of Meekness, Mor-

tification, Fortitude and Constancy: And his Death will improve the World, (as his Life always did) by recommending a most generous and sincere Piety, and encouraging us in the most difficult Duties of Religion. And I must confess to you, that it is owing to your Commands that I have had a greater Occasion, on this great Subject, of glorifying God, (who hath given such Graces to Men) of supporting myself, and encouraging my Brethren, in a State of Affliction and Trouble, by the Power and Prevalency of so renowned an Example. I conceive therefore, your Request to me in this Particular, was not so much to satisfy your Curiosity as to affect your Conscience, to provoke you to, and preserve in you, such a steady and unshaken Fidelity to Truth as is not to be undermined, or wrought upon, by any specious Temptations from the World. Our holy Faith is not founded on the Examples of Men, but the Practice of it is mightily encouraged and assisted by them. And here you have before you a glorious Confessor; here you have your holy Archbishop, making a safe Passage through Storms and Tempests, and carrying his Integrity and Conscience undefiled to the Grave. And doth not this bright Example mightily enspirit and inflame your Zeal? Doth it not make your Afflictions easy, and your Virtue strong? Would you now receive the Wages of Unrighteousness, how much soever you may want them? Or would you change your desolate and narrow Circumstances, for those more plentiful, at the Expence of your Conscience, for all the World? These are the Fruits of this great Prelate's Virtues, and this is the Use we are to make of them; to animate us in the same Course, to aspire to the same Degrees of Uprightness, to despise the World, and to take up the Cross, not as a Blemish, but an Honour to us: Otherwise, however we may praise and admire him, 'tis but Flattery and Hypocrisy; we celebrate his Memory deceitfully, both to his Injury and our own. For if his great Virtues deserve to be commended, they deserve to be imitated too: The Praise of the Tongue is but Breath and Air, and the Character goes no deeper than our Lips: But if we live like him, and pursue the same Virtues, with the same Faithfulness and Constancy, our Love and Admiration is seated in our Hearts and Consciences, and we evidence the Honour we had for him, by the noblest Principles of human Nature. If therefore we shall make him our Pattern, and follow his Example, we shall do more right to his Memory, than by all the Panegyricks in the World.

I could heartily wish that I were able to set this great Example in a true Light, that I could draw his Grace's Picture at full Length, and give you a compleat Account of the whole Series of his Life from the Beginning to the End; and this (if it was faithfully done) perhaps would be as bright a Pattern of Virtue as has for many Ages been communicated to the World, and would emulate the Piety of the first and purest Times, and the Faithfulness of the primitive Christian Bishops: But this is a Task too difficult for me upon many Accounts, and I hope will be undertaken by some abler Hand, and indeed is more than you require of me: However, as introductory

troductory to what follows, I shall lay before you these two General Observations.

I. That that high and important Station which he held in the Church of *England*, was never better filled, nor managed with better Conduct: His great Abilities of Learning, Wisdom, Courage, and Sincerity, abundantly qualified him to guide the Church, and steer the Helm of it, in the most dangerous and surprising Junctures. There never was a Time since the Beginning of Christianity, when all these Qualifications were not necessary in a Christian Bishop, and which he had not always more or less Occasion to exercise; but it must be confessed, that in his Days the Church was beset with extraordinary Difficulties, and required an extraordinary Measure of Prudence and Resolution, of Faithfulness and Zeal, to manage that great Trust committed to his Charge, to the Honour of God, the Interest of Religion, and the Good and Benefit of the Church.

There are two famous Instances which give Testimony to this, and abundantly evidence the Greatness of his Mind, the Wisdom of his Conduct, and the Zeal and Care he had for the Preservation of Religion, and the Safety of the Church. The first was when he was to struggle with the Commands of a lawful Sovereign, which seem'd to interfere with the Interest of the established Religion, and the known Laws of the Land; but of this he made no Difficulty, and soon resolved rather humbly to decline the Commands of his rightful Prince, than to obey him to the Prejudice of the true Religion, and the established Laws. But the Manner of doing this was as exemplary as his Courage; when his King laid uneasy Commands, and which he could not comply with, he did not presently fly in his Face, and load him with Invectives and Aspersions, much less did he undermine his Throne, invite the Invader of it, or by ungodly or revengeful Arts endeavour to defeat him of his just and hereditary Rights: But, like a true christian Bishop, he committed his Cause to God, and possessed his Soul in Patience. He could not do an unlawful Thing; but he knew well that Reason extended to all lawful Things, and that he could no more violate the Rules of Religion, and the Laws of the Land, in resisting his lawful Prince, or injuring him in his undoubted Rights, than he could violate them in Obedience to him. Sincere Virtue is always uniform, and all of a Piece; and he knew, that the same Religion and Laws which enjoyn'd him not to obey, obliged him likewise not to resist and rebel; they were of equal Obligation in both Cases, and their Authority as sacred, and could not be broken with a safe Conscience in one Instance no more than in the other. He stood indeed in the Gap, with all the Degrees of Fortitude and Resolution that the Greatness of the Occasion required; but these were Christian and Episcopal Virtues, and joined with the same Degrees of Meekness and Humility, by humble Petition, by all modest and just Ways he declined Compliance, but without the least Insolence of Behaviour, or Disrespect to the Person of his Prince, much less to shake off his Authority and Government, whom he knew to be the rightful King of these Kingdoms, and established in the Throne by the Laws of God and the Land.

It is true, in this Action (though it is to be fear'd of some, not with the same Intention) he did not stand alone; but several of his Brethren, my Lords the Bishops, and most of the inferior Clergy bore their Parts, and join'd with their Metropolitan: But as his Post and Station, his Wisdom and Conduct, his great Part in that whole Affair deservedly challenges the first Place, so the ascribing to him what is really his Due, does by no means detract from the Merits of the rest: All those who acted in Conjunction with him, and upon the same Foundation and Principles, their Credit and Virtue remain intire to them, and they will never lose the Reputation of their Constancy and Faithfulness; but those who acted out of sinister and corrupt Ends, and have since forsaken their Principles, and wofully prevaricated, they have blasted their own Reputation, and have little consulted the Honour of that excellent Church of which they were Members. However, I must tell you a plain Truth, that some of them who then thought themselves, and still would fain be accounted, main Pillars of the Protestant Cause, were in this Affair very fleeting and unsettled, and for finding out Salvo's and Distinctions; and their subsequent Practice was in a great Measure deriv'd from his Wisdom, Authority, and Influence.

I shall not need to mention to you his Conduct in the ordinary Branches of his Metropolitcal and Episcopal Office; how he took care to discharge those with great Faithfulness, to preserve the Church of *England* in its Rights and Establishments, and to secure the Purity of her Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, so far as his Power and Authority extended: These are notorious to all the Kingdom; and it will be sufficient here to observe, that while he sat in the Chair, there was no under-hand Trucking with the *Socinians*, or others, out of her Communion. He was a very wise, but withal a very plain and sincere Bishop; he was above little Tricks and politick Arts, and knew not how to preach against People, and then to stroak and fawn, and curry Favour with them when he had done: He was never at the Bottom of any Project to give up the Liturgy, the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church: For alas! (quite contrary to modern Policy) he thought, that the best Way to preserve a Society had been in keeping steadfastly to the Terms of it. He had as great a Tenderness and Compassion for the Seduced and Misled as any Man, and used all just and moderate Ways for their Instruction and Information; but, in good Truth, he had not that Latitude of Principle to sacrifice the Church out of secular Intrigues and Politicks, and to deliver up the Mounds and Fences of it to a Party which had been endeavouring the Destruction of it for a hundred Years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had Favour at Court, and was able to recommend a Person to the highest Offices in the Church, it was never his Custom to lay aside, or postpone the most worthy and able Men, and firm to the Constitution of the Church, and to make use of his Interest to advance a Sort of Men, who are equally principled for *Geneva* as for *England*, or for any Constitution besides; who were never true nor honest to the Church, in their Inferior Charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to support her. In fine, when he was possessed of the Revenues belonging to the Church, he never made it

it his Business to destroy and plunder it, by cutting down the Timber upon little Pretences, and then putting the Money into his Pocket. Upon the Whole, he was a true Father; the Interests of the Church were his own; and he spent himself in preserving her Honour, Rites and Revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago observed, that an Intruder is always a Step-Father, who spins out the Bowels of the Church, and fattens himself with her Blood; who having no legal Right, and Foundation, is for compounding with Religion, and bartering the Securities of the Church to support himself, and uphold the Injustice of his own Tenure. And this Observation is so true, that it hath never yet failed in any one Instance. He that came into the Church a Thief and a Robber hath always continued so; and from the Beginning of the Church to this very Day there hath not been one Ecclesiastical Usurper, but who, in one or more Instances, has pawn'd something of Religion to gain an Accession to his Party, and to secure and strengthen his unrighteous Possession.

Another famous Instance demonstrating this great Prelate's Virtue and Piety, and his admirable Fitness for that high Office he sustained in the Church, was this, that he chose rather actually to suffer an Expulsion from all his Honours and Ecclesiastical Revenues, than to violate his Conscience, or stain the Purity of those Principles, he had always maintain'd and adher'd to: This is a Proof next to Martyrdom, and there cannot be given a greater Testimony to a Man's Sincerity, except it had been the laying down his Life; and no Doubt, that he would also have as chearfully done, had the divine Providence thought fit to have call'd him to that Trial. God knows the Heart, but Men cannot know one another, nor yet themselves, but by Trials and Temptations: Disguised Virtue will deceive the World, and perhaps ourselves too, and when we meet with no Interruption in our Affairs, a general Care of Inoffensiveness may pass for great Uprightness, both in the Eyes of Men and in our own: But when the Business comes to Experiment, when we must either part with the World, or with our Consciences and Principles; this is a Touchstone of our Sincerity, and the Distinction is soon made. And here we have a most Reverend Archbishop thrust from his high Station, and divested of all his spiritual Promotions and Preferments, meerly upon the Account of his Conscience, and which he might easily have kept, if he could have but tamper'd with his Principles, and brib'd his Judgment to Submission, by carnal Inducements and fallacious Arguments. But as he was too wise and judicious to be imposed upon, so he was too honest to act upon hypocritical Pretensions and sophistical Evasions; for (as he often said) he had rather suffer under his lawful Prince, than flourish under an Usurper. Alas! Sir, he never was able to know which Way the People (collectively or representatively) became Sovereign of this Kingdom, and could give away the Government to whom they pleased; he never had Philosophy enough to know that the Streams rose higher than the Fountain; that the Receiver of a Gift for that very Reason had a better Title to it, than those that gave it; how those who gave away that which was none of their own, could derive a better Right to the Taker, than they had themselves. He had no Skill to dive into the Mystery of a People
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being conquered by themselves, and thereby deriving a Title of Conquest to a third Person ; he could not expound the Riddle of conquering by Vote, or that giving and taking were discriminating Marks of a Conquest ; nor could he submit his Conscience to the maddest Hypothesis that ever was broach'd by Men. He had not the nice Subtilty to distinguish between Allegiance *de Facto*, and Allegiance *de Jure* : For, as he knew that all Duties whatsoever were founded in Right, and flowed from it, and there is no such Thing in the World as a Duty to Wrong, so he knew likewise, that neither our own Laws, nor any in the whole World, had been so contradictory and inconsistent, as to provide for a double Allegiance in Opposition to one another. These were Fig-leaves, which some had sewed together to cover their Nakedness ; but the Covering was so very thin and slight, that a far less discerning Judgment than his would easily look through them ; it needed no Skill nor Art, but plain Honesty was sufficient to uncloath them, and to perceive that they served only to blind or shuffle with the Conscience, by no Means to direct or satisfy it. He knew an Oath was too sacred and serious to be taken upon Phantoms and Shadows ; upon such wild and ridiculous Suggestions, as have not the least Being in Nature, Reason, Religion, or the Law. And he knew withal, that to take two contradictory Oaths must necessarily involve a Man in the Guilt of Perjury : In such a Case, there is no Medium betwixt swearing and forswearing. Upon this Basis he stood, and he stood like a Rock, firm and unshaken, and all the Billows that beat upon him could not make the least Impression. His high Post and great Revenues were mighty Temptations, but when they came to be put into the Balance with his Conscience, he soon determined his Choice, and gave a convincing Demonstration, that his Virtue was superior to the World, and independent of it ; that Truth is better, and far more eligible than Riches and Honour, when, for the Sake of one poor persecuted Truth, a Man can, without the least Hesitation, forsake all that is great and honourable in the World. It is true, on this great Occasion, he had many Partners ; seven of my Lords the Bishops, and a considerable Number of the inferior Clergy, besides many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, preserved themselves from Contagion, and gave the same great Proof of their invincible Fidelity and Constancy, whereby they have not only secured the Uprightness of their own Consciences, but have withal maintained, and upheld the Honour and Reputation of the Church of *England*, which hath so terribly been impaired by the scandalous Apostacy of so many others. And this is of such mighty Consequence, that it must be confessed, that Posterity hath nothing left to vindicate the Church and her avowed Principles, but their heroick and memorable Examples ; and when After-Ages shall come to dispute the Principles of our Church, they will have the Piety and Practices of these excellent Men, to counter-balance the general Defection which hath overspread this unhappy Nation.

II. Another

II. Another General Observation, which I have to remark to you, is, that these immortal Virtues, which have embalmed his Name to all Posterity, were not newly acquired, or even exercised; but his younger Years gave an early Testimony of the Greatness of his Mind, and the Steadiness of his Principles. There was a Time when a wicked Covenant and Engagement were to be taken; the one Oath was designed to propagate Rebellion, and to destroy the Church, and the other to support a cruel Usurpation; and these (in their respective Seasons) blocked up all Preferments, and a Man could neither keep what he had, nor be admitted to any other, but he must first make his Way by swallowing the *deadly and accursed Thing*. In those Days he was in the Prime and Flower of his Age, when gaudy Seducements are generally the most prevailing, when the Passions and Propensities to the World are most strong, and the Judgment less mature and solid to correct them; but even in his greener Years his Virtue was ripe; he then became an actual Sufferer for the very same Principles, and chose to relinquish his Interest in his native Country, and to submit to a voluntary Exile, rather than advance himself by the Rewards of Ungodliness, and own the Authority of an unjust, though prevailing Usurpation. This therefore is not the first Time that he gave the World Proof of his admirable Constancy; he was a Confessor near fifty Years before, upon the very same Account; and the very same Reasons and Arguments (that in those Days were urged for Rebellion and Usurpation) which could not work upon him then, much less could they do it now, (though they had new Names put to them) when his Judgment and Virtue were improv'd, and the Truth of those Principles confirmed, by his most mature Thoughts, and by long Experience. He had seen and sifted all these Matters long before; and it was not likely, that to a wise and good Man, the Copy and Transcript should prevail more upon his riper Years, than the Original itself did upon his Youth. *Doleman's* rebellious Arguments had no better Effect, when transplanted into Dr. St—'s *Unreasonableness of a new Separation*, than they had in the vile Book of *Parsons* the Jesuit itself; and the very same numerical Reasons could satisfy as little, when baited with modern Names, than they did heretofore, when they came immediately from the Pens and Persons of the first Authors themselves; from Regicide *Cook*, and *Milton*; from *John Goodwin*, and *Hugh Peters*. In short, he was always just to his Conscience, and true to his Principles; and the repeated Instances he hath given of an untainted Fidelity, will exceedingly add to his great Character, that in all the various Concussions of State, the Turns and Changes of the World, he was always the same; and the last great Actions of his Life will suffer no Diminution or Reproach from any temporizing Levity, or Unworthiness of his former Proceedings. I do not deny but a Man may once trip and miscarry, and afterwards relent and recover himself, and become very great and useful; and there is no Repugnancy in the Reason and Nature of Things, for a Man erring through Weakness of Judgment, Inconsiderateness, or Violence of Temptations, to raise himself up again, and to stand firm ever after: But,
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if we shall consult Fact, we shall find this Theory not always, perhaps not very often, confirmed by Experience. Those who have once played Fast and Loose with their Principles, are generally prepared to travel the Compass; and we have, in our own Memories, some who passed from the Covenant to the Engagement, from thence to the *Cromwell's*, thence to the Restoration, and from thence to the Revolution: And, no Doubt, if there was Occasion, from the same Unchangeableness of Principle, could travel the same Way back again. Now, Sir, if this be no Blemish to a Man's Integrity; if, when he can receive new Principles with every Tide, and turn himself and his Conscience to every Turn of Affairs; if he can dispute the same Things *pro* and *con*, and resolve a Case of Conscience backwards and forwards, and rise and fall his Doctrines in Proportion to his Interests; if, notwithstanding, he shall sustain the Character of Steadiness and Fidelity, then, by my Consent, *Ecebolius*, and the Vicar of *Bray*, shall henceforward be reckoned among the Confessors, a versatile and winding Craft shall pass for the Mark of a plain and fair-dealing Man, and the Wind and the Moon be hereafter the fittest Emblems of Constancy. But, if Mankind have always taken other Estimates of Things; if the Truth and Goodness of a Man's Virtue hath always been measured by its Strength, that it is able to abide the Trial, to weather all Storms and mutable Accidents, and remain the same under all Difficulties and Discouragements; if the Difference between counterfeit and standard Virtue consists in Permanency and Perseverance, not subject to the Changes and Chances of this lower World: If, finally, these are in themselves, and were always accounted great and glorious Things, then the several Stages of our venerable Father's Life will afford us so many external Monuments of his Piety. And he hath left behind him very few, who, in this degenerate Age, are likely to equal his Virtues, or to come near them by many Degrees, and none less than him, who sits in his Chair, and some others, who fill the Sees of our deprived Bishops.

But, Sir, will you give me Leave more fully to excite your Piety and Imitation, and to improve to your Use and my own this great Example to the best Advantage. It may be necessary to go a little deeper, and to uncover the Root from whence so many excellent and praise-worthy Actions did spring; for it will be impossible to copy out one of his great Virtues, without acquiring a just Proportion of all the rest. To aim at his Constancy without his Humility, is to plant without a Soil, and to aspire at his inflexible Faithfulness without an equal Measure of his Mortification, is to make a Superstructure without a Foundation. And therefore it may be fit to observe, that that wonderful Staidness and Evenness of his Conduct, those high and eminent Virtues which rendered him so conspicuous, were built on a Foundation abundantly sufficient to support the Weight of them: His Humility and Denial of the World were as bright as any of his Virtues, and bore up this mighty Fabrick: The World could lay no Biass on his Affections, to suborn his Judgment, and tamper with his Conscience; but he could, and did, with equal Affection and Resolution, embrace Truth, when naked and despised, as well as when attended with Honours and Revenues: And you yourself know, and so does every Man else,
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that had the Happiness to converse with him, that he suffered his Remove from his Possessions and Preferments, with greater Satisfaction and Chearfulness than any Man could take them. It was a smart Answer that he gave to a Person, speaking to him concerning the Revolution, and what were like to be the Effects of it; *Well!* (saith he smiling) *I can live upon fifty Pounds a Year,* meaning his paternal Inheritance; and thereby intimating how little the Loss of all the rest would affect him, and what an inconsiderable Inducement the highest Station of the Church was to mislead him, and to pervert his Conscience. He had no Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, or Luxury to maintain, and consequently was secure against all Assaults that could come from those Quarters. When a Man hath once brought himself to that Pass, that he cannot live under so much by the Year; whenever such a Posture of Affairs happens, that he cannot honestly keep his Integrity and his Incomes too, he is in great Danger of turning to the Left-hand, of distrusting Providence, and starving his Conscience for to keep warm his Back and his Belly. When Ambition and Love of the World prevail upon the Affections, Religion will become Art and Management, calculated for Designs and Interests, must vary and alter with Seasons and Opportunities; and such a Man's Conscience will observe the Wind, and be sure to sit always in that Corner from whence Preferments come. In fine, whosoever hath not a competent Degree of Self-Denial, Mortification, and Contempt of the World, Religion can have no sure Hold of him, nor he of Religion, and he lies under an utter Incapacity of being true to himself and to his Conscience; his Principles will be arbitrary and precarious, and follow all the Revolutions and mutable Contingencies of this World: What therefore our Lord and Saviour said, *Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple,* Luke xiv. 33. This was not so much a Command, as a plain Declaration of the State of the Case: There is an utter Impossibility in the Nature of Things, that a Man should be *Christ's* Disciple who is not prepared and disposed to forsake all the World for him, and to put these Dispositions into Act, upon all just Occasions; for otherwise he can be a Christian no longer than his Religion and Interests agree; for when they differ one must be parted with, and the predominate Principle will certainly carry him, and he will determine his Choice in behalf of his Affections. To be mortified to the World therefore, is not only to do our Duty in that one Instance, but to gain a general Preservative. The Cross is the fundamental Principle of Christianity, and secures the honest Observance of all the rest.

By this Time, Sir, I presume, that you perceive how necessary it was to enter upon this last Paragraph; it hath an immediate Tendency to lead us in the right Way, and to direct us how we may follow his Steps; if we would imitate his Greatness of Mind, his Christian Fortitude, and admirable Constancy; why then we must lay as deep a Foundation as he did; we must mortify our Pride and Passions, and wean our Affections from the World; we must endeavour to attain the same Measure of Patience, Humility, and Self-denial; and, if this be effectually done, we may then hope to partake of his Spirit; but if our Appetites remain irregular, if our Thirst of the World be yet im-

moderate and intemperate, we have a Plummets at our Heels, which will be sure to weigh us down, let our Judgments and Understanding be what they will, and let the Occasion of Perseverance be never so just and honourable. The World is, and always will be changeable; and if there be Room left in our Hearts to plant that Engine, it will turn us about in spite of the clearest Apprehensions, and the best Resolutions we can make; when we doat too much upon the Fortune, we shall forsake our Mistress on the Loss of her Portion, and court another. In Truth, without such a Measure of Indifferency to the World, it will be impossible we should be true and faithful upon any Occasion where Truth and Fidelity are required; we shall abandon our Friend or our Father, our King or our Country, as well as our Virtue, in a declining and unprosperous Condition: For it is an infallible Maxim in Morals, and which holds good in all Instances, that Ambition and Levity of Principle, that Covetousness and Unfaithfulness, that Love of the World and Inconstancy, are convertible; there is never one, without some Proportion and Degrees of the other.

And thus, Sir, I have laid before you these two general Observations; and I think I shall not need to remark, how fit and pertinent they are to lead us into the Consideration of the last Scene of this great Man's Life. Here we have the Picture of his great Virtues, of his moral and Christian Endowments; and when we shall find his last Hand to it, when we shall see it compleatly finished by himself, it will give a mighty Addition to its Grace and Beauty; the last and finishing Strokes are always the fairest, and give Lustre and Perfection to all the rest. And this is what I have undertaken (according to my poor Measure) to give you some Account of; and when you cast your Eye lower, you will see, that as he lived, so he died. He resigned up his Soul in the Profession and Practice of those very Principles which he owned and maintained with so great Constancy and Vigour all the Time of his Life, which is the most perfect and unsuspected Evidence that a Man can give of his intire Satisfaction in his Principles, and of his great Sincerity in the owning them, and living up to them. The Hour of Death is, of all others, the most unfit Season for Hypocrisy and Dissimulation; and if there be any Seriousness and Sincerity in Men, they will shew themselves on a Death-bed. But when a Man hath lived unblameably all his Days, when the most malicious and critical Eye is never able to tax him with deceitful daubing, in the whole Course of a long Life; when such a Man shall come to lie under an apparent Sense of his Dissolution, if, in the last Article of his Life, he shall renew the Profession of his Principles, we have all possible Assurance, not only of the utmost Plainness and Sincerity of that Profession, but of the Sincerity also of his past Actions in Pursuance of those Principles; for he stakes his Soul for the Truth of his Belief of them, and appeals to God (to whom he is immediately going) for the Uprightness and Honesty of his former Proceedings.

But Sir, that I may proceed in Order, I am, in the first Place, to acquaint you, that some Time after his Expulsion from his Habitation at *Lambeth*, he retired into the Country, to the Place of his Nativity, which was the ancient Estate

Estate and Residence of his Ancestors for above three hundred Years, and where he built a small Habitation, but large enough for his Retinue and Attendants, which were only two or three Servants: Here he chose to fix himself in his Retirement; here he enjoyed the same Chearfulness of Spirit, the same Serenity of Mind, and (in one Word) the same good Conscience; there was some Difference in the outward State, in the Splendor and Ornament, but none at all in the Man; and those who repaired to him from all Parts were blessed with the same charming and familiar Converse, the same holy Admonitions and Instructions, and they found exactly the same great Archbishop, under a plain Roof in a Country Village, that they used to meet with in his Palace. Some receive Honour and Reputation from the Places they hold, and some Infamy; the one, as having too little Virtue, the other too much Vice: But when a Man's Virtues bear an equal Proportion with his Station, they are inherent in his Person, and remove with it. When he resided at *Lambeth*, his episcopal Virtues had there their Residence also; but when he was forced to leave it, he did not leave his Virtues behind him to be possessed by the next Comer, (and if this needs to be proved, we have ocular Demonstration) but they followed his Person in all Fortunes and Places; and we had a most Reverend Archbishop in *Fresingfield*, when there was none at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it. His Obscurity was a new Accession of Honour to him; it was the Effect of a good Cause and a good Conscience; which, though it added no new Virtue, it made it more bright and visible; they were the same Virtues he had before, but with greater Lustre, and we had with us the very same venerable Archbishop; but we had him with the additional Characters of his Expulsion, and cloathed with the new Honours of his Constancy and Sufferings.

In this just and honourable Retirement, he enjoyed all the Pleasures and Advantages of Solitude; a meer Quiet from the Hurry and Business of this World, thereby affording greater Vacancy and Leisure for the Concernment of the next, is, in itself, so desirable, that some have voluntarily stript themselves of all their lofty Accessions, on Purpose to gain an Opportunity of retiring into themselves, and cultivating their Minds: But when it is an Escape from a spreading Contagion, when quitting the World is quitting the Sins of it too, it is then not only an Opportunity of exercising good Things, but a Sanctuary and Refuge also from those that are bad; but when, to both these is superadded a noble and glorious Occasion, when it is the Result of Piety and Principles, the Lot of Virtue and a good Conscience; Privacy is then set out to the best Advantage; it is both our Peace and Security, but it is withal our Joy and our Crown. This was our great Prelate's Retirement, and in this glorious Sphere his Virtues moved, during the last Stage of his Life; for although he needed no Sequestration from the World, to learn to know himself, and to search into his Conscience, those had been his constant Exercises and Employment from his Youth; although no Incumbrances of his Station, or Emergencies of publick Affairs, could ever tempt him to rob God of his Dues, to interrupt his Devotions, and the necessary Works of Piety; yet the

Recess his Conscience had made him afforded him larger and more frequent Opportunities of conversing with God, and with himself; of imploring the divine Favour, Forgiveness, and Assistance; of perfecting his Repentance, making up the Accounts of his Soul, and preparing himself for another World: And these were the Companions of his Solitude, the Fruits and Improvements of his Sufferings. But, besides his own personal and particular Concerns, there were others of a more publick Nature which he charged himself with, and interested himself in, the Groans of a languishing and afflicted Church, and the Scandal and Sins of an Apostate one, were each of them sad Subjects, and both deserved and excited his Christian Compassion, and his earnest Address and Application to God for Grace and Mercy, in Proportion to the respective States and Conditions. These are Times of Trial and Temptation, of Defection and Apostacy; and, as God knows there was Occasion enough, so he suited his Petitions to the Exigency of the Times, that God would be graciously pleased to establish the Strong, confirm the Weak, reclaim and recover the Lapsed; those who deserted his Authority as well as their own Principles, could not run away from his Prayers and Charity; and God grant that they may find the Benefit of his holy Devotions, who would receive none by his Influence and Example!

But besides these, there is yet another Ingredient, which rendered his Solitude more triumphant, and that is the Reason and Occasion of it; it was not the Effect of Weariness or Satiety, of Sullenness or Disappointment, but founded in just and righteous Principles; and the Goodness of the Cause sanctified the Affliction, and made his Privacy venerable in the Eyes of all, and very comfortable to himself; it was indeed the Exercise and Safeguard of his Virtues; but it was moreover the actual Suffering for them, and this gave it Life and Spirit, changed the Style and Denomination, made his Meanness his Glory, his Abasement his Honour and Ornament; and though he was always a very great Man, yet he made a greater Figure in the World, and sustained a more honourable Character in his Privacy and Retirement, than ever he had done in the utmost Extent of his Prosperity and Plenty; and this was not only external, and terminated without him, but it was an Honour founded in Righteousness, the Honour that comes from God only, which exerts a mighty Power within, and sheds ineffable Comforts into a Man's own Breast. He saw nothing about him but what were Arguments of his Uprightness, and carried the Marks of his Sincerity; and this, joined with the internal Testimony of his own Soul, is perhaps one of the most reviving and cherishing Things in the whole World: And here we may contemplate the mighty Power of a good Conscience, how easily it triumphs over the World, and what unspeakable Pleasure ariseth in the Soul, from the Sense of an honest and resolute Adherence to Duty: He did not only bear his Suffering and low Condition with Patience, but he exulted in it; it was Matter of the highest Satisfaction to him, and any Man might read the Pleasure in his Breast, by the constant Serenity and Chearfulness of his Aspect: And, I dare say, that the most greedy Worldling never enjoyed half that solid Complacency, in the most lucky and fortunate

nate Acquisitions, as he did in being deprived of all, and reduced to the mean Circumstances of a private Habitation.

Thus holy were his Exercises, thus heavenly his Comforts, till at length it pleased God (in order to perfect and compleat them) to visit him with a long and languishing Sickness: His Disease was at first an Intermitting Fever; but the Fits were so extreamly violent, that he was very near dying in the second, and lay speechless, and bereaved of his Senses for some Hours; but, by the Help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, advised and directed by his Physician, a third Fit was prevented; but however the stopping the Fits gave some Respite, yet it was without any promising Hopes; he had some lucid Intervals, but recovered no Strength: He lay under a general Weakness and Decay, and so continued wasting to the last Period, till his Spirits and Vitals were exhausted, and his Soul took Wing from a dry and emaciated Carcase. This Distemper, from the Beginning to the End, continued just thirteen Weeks: He fell sick on the 26th of *August*, and died on the 24th of *November* following.

And now, Sir, I presume you expect to see the Fruits of a good Life, the Conduct of sincere Virtue, when it is to wrestle with the Terrors of Death; this is the last, and it is the greatest of Trials. And here we perceive the wonderful Advantages of Sincerity, that it standeth us in stead when we have most Need, and when all Things else fail us; it supporteth us when our Spirits are spent, and enableth us to look grim Death in the Face, not only with Confidence, but with Address. When he had once shewed his Physician his wasted and shrivel'd Thighs and Legs, void of Flesh, and all nourishing Juice and Moisture, saith he, *And can these dry Bones live?* In Truth, he was not only contented and willing to die, but he breathed after it with Ardency; he desired it, and called for it; but still with the humblest Submission and Resignation to the Will of God. He used to express the Sense of his Heart in these Words of the Psalmist, *I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him: I will lay my Mouth in the Dust.* In his greatest Extremities and Agonies, he used to set before him the great Example of our Saviour: *For*, saith he, *as a Lamb carried to the Slaughter, he was dumb, and opened not his Mouth.* Those great Virtues of Humility and Patience, of Trust and Affiance in God, of universal Charity and Good-will to Men, which, by a long Practice, he had made habitual and familiar to him, now exerted themselves most powerfully in this critical Season; and we beheld the Graces of his Life triumphing over the Decays of Nature, and were both the Support and the Crown of his Death-bed; which plainly teaches us how necessary it is to gain a Habit of Virtue in the Days of our Health, that we may not have it to seek when we have the greatest Occasion to use it. We saw the admirable Humility and Patience of his Soul, with what quiet and chearful Resignation he submitted to the divine Will, throughout the whole Course of his languishing Sickness: There was not the least Appearance of any Disturbance or Discomposure; but the same Meekness, which had always calmed his Passions under former Dispensations, was ready now to assist him, and was, in Truth, more eminent and visible *in extremis*. That which came the nearest
to

to a Complaint, was only a Description of his wasting Condition, in these pious Words ; *Thy Hand is heavy upon me Day and Night, my Moisture is like the Drought in Summer* : But even this joined with an Act of high Trust in God ; for, saith he, *I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the Dust of Death* ; yet, *though he kill me, I will trust in him*. His great Piety (which was always quick and active) was now most sprightly and vigorous ; and it was surprising to behold, in the perfect Failure of all bodily Supports, with what Presence of Mind he would turn himself to all the Difficulties he lay under, with what wonderful Dexterity he would meet with and alleviate his Extremities, by pious and suitable Ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breathed from his own pious Soul : An acute Pain, or Dejection of Spirit (the frequent Companions of his Sickness) could no sooner approach him, but he was always as ready to obviate them by a divine Sentence, or holy Prayer. It was indeed an unspeakable Comfort and Satisfaction to us, and we reflected on the mighty Power of a well-spent Life, the great Efficacy of the constant Practice of Virtue ; when we saw him with so much Ease and Facility overcoming the Throws and Pains of a mortal Distemper, and preventing the Terrors and Convulsions of Death itself. We saw his flaming and ardent Charity, both extended and limited, according to the Apostle's Direction ; *To all, but especially to them of the Household of Faith*. His suffering Brethren were the principal Objects of his Charity and Prayers, but not exclusive of others ; but upon the frequent Returns and Exercises of his Devotions, he suited his Prayers to the general Needs of Men, and recommended them respectively to the divine Mercy. In particular, the Apostacy of a once glorious Church stuck very near to him, and this gave great Employment to his Charity ; he knew that Prayers might reach them who were obstinate to all other Convictions ; and in this he was earnest and frequent, that God would touch their Hearts, and reduce them to a Sense of their Sin, and of the great Scandal they had occasioned, and dispose them to repair it by a timely and seasonable Repentance. In short, if he had any Enemies, they also were included in his Prayers ; and in particular, a little before his last Hour, he solemnly prayed for *a Blessing upon his Family, and Relations and Friends, and earnestly begged Forgiveness for his Enemies, as he desired it of God for himself*.

But, Sir, I know you expect from me a more particular Account of his Grace's Management of himself in this his last Sickness, with respect to the Principles which he owned, and for which he suffered. And, Sir, I shall answer your Expectation, having something very considerable to observe to you on this Head ; and you will soon perceive how far his Conscience and Soul were engaged in that Matter, and that it was impossible for him to have acted otherwise with the Safety of his Conscience, and preserving the Uprightness and Sincerity of an honest Man, if you please to consider,

I. That by his own Order and Appointment, and with Words of his own framing, was inscribed upon his Tomb, *At last deprived of all that he could not keep with a good Conscience*. I shall presently give you the Inscription at large ;

large; in the mean Time, this is as plain and full a Declaration as Words can make, that the Reason and Ground of his Non-compliance with the present Powers, was a good Conscience. He was deprived because he could not comply; and he did not comply, because he could not do it with a good Conscience; and it is remarkable, that this came from his own Hand, and with Intentions to survive him; so that we have not only a Death-bed Declaration, but that Declaration perpetuated by himself, his dying Testimony recorded to succeeding Ages, and to remain a Monument to Posterity.

II. Throughout the whole Course of his Retirement, and more particularly during the Time of his Sickness, he never communicated with the Swearing Clergy, nor would permit them to officiate; but I cannot express this better than in his own Words, dictated to a Person who was then with him, some little Time before his Death, to be sent from his Grace to a Friend of his; and a Copy of which I have kept by me. It is in these Words:

— *MY Lord is sensible of how great a Concernment it is who ministers to him in holy Things. We have very few Non-swearers hereabouts: Mr. W—— hath been with us once, and visited my Lord solemnly: Mr. E—— hath been here often, and at first visited my Lord very solemnly; and it happened to be at a Time when there were many Swearers and Non-swearers in the Room: He gave me the Absolution of the Church, and not long after the holy Sacrament: He comes often hither, and when it is seasonable, performs the holy Offices. At other Times my S——, who perfectly understands the Liturgy, useth as many of the Prayers as it is fit for him to do; and we heartily implore God's Mercy for the Pardon of our Defects and Indecencies in the Performance of his holy Service, and hope that we are accepted. My Lord never receiveth the Sacrament but with those that come not at the Parish, and are Non-jurors. He never admits any of the irregular Clergy to be at the holy Offices; as for the rest, if they come when he goes to Prayers, he excludes them not: This hath been his Course.*

This my Lord dictated to me from his own Mouth; you see how ready his Apprehension and Judgment are.

Nov. 15, 1693.

This, Sir, I conceive needs no Application; and here you have your Desire from his own Mouth, an Account of his Sense and Judgment, together with his particular Practice in Pursuance of it. You know there were other Reports spread with you at London, as if he had received the Communion at the Hands of a Juror, and many such like; and the Noise of this came to us in the Country, and was a great Trouble to his Lordship; and, in Truth, gave the Occasion of representing his own Practice in the foregoing Letter. He had too just a Sense of the Unity of the Church, and the Flagrancy of the Schism, to admit such Practices: And you may please to observe, that this was but nine Days before his Death; and I can assure you, he never altered his Course after.

afterwards ; nay, he took particular and especial Care, that a Non-juror should perform the last Office of the *Burial of the Dead*, and particularly appointed him by Name. I suppose you will make no Objection, that the Letter above runs in two Styles, one in his own Name, and another in the Person of the Writer ; that is very usual and familiar, when a Person dictates what is to be sent to a particular Friend ; and there was no Need, in Matters that related purely to his own Practice, to be very nice as to the Style of the Representer : And this Difference of the Style farther confirms the Testimony of the Writer, *that it was dictated from his own Mouth* ; for Part of it sustains his own Person, and thereby gave Credit and Authority to the rest, as proceeding from the same Fountain, being Branches of the same Letter, and Part of the same Representation.

III. The third and last Thing I have to remark to you in this Particular is, that drawing near to his End, he said, in the hearing of some of his Servants, *that his Profession* (in the particular Case for which he suffered) *was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister Ends ; that he had the very same Thoughts of the present State of Affairs, which he had at first ; and that, if the same Thing was to be acted over again, he would quit all that he had in this World, rather than violate his Conscience* : And, in further Confirmation of this, in less than an Hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest Petitions to Almighty God.

1. *That God would bless and preserve this poor suffering Church, which, by this Revolution, is almost destroyed.*

2. *That he would bless and preserve the King, the Queen, and the Prince ; and in his due Time restore them to their just and undoubted Rights.*

And now, Sir, you see the Make and Composition of these his Grace's Principles and Practices ; you see their very Inwards, and have a Window open into his Breast ; you plainly perceive his Conscience, and his Uprightness in this whole Affair, and you have the Testimony of his last Breath, and his expiring Prayers : He was so well satisfied both of the eternal Truth of those Principles by which he acted, and of his own Sincerity in living up to them, and suffering for them, that he ventured his Soul in the same Bottom with them, closed up his Life with a Profession of them, and made them the Subjects of his last commendatory Prayers. I must confess, this Inference needs an Apology ; for if the Nature of the Thing itself did not sufficiently testify this, (as it certainly does) I do not believe, that any Man who knew him did ever think otherwise, or in the least imagine but that he proceeded with the highest Sincerity. But, since we live in an Age where Men oftentimes speak more than they think, and because they themselves are apt to act upon corrupt Ends, are willing to charge the same upon others in their own Justification ; it may perhaps not be altogether unseasonable to make good that by undeniable Evidence,

dence, although all Men, in their own Consciences, do already believe it; and if the Loss of all this World, and the venturing our Hopes in the next, in Behalf of a Man's Principles, be not a sufficient and convincing Proof of his Satisfaction and Sincerity in them; then either there are no such Things in the World, or they can never be known.

I am now come to the last Period of this great and holy Prelate's Life; and all that I shall represent to you, is, that his Memory and Intellectuals remained perfect to the last Moment, and even his Senses also: A very little Time before he died, he called for a Common-Prayer Book of the smallest Print, and turned to the commendatory Prayer, and ordered it to be read; and that being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his Departure: He put his Hands and Arms down to both his Sides, and in a Manner laid out himself, and would have his Head laid lower, and with great Willingness and Chearfulness, submitted himself to the Stroke of Death: The Time, his Age, and other Circumstances, you will see in the Postscript, when you read the Inscription on his Monument, composed by himself, and directed by him to be engraved thereon. He was buried in *Fresingfield* Church-yard, against the South Wall of the Church, by his own Appointment.

And thus, Sir, I have given you a true, though very imperfect Account of the pious and exemplary Behaviour of our late most Reverend Archbishop, in his last Sickness, and of his Death. And I desire you would account it (what in Truth it is) very defective; and that there are many other Passages relating to his abundant Charity and Beneficence, his memorable Edifices and Endowments, which equally serve to be recommended to us, and to be transmitted to Posterity; and I hope to see a more full and perfect Representation performed by a more able Hand. I shall conclude with this Prayer, *That God would give us Grace to follow his Steps with the same Resolution and Constancy, that, in his good Time, we may be Partakers of the same Glory and Immortality.*

I am, S I R,

Your faithful Friend and Servant.

On the Right Side of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

L E C T O R, *Wilhelmi, nuper Archi-Præfulis,*
Qui natus in Viciniâ,
Quod Morti cecidit, propter hunc Murum jacet,
Atqui resurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus esto, nam quâ non putas
Venturus Horâ Dominus est.

Obiit Nov. 24. An. { *Nat. Dom. MDCXCIII.*
 { *Ætat. suæ. LXXVII.*

On the Left Side.

P. M. S.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, born in this Parish, afterward, by the Providence of God, Archbishop of *CANTERBURY*, at last deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good Conscience, returned hither to end his Life; and professeth here, at the Foot of his Tomb, That, *as naked he came forth, so naked he must return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away;* (as the Lord pleaseth so come Things to pass) *blest be the Name of the Lord.*

Over his Head this.

St. Matth. xxiv. 27.

As the Lightning cometh out of the East, and shineth even unto the West,
so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.

Two ESSAYS, sent in a Letter from Oxford, to a Nobleman in London. The First, concerning some Errors about the Creation, General Flood, and the Peopling of the World. In two Parts. The Second, concerning the Rise, Progress, and Destruction of Fables and Romances. With the State of Learning. By L. P. Master of Arts. 1695.

An APOLOGY for writing the following ESSAYS.

My LORD,

THE universal Disposition of this Age is bent upon a rational Religion; the Fierceness of Bigotry is in good Measure calm'd and allay'd; therefore I venture out upon this pacifick Sea, hoping to reach my Port without any Storm or Hardship. Most Nations in Europe allow of a Liberty and Latitude in Natural Philosophy; Copernicus, Galileo, Campanella, Mersennus, Gassendus, Cartesius, and many others, are not esteemed the worse Christians, because they contradict the Scriptures in Physical or Mathematical Problems. The Sacred Writers spoke to a Generation of Men who were never famous in Arts and Sciences, therefore they adapted all their Sayings to the vulgar Ideas of that Time and Nation; their Design being not to compose a natural System of the World, but to establish the true Theocracy, and good Morals. What unjust Calumnies have been thrown upon the worthy Master of the *Charter-house*, upon the Account of his *Theory of the Earth*, and his *Archæologia*; (Pieces of admirable Workmanship) which his Enemies may be ashamed of, as some were upon the Discovery of the *Antipodes* and the *New World*.

The Philosophick History of the *Bible* is not always to be embraced; for what an Outcry against Mr. *Hobbes*! because he described God Almighty as corporeal, though *Moses* and the Scriptures had done so before him. Things are denominated Heresy and Atheism, not by any certain Rules of Truth or Falsehood, but according to the Caprice or Interests of Sects and Parties. So the Christians were called *Athei* by the Pagans, because they did not sacrifice, nor consult Oracles, nor worship Images. So one Nation calls another barbarous, because different in Habit, Manners, Diet, and Ceremonies. The Philosophers of *Athens* style one another *Hereticks*, as they frequented such a School or Academy. So in *England*, we give Nick-names, according to the

Company we keep, or the Books we read, or as we vary in our Dreams or Ideas, or in our Designs. *Non omnes, probè nōsti, veritatem metiuntur, aut estimant rationum pondere & momentis, sed affectibus abrepti, aut prejudiciis occæcati, quasi clausis Oculis, de rerum coloribus decernunt. Sæpè etiam ad concitandam invidiam Authoris mentem aut verba in alienas partes detorquent. Hæc signa homines solent variè interpretari, & trahere ad sua vota, aut spes, aut metus.*

So, my Lord, I will conclude this Apology, which I thought necessary to premise, in order to level the Way to a fair Reception and Interpretation of these Essays, which come from one, whom your Lordship knows to be well-affected to the Church of *England*, and not in the least tinctured with Atheism; a Crime unjustly charged upon many excellent Men, who have a more than ordinary Zeal and Veneration for the supreme, all-wise, and all-powerful Being. I have travelled many Countries, yet could never meet with any Atheists, who are few, if any; all the Noise and Clamour is against Castles in the Air; a Sort of War, like that of *Don Quixotte* with the Windmills. So I take my Leave and Farewell, being,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Devoted Servant,

L. P.

The First ESSAY; concerning some Errors about the First Creation, General Flood, and the Peopling of the World. In two Parts.

PART I.

THE common History of the first Chaos, of the universal Deluge, and of the Peopling of the old and new World, is so well known to every body, that any Account of them in this Place will seem unnecessary; especially to you, who have read so many excellent Writers upon them, as Judge *Hales* of the *Origination of Mankind*, Dr. *Burnet's* most ingenious *Theory*, Mr. *Ray's* *Three Physico-Theological Discourses*, &c. therefore I will confine myself, in this short Essay, to a plain Examination of Matter of Fact, as it stands in Nature, and as it appears to our Senses; which, I know, will please you best, who long ago began to deride Hypotheses, and monstrous Traditions, invented and instill'd in Cells, in Nurseries, or in Schools, the Fountains of Mythology, which hath in all Ages infected the Purity of Nature with Fables, Chimeras, and Romances; and even to that Degree, that God Almighty himself (blessed for

for ever!) must be made use of upon all Occasions, to invert and confound his own settled Order of Causes, and to commit Absurdities in Nature, either to make good an uncertain Tradition, or to corroborate a vain Fancy. *Non sunt ij aut scientiâ aut Arte divini, sed superstitiosi vates, impudentesque Harioli, aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat; qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam.* Cicero de Divinatione.

But to come close to the Point: We have been told of old, that at the first Creation all was mingled in a fluid Chaos; and that, in Process of Time, there came on gradual Separations, Sediments, and that concentered Mass which we now call the *World*. This made some great Philosophers^s conclude, that the Shells, Teeth, and other Bones of Fishes, were embowell'd in the Beds or Strata of the Earth, upon the gradual or leisurely Separation, or draining of the Waters after the first Creation. We have also been assured, that these Shells, and Bones, and Plants, were dispersed all the Earth over, and lodged deep in its Bowels, in Beds or Strata, at the universal Deluge^t. But how far either of these Opinions or Hypotheses will stand an ordinary Test, you will soon judge, after your wonted Manner, physically, mechanically, and experimentally; for I know you rely no further upon Authority, than as it is agreeable to common Sense, or to the ordinary Providence of God Almighty.

The most rational Way to examine these Problems, is by the Laws of Gravity, or by the Hydrostaticks; because the Controversy is about the Descent of Solids in Fluids; in the managing of which, there is no Need of any extraordinary or miraculous Intervention of the first infinite Cause, the Principles and Rules being originally established by it; and though we may grant that the first Chaos and the universal Flood might be miraculously brought about; yet there is no Colour for thinking that the Hand of God would confound its own Laws, (where there was no Manner of Necessity) in forming and reforming the Machine we call the Universe; especially in the Phænomena of Gravity, for settling this terraqueous Globe of ours in the Figure and Texture we now behold it.

Suppose then all the Solids dissolved or intermixed, floating and subsiding in the great Fluid of the Chaos, or in the vast Abyss of the Deluge; the most ponderous must subside first, deepest, or nearest the Centre; and the rest, according to their several respective Weights, or specifick Gravities, must take their Places in this new Bed or Mass of Sediments; the Metals would be the lowest, the rest of the Fossils above them, the Abyss of Water above these, and so on to the animal and vegetable Bodies; which could not statically subside with Parts heavier in Bulk or in Specie.

But let us view these Layers or Strata of the Globe as far as they appear to us: The Metals are often at the Top, Beds of Marble near the Superficies, vegetable, testaceous, and other animal-like Bodies lower still; and the Abyss,

^s See Mr. Ray's three *Physico-Theol. Discourses*, &c.

^t See Steno's *Prodromus*, translated by Mr. Oldenburg; Dr. Hook's *Micrograph*. Ray's *Travels*, from Pag. 113, to Pag. 130; *Plot of Oxfordshire*, &c.

or Sphere of Water, said to be the lowest of all: An odd Face of Sediments, a fantastical Descent of Solids in a Fluid; neither natural nor preternatural, nor supernatural; without Design, or any End.

Besides, the same Shells and marine-like Bodies are not only found deep in Beds of Earth and Stone, of different specifick Gravity, but also on the very Superficies of the Earth itself; as Cockles, and *Cornua Ammonis*, (the most ponderous, under which are several Layers of Earth lighter than they; if the latter (*viz. Cornu Ammonis*) is any Species of testaceous Animal, it is either not extant at this Day, or else lies deep in the Bottom of the Sea, remote from the Shores, where it is hard to conceive Broods of such Shell-fish; where there is such Want of Air, of Food, and such a mighty Pressure of Water, sufficient to squeeze and break much firmer Bodies.

But perhaps the Water might be so kind as to dissever^v, or take to Pieces the adamantine Rocks, Porphyry, and Talc (insuperable to Fire, and to most Inventions of Art) and to preserve at the same Time her brittle Shells and the tender Plants entire and whole; whilst the stubborn Mass of Fossils was forced to yield, and lay dissolved in a furious Abyss. This may pass with romantick Readers, but scarce with any sound or thinking Philosophers.

It is hard to conceive how Leaves and light Shells should fall in *Æquilibrium* with the much heavier Parts of Marbles, Minerals, and other Fossils, and be embodied with them in the same Beds, Layers, or Strata, by the Principles of the same specifick Gravity, whose Laws are certain and constant. Crabs and Lobsters Claws, and all light Shells whatsoever, are said very seldom to occur upon Land; because, being left on the Surface of the Earth after the Deluge, and so exposed to the Air, and other Accidents, they were rotted and destroyed. (*Dr. Woodward, in his Essay.*) To which it is answered, that the lightest Shells on our Shores are the Echini; yet the Echinites, of divers Kinds or Sorts (with respect to the Number of Shells on our *British* Coasts) are the most common Fossil Shells, or Shell-stones of *England*; and they are often found at the Depth of at least three or four Fathom, and that under Rocks of solid Stone; and as for Joints of Crabs Claws, they have been found lodged about six Fathom deep, upon the sinking of a Well.

Coral, and the *Astroites Undulatus*, or the Sea-Mushroom, are sometimes found sticking to these supposed anti-deluvian Shells; which is an Argument that the whole mineral Kingdom (of which these are properly Members) was not dissolved in the Hotch-potch, or Pudding of the Deluge.

The Author of the late Essay censures Dr. *Burnet* for broaching and vending Opinions contrary to the Sense of Scripture; yet he himself will be found to contradict the History of *Moses*; for whereas he gathers from his anti-deluvian Plants, that the Earth was not only totally drowned, but also dissolved, some Time betwixt the Seventeenth of *May* and the End of the same Month; *Moses* tells us, *The Waters prevailed* (*i. e.* as I understand it, *the Flood increased*) *for 150 Days, before the Fountains of the Deep were shut up.* Nor

^v See Dr. *Woodward's* late Essay.

was it necessary, in case the World was dissolved in a Fortnight's Space, that it should rain forty Days and forty Nights for the drowning of it. But it is no Wonder to see physical Theorists and hypothetical Speculators grope and stumble in the Dark, as soon as they begin to desert the Day-light of Sense, and to float out of all Depth.

Upon Enquiries made into the Bottom of the Sea by Divers, and Navigators, it appears to consist of Inequalities of Rocks, Mountains, Vallies, Beds of Sand and Earth, of *Fossils* and Plants, though of different Kinds from those at Land. In this aqueous Part of the *Globe*, the Water is uppermost, whereas in the other 'tis lowermost; an Argument that the Manner of the subsiding (or Descent in the general Fluid at the Chaos, or Flood) of soli Bodies, were quite different in these two Parts of the Globe, and therefore not proceeding from the same Causes or Principles; whereas Nature is uniform in all her Parts, and Providence beautiful in her Symmetry.

To conclude therefore the First Part of this *Essay*; I cannot but continue in my old Opinion, that the World was thus formed from the Beginning, no total Dissolution, nor any universal *Inundation*; some particular great Changes have happened, as new Mountains by turning up of the Earth; some new Islands, especially at the Mouths of great Rivers, by their Sediments of Earth, brought down from the Land; some new Lakes by Earthquakes, and some other Mutations from particular Floods, or Vulcanoës; though a late Author would scarce allow of any of these Sorts^w; nothing but a General Dissolution of the whole terrestrial Globe will go down with him; the smaller Changes by Earthquakes not passing current; though History and the Observations of Sense make for the latter, and only Dreams and Phantoms for the former.

All these marine-like Bodies dug out of the Bowels of the Earth, may, with more Appearance of Reason, be peculiar Sorts of Fossils, (as an ingenious Writer supposes^x) or Natives, or original Creatures of the Earth, (call them what you please) rather than Strangers, brought in by I know not what barbarous Inundations, and universal Dissolutions, and settled there by I know not what Laws, or Force, or Power; I am confident not by any divine Appointment, for that acts more regularly, and more discreetly.

I would gladly know why these Shell-like Bodies, or Plant-like Substances, may not be congenial to the Earth. Plants will propagate on Land and in Water, without any visible or manifest Seed; Shells will shoot, or grow in the Glands of Animals; and Insects may sometimes breed without Animal Parents, or Eggs, or Seed; therefore why not testaceous-like Substances, or Shells themselves in Beds of Earth, or Stone, where they are found; rather than be brought and laid there by Fairies, or invisible Agents, that

^w Dr. Woodward in his Essay.

^x Dr. Lister, in *Transact. Philosoph. and de Cochlit.*

must turn Heaven and Earth up to make way for those Toys, and preserve them miraculously in their Voyage thither?

Thus have I done with this Problem. If you please to study and know it perfectly, you must consult many Authors: As,

Fab. Columna de Purpur. & Glossopetris, with *Dan. Major's Notes*. 4to. *Kiliae*. 1675.

Hook's Micrography, and *Lectures upon Spring*.

Steno's Prodomus. Latin and English. 8vo.

Steno, de Cane Carcharia & Glossopetris. 8vo.

Ray's Topograph. Observations made in a Journey, &c. 8vo. From P. 113. to P. 131.

Ray's Three Physico-Theological Discourses, &c. 8vo, Second Edition, 1693.

Grandius and Quirinus, de Diluvio Universali à Testaceis Fossilibus. Venet. 1676. 4to.

Agostino Scilla Lettera circa i Corpi Marini Petrificati. 4to *Con molte Figur.* Napoli, 1670. As quoted by Mr. Ray, the Book being unknown to me.

P. Boccone, in his *Recherches & Observ. Nat.* 8vo. 1674.

Dr. Plot's Natur. Histor. of Oxfordshire. Fol.

Dr. Lister, in *Philosoph. Transact.* and *de Cochlitis*.

Dr. Woodward, in his *Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*. 8vo. 1695.

All the foregoing Authors, except *Dr. Lister*, and *Dr. Plot*, stretch hard to fetch these Land Shells from the Bottom of the Sea, to the Tops of Mountains, and into the deep Entrails of the Earth, by the Means of a Chaos, a Deluge, or Earthquakes; but all of them in different Ways, and with what Success, I think, I have made clear.

But now we are upon this Subject, let us discourse a little with the Author of the late *Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth*; who says, P. 108. That the Teeth, Bones, and other Parts of animal Bodies, as also the Trunks, Roots, and other Parts of Vegetables, were not dissolved in the Deluge, as all the Fossils and Solids of the Earth were. Now if these Vegetable and animal Parts of the Land floated entire and whole, why do not we find greater Quantities of them under Ground? The anti-diluvian Trees, and especially the Bones of terrestrial living Creatures, would be more plentifully buried, or embodied under the Ground, than the remote Spoils of the Sea, which in some Places must have travelled two or three thousand Miles, to get into their Land Beds, and that too in a very short Space: The Author (*Dr. Woodward in his Essay*) allowing but some Time in the Month of May, for bringing about this mighty universal Change; which if so quick, how will he bring together into one Place, so many distant and different Animals
some

some thousands of Miles over both Sea and Land? And the Author will have a pretty Piece of Work to convey all these Species of living Creatures back again to their respective Continents and Islands, unless he keeps in Store all his Carriages, his Pontons, his Magazines, his Transport-Ships, and other Necessaries for long Marches and Navigations.

I thought to have proceeded in an Examination of his great Abyss of Waters, and his subterraneous Fire over them; as also of his Origin of Springs, Rivers, Vapours and Rain, and of his Manner of forming Metals; but I refer those Parts to abler Pens, who understand Distillation, the Calculation and Motion of Fluids, the Generation and Growth of Metals, and other Fossils: However, I will touch a little upon the Manner of stocking his new Globe a second Time, after his great beloved Catastrophe; which he extends to all the Regions of *Asia*, *Africa*, *Europe*, and *America*, though only Part of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* were inhabited by the *Anti-diluvians*, upon whose Account he will have this universal Dissolution of the whole Globe of the Earth to be brought on; which is not agreeable to the usual Methods of Providence, nor to the Wisdom of the Divine Nature; for what Design could there be in destroying all the innocent dumb Creatures, and the Beauty of the Creation, in the uninhabited Parts, (which were above a Hundred to one, in respect of those planted by the *Anti-diluvian* People) for the Sake only of a few wanton and luxurious *Asiatics*, who might have been drowned by a topical Flood, or by a particular Deluge, without involving all the Bowels of the whole Mass, and the remote Creatures upon the Face of the Earth, in their Ruin.

The Second Part of the First ESSAY; concerning the Peopling and Planting the New World, and other remote Countries.

THE Design of this second Part is not to calumniate, or diminish the Authority of *Moses*, who, without Dispute, was one of the greatest and wisest Legislators that ever appeared in the World, not excepting *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*, or *Numa*. He brought a wandering idolatrous Nation to the Worship of one true God, and established many excellent Laws amongst them: He adapted his History of the Creation and Deluge to their Capacities; and therefore it can be no Crime in one, who is no *Jew*, to comment a little upon some Parts of it, with a Christian Plainness, and a philosophical Liberty, founded upon Nature herself.

The *West-Indies*, and the vast Regions lately discovered towards the South, abound with such Variety of Inhabitants, and new Animals, not known, or ever seen in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe*, that the Origin of them doth not

appear so clear as some late Writers pretend; especially seeing there are no Records or Monuments of their Transmigrations out of *Asia*, or any other known Parts of the World, either before, or after the Flood; and their Differences from all the rest of the Globe, in Manners, Languages, Habits, Religions, Diet, Arts, and Customs, as well as in their Quadrupedes, Birds, Serpents, and Insects, render their Derivation very obscure, and their Origin uncertain, especially in the common Way, and according to the vulgar Opinions of planting all the Earth from one little Spot.

The great Zeal to maintain a *Jewish* Tradition, put many learned Christians upon the Rack to make it out. Every Corner is searched to find out a Word, a Rite, or a Custom, in order to derive from thence many Millions of different People. Some will have *Norway*, others *Tartary* and *China*, or some western Parts of *Africa*, to be the Source and Seminary of Creatures, unknown and strange to those Climates. The *Welch-men* are not wanting in their Chimeras of peopling of *Mexico* with their Colonies; and perhaps they have better Authority than any can be produced for the rest. The *Spaniards*, because they found some Sticks, and Pieces of Wood laid cross-ways, would needs have the *Indians* to be of *Spanish* Extraction. The *Jews* fancied the *Americans* to be circumcised (their Prepuces being only eaten with the Pox) and therefore would have them to be of *Jewish* Race: But we will examine the chief of these Opinions with Brevity and Perspicuity.

From *Norway* the Navigation is very difficult, even to our new strong built Ships; the vast Islands of Ice, and the Weather in those Seas, must have been invincible to the little Boats, or Vessels of those Days; and the Journeys over Land through *Greenland* are impracticable, by reason of the Mountains and Rocks of Ice and Snow; besides, there is a great Difference in the Colour, Numbers, in the Customs, and Mechanicks of the Natives of *Canada*, *New England*, *Virginia*, &c. and of the *Norwegians*; no Foot-steps of Christianity to be found amongst the northern *Indians*, which are said to transmigrate in the ninth or tenth Century. All Nations agree in some Words, and in some Customs; therefore a Resemblance in a few of them is no Proof. But further, *John de Leat* assures us, that with great Diligence he found a *Mexican Dictionary*, but could not observe any Words to agree with any *European* Language. Besides, many Writers, who resided a long Time in the *West-Indies*, affirm, that there are so many different Languages and Dialects in the same Kingdom, that one Province doth not understand another, even in *Peru* and *Brasil*; and along the Banks of the single River of *Amazons*, there are above one hundred and sixty different Tongues and Nations, composed of infinite Numbers of various People; so that this Country, with *Peru* and *Mexico*, might contend with any in *Asia*, not only in their Inhabitants, but in their Manufactures and Mechanicks, as well as in their Civil Governments, and they might with the same Reason boast of their giving Birth to us, as we to them.

The Origin of most, if not of all Nations, is wrapt up in fabulous Traditions; Records, and Monuments are of late Dates; and when we offer at the Beginnings

Beginnings of Things, we are swallowed up and lost in the Darkneſs and Depth of Time. Arts, Inventions, and many other Things might be lost in the univerſal Devaſtations of Countries, and ſometimes revived again in Revolutions.

The Paſſage from *Tartary* into *America* is as obſcure as that from *Norway*, and the ſame Difficulties lye againſt it; the ſtretching of the *Tartarian Capes* are unknown; but if they ſhould be joined to the Back of *Northern America*, the Journey would be very dangerous (if not impoſſible) to Colonies. The *Tartars* abound more with Horſes than all the World beſides, and cannot ſubſiſt without them; therefore it is very improbable they ſhould ſwarm into *America* on Foot, (when they ride in all other Parts) and their Offspring ſhould be ſo affrighted with the Sight of a *Spaniſh* Horſe, that 1000 *Tartar-Indians* ſhould run away from a ſingle mounted Cavalier. The Land in *Tartary*, ſaid to be the high Road for this Tranſmigration out of the old into the new World, runs further *North* than *Nova Zembla*, or *Greenland*; and how the Animals, that cannot endure the Extremity of Cold, ſhould climb over inaccessible Mountains of Ice and Snow for many Thouſands of Miles together, is hardly explicable to any thinking Man; and that thoſe Creatures, that live in a frozen Continent, ſhould not be able to travel along with tender Strangers, and delicate Paſſengers, is ſcarce credible; Horſes, Ermines, and Sables, that abound in *Tartary*, might have found a Way much more eaſily than *Indian* Creatures. A Man muſt preſs hard to ſtrain *Braſil*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, through frozen Seas, or congeal'd Defarts, made up of Snow from the Beginning, and covered with Night for half the Year.

Neither is it probable, that either *Norwegians*, *Laplanders*, *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, or the People of *Jefſe*, ſhould carry along with them ravenous Beaſts, or venomous Serpents, or ſuch Animals as never flock into their Countries, as Lions, Tigers, Alligators, Monkeys, Apes, Parrots, &c.

Navigations from *China* through the *South Sea* to *America*, are impoſſible to the Junks of that Kingdom, which cannot carry Proviſions for long Voyages; beſides, the Northern Parts of the *South Seas* are too high for them, and the Trade-winds always contrary to the Eaſt in the Latitudes of *Peru* and *Mexico*. The Compaſs (neceſſary in ſuch ſort of ſailing by long Sea) could not be known to the *Chineſe* in thoſe Ages; beſides, the Language of *China* conſiſts all of Monosyllables, whereas thoſe of *Mexico* and *Peru* have many. The *Indians* knew nothing of Style, Pen, Ink, Paper, or any Manner of Writing, (ſo common in the Eaſt) but reckoned the Antiquity of Time by ſtrung Beads, Knots, and Pebbles: They had neither Bellows, Saws, nor Nails, though Plenty of Iron Oar in the Country; but they knew not the Way of ſeparating, ſo long practiſed in the old World, before their traditional Paſſage out of it.

From the weſtern Coaſts of *Africa*, the ſailing is more eaſy, but then the Natives are moſt Negroes, or much blacker than the *Americans*, who have long Hair, little or no Beards, and are of an Olive Colour.

But to come closer to the Matter ; the *Americans* had neither Horse, nor our Sort of Cow, Sheep, nor our barking Dogs, nor knew the Use of Iron : 'Tis wonderful they should carry so many fierce and destructive Creatures along with them, and leave the mild and useful ones behind ; but more wonderful, they should exhaust the old World of many Species of Animals, never found in it since (nor perhaps before) their generally believed Transmigration.

'Twill be hard to make any Man (moderately versed in the History of Nature) confess, that the Pacos, or Glama of *Peru*, or that the Manati (a biped Animal) or many other Creatures peculiar to the *West-Indies*, should travel from *Asia*, (where they never were observed to exist) by I know not what Ways into a strange World, and all to support an old *Jewish* Tradition.

'Tis unaccountable, that the four-footed Beast, commonly called the Ignavus, or Sluggard (that lives most upon Trees, and cannot march above forty or sixty Yards in a Day) should get into *America* from *Asia*, where no Man ever saw it ; and that neither Jacals, nor Musk-Deer, nimble, vagabond Creatures, nor Rhinocerots, nor Elephants, nor Camels, itinerant Animals, should ever slip over into the new World, by the same Path or Ways that the others went, which have left none of their Kind behind them.

But then suppose that *America* was stocked some Time or other in the Days of King *Arthur*, from *Norway*, *Tartary*, *China*, Land of *Jesse*, or *Africa* ; yet how came those Myriads of People, and new Animals (perhaps Strangers, not only to the old World, but to the new itself) into those immense Countries, South-West, and South-East of *America*, discovered more lately by *Ferdinando Quir*, *Van Diemen*, *Tasman*, and others ? The *Indian* Canoes could not transport them over such boisterous long Seas ; and the Lands about the Straits of *Magellan* are so desert, that they could not afford such mighty Colonies ; neither can we fetch them from the Capes of *Africa*, or *Asia*.

I see no Way at present to solve this new Face of Nature, by old Arguments fetched from Eastern Rubbish, or Rabinical Weeds, unless some new Philosopher starts up with a fresh System ; in the mean Time let them all be *Aborigines*.

Some object, that *America* in former Times was joined to *Asia* and *Europe*, by large Necks of Land of easy Passage, which were afterwards broke off by Earthquakes, Storms, or Inundations ; but this is begging of the Question, without any Manner of Proof ; suppose the Fact was so, yet it gives no tolerable Account why the Animals of the new World should differ in Specie from those of the old ; and the *Americans* themselves may with the same Probability affirm, that they planted *Asia* by these Ways, seeing they were equally, if not more populous, and excelling in Morality, and mechanick Arts : For the first *Spanish* Writers tell us, they were amazed at the Finess and Contrivance of the *Indian* Works, especially their Artificers in Gold and Silver Wares, their Spinnings and Weavings, and Joinery, &c. for which *Benzo*, and *Garcilasso de la Vega* may be consulted.

But we will give all the Rope and Scope imaginable to the *Mosaick* History of *Adam's* calling all the Animals together, and naming them, and afterwards

wards *Noah's* taking every Species of them into the Ark, to preserve them in the Deluge; yet their Dispersion into *America*, and the *Terra Australis*, by unknown Passages, will scarce solve the Difficulties in stocking the remote Islands with Men and other living Creatures above a thousand Leagues distant from any Land, as the *Azores*, *Bermuda's*, the Isles of the *South Sea*, &c. most of which abound with Natives, Quadrupedes, Birds, and Insects, different in Specie from those of the next Continents, or *Terra Firma*.

A learned Writer urges, that the *Americans* could be of no long standing there, because the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* could give no Account of their being there above a thousand Years before the *Spanish* Invasion, which is a very strong Argument against himself, considering they had not the Use of Letters, (which methinks they might have brought with them from the old World) nor Cyphers, nor any Way of registering, but by Beads, or Stones. Besides, several *European* Nations can give no Account of themselves for the first four thousand Years; what know we of *Britain* before *Julius Cæsar*? Or of *Greece* itself before the *Trojan* War?

I am not ignorant, that some late Philosophers will have the new Animals in *America*, either to be generated equivocally there, or else to proceed from various Mixtures of Animals sent from hence; but this Hypothesis is of dangerous Consequence, even to our own History of the old World, and may evert the *Mosaick* System here at Home; for if there are equivocal Generations (especially in the most perfect Kinds) or new Species produced every Day, what Need of a settled uniform Creation, and such a distinct Number of every Species of Animals in *Paradise*, or in *Noah's* Ark? But besides, equivocal Generations do not only tend to Atheism, but are evidently exploded by demonstrative Experiments; and as to promiscuous Generations, commonly called *Hebridous*, between distinct Kinds, they can never propagate, as we see in Mules, &c. and 'tis easily proved that there can be no Propagation of any new Species, but that the Number of Creatures, as to their Kinds, have always been the same from the Beginning.

As many Difficulties lie against the *Mosaick* System of confining all Species of living terrestrial Creatures within the *Asiatick* or *Primæval* *Paradise*, and afterwards to *Noah's* Ark; so more seem to arise against the Propagation of all Mankind out of one single Male and Female, unless all Posterity, both Blacks and Whites, separated by vast Seas, were all included actually in Form within *Adam* and *Eve*.

The Origin of Negroes lies very obscure; for Time out of Mind there hath been Blacks with a woolly Substance on their Bodies instead of Hair; because they are mentioned in the most ancient Records now extant in the World. 'Tis plain, their Colour and Wool are innate, or seminal from their first Beginning, and seems to be a specifick Character, which neither the Sun, nor any Curse from *Cham* could imprint upon them.

Not the First, because many other Nations, living under the same Climates and Heats, are never black; as the *Abyssines*, the *Siamites*, the *Brasilians*, *Peruvians*, &c. neither will any White ever become a Black, in *Guinea*, *Congo*,

or -

or *Angola*, though born there ; neither will any Negroes produce Whites in *Virginia*, or *New England*. The Textures of their Skins and Blood differ from those of Whites.

Not the latter ; for what Curse is Change of Colour, that being only accidental to Beauty, which consists wholly in Proportion and Symmetry ? The old Statues in black Marble, are as much, if not more, valued than those in white. Besides, the Curse upon *Cham's* Account must have turn'd many of the *Asiatics*, and all the *Egyptians*, into Negroes ; for they were curs'd more peculiarly than the western remote Coasts of *Africa*.

This Colour (which appears to be as ingenite, and as original as that in Whites) could not proceed from any Accident ; because, when Animals are accidentally black, they do not procreate constantly black ones, (as the Negroes do) as in Dogs, Cows, Sheep, and in some Birds ; accidental Colours vary in the same numerical Subject by Changes of Seasons, of Diet, of Culture, &c. but a Negroe will always be a Negroe, carry him to *Greenland*, give him Chalk, feed and manage him never so many Ways.

Constantia Semina Rerum.

The Second ESSAY, concerning the Rise, Progress, and Destruction of Fables and Romances ; with the State of Learning.

THE bare, naked, or simple Way of instructing by Precept, being found jujune and nauseous, a Mixture of Fable was therefore thought necessary to sweeten and allure the Minds of Men, naturally superstitious and credulous ; which kind of Philosophy was first made use of amongst the *Eastern Nations*, the *Hebrews* themselves not excepted. Hence it is, that the oldest Books are mythological, as *Æsop*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Orpheus*, &c. This fabulous Way of writing pass'd from the Poets to the Schools and Theatres. *Sed diligentèr intuerè has Nænias, quantam sub illis utilitatem reperies, nec aliud quidquam per fabellas quæritur, quam corrigatur Error ut mortalium, acuatque sese diligens industria.* Phœdrus.

In *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, there are many Fictions, but invented only for Want of Truth ; such are the imaginary Originals of most Nations, &c. but the true Sort of History is judiciously distinguish'd by *Diodorus*, from the mythological or fabulous ; such as is all that before the *Trojan War*.

Strabo affirms, that the Histories of the *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Syrians*, deserve little Credit ; the Inventors of Fables were in such Vogue and Esteem, that

that all their Writers follow'd the romantick Vein, which had reign'd long in *Egypt*.

These Seeds of Fiction being transplanted into *Greece*, found the Soil very fertile and luxuriant. The *Greeks*, addicted to Poetry and Invention, ran all upon Figures, Allegories, Fables, and Parables. The *Egyptians* before had taught them the mysterious Way under Hieroglyphicks, under Masks and Disguises, which make up their mythologick Theology. The Tales told by the *Egyptian* Priests to *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Greeks*, fail'd not to tickle their Curiosity and Passion of Novelty. *Græcia Mendax* —.

The sacred Authors themselves complied with this Humour of Parables and Fictions, the Holy Scripture being altogether mysterious, allegorical, and enigmatical; and our Saviour himself gave his Precepts under this Veil. The *Talmud* contains Millions of Fables, every one more impertinent than another. The *Arabians* excelled the *Hebrews* in Metaphors, Similitudes, and Fictions, of which their *Alcoran* is a Proof, as well as their numerous Troops of Poets, which afterwards infected *Spain* and *Provence*, with Rhodomontade and Knight-Errantry, Giants, Dragons, enchanted Castles, and such-like Acts of Chivalry.

From these Fountains the Christian Monks drank in the Art of lying, and composing of Legends; but they did not tell their Tales so finely as the *Greeks* and the *Oriental*s. They imitate the *Sibyls* and the *Oracles* in their Cells and Hermitages, though not in the Wisdom or Cunning of their Precepts and Doctrines; which yet *Tully* himself spoke contemptibly of. *Quid verò habet Auctoritatis furor iste, quem divinum vocamus, ut, quæ sapiens non videat, ea videat insanus, & Is, qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos affecutus sit? Sibyllæ versus observamus, quos illa furens fuisse dicitur*—. De Divinat. How long was it inculcated up and down, that the Devil spoke in the *Oracles*, and that they were all silenced at our Saviour's coming, till *D. Van Dale* prov'd the contrary beyond all Controversy and Dispute. *V. Dissert. de Oraculis, Eorumque duratione & Auctoribus*, 8vo. *Amstelodam*, 1683.

I might give here an Account of the famous *Edda*, which relates the wonderful Atchievements of *Woden* and his Wife *Frigga*, (whose Names we still retain in our *Wednesday* and *Friday*. See *Verstegan*) with the rest of our *Gothish* Ancestors; a Book, which, for Antiquity, might contend with *Homer*, and as fabulous as the best.

What Stories and Tales have we of *Brute*, of *Arthur*, and *Merlin*? Every Province had their Romancers, their Strollers, and Fable-Mongers; the whole World was over-run with Lyes, and the Fictions of these Practitioners.

The *Eastern* Nations at this very Day retain their old Gust for fabulous Inventions, astrological Cheats, Jugglers, Songsters, and lying Mountebanks. They affect still the old Oriental Rhodomontade, which made up the prophane Learning of the *Gentiles*, and was sanctified even in *Syria* itself: The sacred Writers, complying with the Pulse of the *Jews*, made use of Fictions and Parables to express their Inspirations; therefore our Holy Scripture, in the Judgment of our best Criticks, *Grotius*, Father *Simon*, *Le Clerc*, &c. is altogether mysterious, allegorical, and enigmatical. The *Talmudists* believed, that the

Book of *Job* is no other but a Parable of the Invention of the *Hebrews*; the *Psalms* of *David*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, and other holy Songs, are poetical Works, abounding with Figures, which would seem bold and violent in our Writings, and which are ordinary in those of that Nation. The Book of *Canticles* is a kind of Dramatic Poem, where the Passions of the Bridegroom and Spouse are painted after a tender and touching Manner. In the Book of *Ruth*, and in the 23d Chapter of *Ezekiel*, there are many wanton and lascivious Expressions; insomuch that *Joseph Scaliger* was wont to say, that his reading of *Aristophanes*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Ovid*, and other such Authors, did very much enlighten him in the Interpretation of the Scriptures, in which there are many Things divinely said, above the Pitch of Poets or Philosophers.

I thought to have proceeded with Prodigies and Prophecies, and with a History of Enthusiasm; but I find Dr. *Spencer*, the late Master of *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*, has so ingeniously and fully handled the first, and *Meric Casaubon* the latter, that a Genius much higher than mine will scarcely attempt to come after them: I will only remark here, once for all, that Men in former Days, that knew and perform'd above the ordinary Level, were suspected of Magick; and therefore the learned *Naudæus* wrote an Apology for all the wise Men, who have unjustly been reputed Magicians, from the Creation to the present Age; and indeed it is to be wish'd, that some able Pen would do the like for the many sagacious *Literati*, who are at this Day most inhumanly accus'd of Atheism, because they search, and find, and hunt a little out of the common Field, or do not run headlong in the high Road.

Pessima res est errorum Apotheosis, & pro peste intellectus habenda est, si vanis accedat Veneratio. Bacon. Nov. Organ.

*Tam magna Penuria Mentis ubique,
In Nugas iam prona Via est —*

Et sic Observatio crescit

*Ex Atavis quondam malè cæpta, deinde sequutis
Tradita temporibus, serisque Nepotibus aucta.*

Prudent. in Symach.

To this Essay of Fables and Romances, the History of Dæmonology doth properly belong, with all the terrible Troops of Spirits and Witches; but I find this Part is so judiciously and learnedly treated of by our Countryman Mr. *Hobbs*, in that Book of his *Leviathan*, called *The Kingdom of Darknes*; and lately by Dr. *Becker* of *Amsterdam*, in four Tomes, called *Le Monde Enchantée*, that my Labour will be all lost, and would only prove dull Repetition; therefore I hasten to the End and Destruction of them in these Western Parts of the World, by what Steps it was brought on, and how happily finished.

The

The most early Strokes we meet with, are in *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*, in *Chaucer*, and *Wiclef*; afterwards, upon the taking of *Constantinople*, the exil'd *Grecians* fled into *Italy*, where, under the Wings of *Lorenzo de Medici*, sound Learning and good Sense began to hatch and creep Abroad, foster'd and fed by that illustrious Family, cultivated by those excellent Wits, *Poggius*, *Aretinus*, *Valla*, *Gaza*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Angelus Politianus*, and others, who flourish'd between 1400 and 1500.

The Art of Printing being invented about 1442, and spread up and down *Europe* by 1480 and 1490, and afterwards improved and advanced to Perfection from 1500 to 1600, under the Care and exquisite Judgments of the *Aldi*, the *Stephani*, the *Frobenii*, *Commelin*, *Plantine*, and others; the Rays of new Light began to dart Abroad, and our Hemisphere to be all illuminated.

Reuchlin, *Erasmus*, *Palingenius*, *Buchanan*, &c. dispell'd the Mists of *Monkery*, and a Sort of Reformation appear'd in Glimmerings and Flashes.

The mighty Genius of *Francis* the First sprung up about this Time, and with his Royal Cloak cover'd the naked Muses: Hobgoblins and Phantoms fled at the rising of this Star, which soon grew up to be the Sun and Glory of Letters, the Father of true Knowledge, and the Patron of Arts and Sciences; in his Reign we read of the *Bellays*, the *Chastels*, *Budæus*, *Rabelais*, *Julius Scaliger*, *Gyllius*, *Bellonius*, *Gesner*, *Rondeletius*, and many other eminent Men, who carried Learning up to a great Height.

In the Beginning of this last Century, *England* had the Honour and Felicity to produce my Lord *Bacon*, a Man of wonderful Invention and Fertility in vast Designs; he saw the *Greeks* and *Romans* had spun Humanity to its utmost Fineness and Perfection, which laid buried many Ages under *Gothick* Ruins and *Monkish* Rubbish; he saw the Restoration of this ancient Civility and Politeness, and observed the *Belle Lettre* to re-assume its utmost Strength in *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Isaac Casaubon*; therefore he drew another Plan, and laid the Foundation of a new experimental Learning upon the Observations of Sense and Matter of Fact; which hath been since prosecuted in the *Mathematicks*, the *Mechanicks*, *Natural* and *Physical History*, with a happy Success in most Parts of *Europe*. 'Tis therefore that the present Age affords so much of real Knowledge, and will not endure empty Notions, and vain Speculations, which had so long amus'd and vapour'd the World; we presently call for clear Proof, Fact, or ocular Demonstration: What Improvements in all the Parts of Life might not be expected from such sound Principles, if we had a *Richelieu* or a *Colbert* to put the Springs and Wheels in Motion? For want of such a Fund, the true Philosophy begins to degenerate and dwindle into Gossiping, into Tale-telling, into Jests, into romantick Hypotheses, and idle Whimfies: *Nubes pro Junone*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

MY LORD,

I Thought to have troubled your Lordship no further at present, my Temper disposing me to speak little, and write short; but observing in many late Authors a false Method of making general and universal Conclusions from some Particulars, I could not but take notice of it in this Place, because your Lordship has a true logical Head, and a sound Way of Reasoning.

Some Writers, because they find Shells on the Shores, to be the Spoils or Exuviae of Sea-Animals, and Plants at Land to rise from Seed, therefore they conclude, that all other Shells, or Shell-stones resembling them, must come from the same Place, and all Vegetables be produced in the same Manner; so they affirm all Insects to be generated by animal Parents, because they observe some to proceed from Eggs; as though Nature, or the Almighty Governor of the Universe, must be confined, in all the various mysterious Ways of Generation, to their singular or narrow Caprice, founded upon a few particular Observations.

Many crustaceous and testaceous Animals are peculiar to Lakes, Rivers, Thickets, Caves, Rocks, Beds of Mud and Sand, of which many Species are unknown to us at this Day; and perhaps the Land, or Fresh-water Shells may be as numerous as those at Sea; therefore we need not fetch all our subterraneous Shell-stones from the Ocean; but I see no Contradiction or Absurdity in Nature, in ascribing the Origin of these resembling marine Shells, to the plastick Power (or call it what Principle you please) of the Earth; the same may be said of the subterraneous Vegetables; for this Way of explicating these Appearances is not attended with half so many, or great Difficulties, as that of bringing them in by an universal Dissolution of the Earth at the Deluge.

Shells, or testaceous figured Bodies, may be generated in Beds of Earth or Stone, as easily as Animals or Plants themselves, which are sometimes found alive upon the breaking of Rocks and Stones asunder, into which neither Water, nor Air, nor animal Parent, nor Seed could have any Ingress; especially if we suppose, with the late Author of the *Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*, &c. that Quarries, or the Strata of Stone, were formed upon the Settlement of our Globe, when dissevered, and taken all to Pieces in the Flood.

Men conversant in medical Observations, and anatomical History, observe great Variety of Stones curiously figured and coloured, as also wonderful Diversity of Worms, and other Insects, to be daily formed in the Bodies of Animals, especially in the Galls, Bladders, Stomachs, and Glands; but they meet with insuperable Difficulties, when they attempt to bring them into the Microcosm,

cosm, they know not what Ways, nor from what Places. So the subterraneous Speculators, viewing testaceous and other animal and vegetable-like Bodies in the Bowels of the greater World, are forced upon the Rack, when they endeavour to fetch them in some strange Places. The safest Way is to take the nearest Cause, and to explicate Nature by her immediate Steps and Appearances; as *Aristotle* did very judiciously upon this Occasion: *Testacea interdum spontè è limo proveniunt, alia ex alio; ostreae in cœnoso, Conchæ, & quæ suprâ diximus in Sabuloso; circa Saxorum cava Papillæ seu Tethya, Balani seu Glandes, & quæ per summa adhaerent, ut Lepades seu Patellæ, & Neritæ.*

Neither are Shell-like Bodies sometimes thus propagated, but Vegetables themselves, which will often spring up plentifully in Countries where they never grew before, even out of the Trunks of Trees, out of Stones, and on the Tops of the highest Places. What Myriads of Insects are produced upon steeping Pepper in Rain-water? And shall we wonder to see Shell-stones, Teeth, and other Bone-like figured Bodies in the Bowels of the Earth, when we find the same, if not greater Wonders in our own Bodies, and in those of Quadrupedes, Birds, and Fishes; as Teeth in Abscesses, perfect Shells in Glands, Bezoar in Stomachs, testaceous or laminated Stones in the internal Parts of crustaceous and finned Fishes, as also in naked Snails, besides curious Varieties of Insects in many Parts of most Animals? Of which physical Causes may be assigned, without taking the Microcosm all to pieces, in order to bring them in, *vi & armis*, by dissolving all that stands in their Way.

'Tis hard to conceive how such innumerable aquatick Animals should be destroy'd by a Deluge of their own Element; *St. Austin* knew better Things, *Animalia, quæ in Aquis vivere possunt, Diluvii plaga non tetigit; hæc enim terrena tantum mortificavit*; for God inflicted this Punishment only upon the Earth and its Creatures. Why so many Millions of Fishes Bones and Integuments to be entomb'd in Graves or Beds, perhaps 1000 Miles below the Surface of the Earth, under Layers of Stones and Marble, where they are said to fall or sink by their specifick Gravity, during the general Dissolution of the Earth by the Deluge.

Moses seems to be of a different Opinion from the Writer of the late Essay (though he pretends to corroborate and support the *Mosaic* System) for *Moses* gives a plain and clear Relation of the Mountains standing firm and entire during the whole Scene of that Action; (Read the 7th and 8th of Chapter of *Genesis*;) and if the Hills continued in their Antidiluvian State, I do not see how so many Millions of Shells, Teeth, and other Bones of Sea-Animals, together with such Numbers of Antidiluvian Vegetables, could possibly be buried so deep in the Entrails of our Planet, fortified and encompassed with Arches of metallick Mines and Quarries. If the Ocean did overflow the whole Globe (against which many Batteries have been rais'd by the greatest Scholars of this Island, *Isaac Vossius*, and the present learned Bishop of *Worcester*) and brought along with it many marine Bodies out of their natural Site or Beds; then 'tis probable, that the same fluid Principle, or Mass, might have rolled them back again from whence it had driven them; for the Sea is said to return to its

Primæval Channel immediately after the Work was over, so it might have carried them back again, as easily as it rouz'd them at first from their native Depths, or marine Situations.

Sir *John Narborough*, in his Voyage to *Chili*, observ'd in several Cliffs and Hills on the Coasts of *Patagonia*, Lumps of Oyster-Shells buried up and down at Land; yet he could never find any Oysters in those Seas, though he had founded most of the Ports of *Southern America*. Every Body knows that this Shell-Fish always breeds near the Shores; so that flying to the Deep can be no Subterfuge here.

In *Europe* many Shell-stones, or Fossil Shells, as also subterraneous Vegetables are found, which are not to be match'd either at Sea or Land; to fancy them in dark and remote Parts of the Ocean, seems but a weak Evasion, and because some may be sampled at Sea, therefore all must come from thence, is not a very sound Conclusion.

Several Authors have attempted to prove the Strata, or Layers of our Globe, to proceed from the several Sediments of the universal Deluge; and that the *Lapis Judaicus*, the Astroites, or Star-Stone Columns (of which there are some of enormous Dimensions) the Bufonites, or Toadstone, the *Glossopetræ*, and *Cornua Ammonis* (though nothing like it at Sea) are really the Teeth, Spines, Bones, and other Parts of Sea-Animals, left behind in the Bowels of the Earth by the general Flood. But, I think, all these ingenious Writers have stronger Fancies than Judgments, and a meaner Opinion of the Invention, Art, and Power of Nature, than she deserves; for any common Observer must find her to vary and sport in nothing so much as in the Figures, Textures, Shootings, and Growths of Fossils.

The common Problem, that a Solid included within a Solid, must of Necessity pre-exist before the external or including Solid, is notoriously false, from the daily Generation of new Solids and new Animals (as ferrugineous and testaceous Stones, as also various Insects) within the solid Parts of several Bodies: Neither doth this necessarily induce any fortuitous or æquivocal Generation, though the latter may, perhaps, sometimes be brought about in the imperfect Kinds of Animals, by the same Power that intends over, and governs the univocal Generation of Insects; for that powerful Principle is not limited to one single plastick Method, seeing Matter is capable of all Forms.

Jovis Omnia plena.

A Col-

A Collection of Advertisements, Advices, and Directions relating to the ROYAL FISHERY within the British Seas, &c. transcribed out of divers English Writers, Observators, and other Experimenters, of and in the said Fishery-Trade, and by Approbation and Allowance of the Company of the Royal Fishery of England.

Published in order to the inciting the People of these Nations, &c. to improve the Advantages thereof, under the Countenance and Encouragements granted to the said Company and their Successors, by his late Majesty King CHARLES II. in Letters-Patents, bearing Date the Twenty-fifth Day of September, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his said Majesty's Reign. 1695.

THE Fishery-Trade has been the Subject of many Discourses. Some have attempted the Thing amongst us, but so, as if they had either not duly reckoned up the Cost, Charge, and Hazard of it, or thought they might make it their Recreation, or a mere Matter of Notion and Contemplation; yea, Admiration, (as indeed it is) rather than their serious and diligent Employ; and so applying to it, it has thriven with them accordingly.

The Wisdom of this Nation in Parliament has provided for it, by many good Laws, for encouraging and regulating Undertakers therein; that it might be to the Nation's Advantage, and have Continuance. Our Statute-Books are full of them in the Reigns of several of our Princes, Kings and Queens; and many Proclamations have been issued touching the same.

It has also been the Care of some of our Princes, to assert and challenge their singular Interest in, and sole Right and Title to the Fishery of the *British* and *Irish* Seas; which our Neighbours have some Time allowed and paid, and do still pay our Royal Navy the Respect of their Flag for; and till of late, accepted yearly Licenses for their partaking with us in.

There are Precedents enough, and some of no mean Quality and Esteem for Learning and Experience, who have highly provoked the Ingenuity of such an Undertaking; some of our own Countrymen, who have met with it in their Travels, and reported the Fame of it; others of our Neighbours, who have practicably and profitably applied themselves, and stirred up their Brethren to all Diligence and Heed therein, that it might be retained as a rich
golden

golden Mine amongst themselves, and their Gains convince all Gainfayers that it has been so to them.

But these Things may be waved; there are Fish enough for us all, and it may not be convenient in this Publication to meddle with the politick Part of this Affair, farther than by glancing upon such Particulars as lay in common to the publick and private Advantages thereof.

This Collection, therefore, is intended principally to be confined to such Considerations as may incite the People of these Kingdoms, &c. to improve a Share thereof to their own Advantage, by engaging in a Joint-Stock for carrying on the same; to be raised, in Way and Manner as is proposed, by the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*.

In order whereunto, two Things are offered to Consideration by these Collections.

The first is, *A Narrative of what Attempts have been made, under what Encouragements, with what Stocks, and how the Undertakers have succeeded; to the Intent that all may be truly informed and cautioned.*

The next is, *How all Miscarriages therein may be remedied and amended; and whence we may ground our Confidence, that in a due Management thereof, as is proposed, we cannot miss a desired Effect, Favente Deo.*

For the First, viz.

The late Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Courteen*, Sir *John Harrison*, and Sir *Paul Pindar*, in or about the Year 1633, became an Association, &c. and for their Encouragement therein, his then Majesty, King *Charles* the First,

- I. Caused *Lent* to be observed.
- II. Prohibited foreign Fish to be imported.
- III. Took his naval Supplies from the then Adventurers in that Fishing-Trade.

Afterwards, *viz.* in or about the Year 1654, Sir *Phineas Andrews*, &c. proceeding on the Fishery-Trade, for his Encouragement it was provided,

- I. That Salt spent in the Fishery-Trade was exempted from Customs and Excise.
- II. Collections were granted and made in *London*, and other Places, for building of Docks, Wharfs, Store-houses, and renting of Ground, for the making, tanning, drying, and mending Nets.
- III. Also Exemption from Custom and Excise of all naval Necessaries, as Timber, Cordage, &c. used on such Occasions.

After

After him, viz. in or about the Year 1660, the said Fishery was undertaken by *Simon Smith*, Esq; for whose Encouragement was granted,

- I. All the before-mentioned Advantages. And,
- II. That all Commodities, returned for the Produce of Fish, were allow'd to be imported Custom free.

Upon the Restauration of his late Majesty, King *Charles* the Second, by Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the Twenty-second Day of *August*, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, his said Majesty was pleased to constitute his Royal Highness *James* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, and other Persons of Honour and Wisdom, to be a Council of the Royal Fishery of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; of which his said Majesty was pleased to declare,

I. That himself and his Successors would vouchsafe ever to be, and to be called, Protectors, &c.

II. The said Council were authorized thereby to make Laws and Statutes relating to the Management of the said Affair, and Government of all their Officers, &c.

III. To constitute and depute Officers necessary for their Service.

IV. To enjoin pecuniary Mulcts, or Pains of Imprisonment, on Contemners and Violaters of the said Laws, &c. being not derogatory to the Statutes, Laws, Liberties, or Acts of Parliament.

V. Their Fishermen, Mariners, Masters, and Servants were to be free from all Pleas or Complaints in any Courts of Justice, for any thing concerning the Fishery, &c. except before the said Council or Judges, to be by them delegated, &c.

VI. Their Fishermen, nor Boats, &c. (whether at Sea or in Port) were to be arrested or impressed for his Majesty's Service or Affairs, without the Consent of their Owners.

VII. Nor put in Affizes, Juries, Inquisitions, &c. nor made Collectors, nor compelled to be Constables, or Tithing-men, against their Wills.

VIII. The said Council were authorized to set up a Lottery for three Years, and to appoint a free Collection in Churches, for raising of Monies to be employed for erecting Wharfs, Docks, Store-houses, and Granaries, about the River of *Thames*, and all Ports convenient for that Purpose.

IX. That for the Space of seven Years, from their first Entrance upon the Fishing-trade, no Customs, inward or outward, were to be paid for the Sale of Fish, either in the *Baltick* Seas, *Denmark*, *Norway*, or *France*.

X. That they might freely vend their Fish in foreign Parts, and make Returns thereof in the Commodities of the Place, without Interruption, by Virtue of any Power or Charter whatsoever to the contrary.

XI. That all Victuallers, Inns, Ale-houses, Taverns, Coffee-houses, and the like, should take one, two, three, four, or more Barrels of Herrings yearly,

yearly, at the Price of thirty Shillings *per* Barrel, until foreign Vent should be attained to Perfection, according as the said Council should order the same.

XII. That all Barrels of Pickled Herrings and Cod-fish, that should be brought into *England* by the *Flemmings*, or others, should pay two Shillings and Six-pence *per* Barrel to the Stock of that Place or Port where they shall vend the same.

XIII. That in case of Breach of Peace with any foreign Nation, his Majesty did promise and grant the said Fishery should be protected in their Fishing-grounds, and should have Convoys for their Exportation of Fish.

XIV. That all other Privileges and Immunities should be granted unto them, in future, as Experience should discover, for the better carrying on of this Business of the Royal Fishing, &c. But, according to the Proverb, *They had other Fish to fry.*

All which notwithstanding, and that an Affair of such a national Concern might be the better promoted; and at, and upon the Advice and Request of the said Council, for incorporating a Company; in order thereunto, his said late Majesty King *Charles II.* was pleased, by his Letters-Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the 25th Day of *September*, in the 29th Year of his Reign, (*viz.* about sixteen Years after, during which Time little or nothing had been done) to constitute his said Royal Highness *James* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, (now Duke of *Leeds*) and several other Persons of Honour, and others therein named: And such others, as therein after, from Time to Time, should be admitted into their Company and Society, to be Traders and Adventurers with them; to be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of *the Company of The Royal Fishery of England*, to have perpetual Succession, &c. Thereby also giving and granting unto the said Company and their Successors, divers beneficial Clauses, Grants, Powers, Privileges, and Immunities, in order to the better Government of the said Company, and Management of their Affairs; an Abstract whereof here followeth, *viz.*

I. To purchase Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments; and to dispose thereof, to the Value of one thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

II. To have and use a Common Seal, in and for all Causes and Businesses of the said Company.

III. To assemble and meet together, for carrying on their Affairs. And particularly,

IV. To elect and appoint a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees yearly, for a Court of Assistants; who, (or any three or more of them, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, to be always one) are thereby authorised to act in all Things according to such Rules, Orders, and Directions, as should from Time to Time be made and given unto them, by the General Court: And for Want of such Orders, Rules, and Directions, to manage, govern, direct, and do, what they should judge necessary

necessary and expedient, to the well-ordering and Government of the said Company, and the Improvement of their Joint-Stock and Trade, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the same were done at, and by a General Court of the said Company.

V. That the said Court of Assistants, or any seven or more of them, as aforesaid, as often as they shall find Occasion, may summon a General Court.

VI. That no Assembly, or Meeting of the said Company, shall be deemed a General Court, unless the Governor, Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, six of the said Committees, and five other Members of the Company, at least, be present.

VII. That such General Court may admit other Persons to be Members, and may increase, contract, or divide their Joint-Stock, as they shall think fit; and the Members thereof may grant, transfer, and assign their respective Stocks, as is therein mentioned.

VIII. That such General Court may ordain and establish such Laws, Ordinances, Orders, and Constitutions, as to them shall seem convenient, for the Government of the Company and their Affairs: And may impose and set Mults and Amerciaments upon the Breakers of such Laws: Or may remit, pardon, or release the same, upon the Parties Submission. And, upon Conviction of any Misdemeanor, may remove Offenders, and chuse others.

IX. That they may fish in, and upon all the Coasts, Creeks, Inlets, Estuaries, Rivers, Lakes, and Arms of the Sea belonging to his Majesty's Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, or any of them; or any other of his Majesty's Dominions, whereof the Fishings are not already granted, appropriated, or belonging to some particular or private Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate. And likewise, in and upon the main Sea, or any Part thereof: And have free and full Liberty to carry and transport their Fish, and Oil made of Fish, to all Ports, Places, and Markets, both in *England* and beyond the Seas; and to sell the same for ready Monies, or Commodities.

X. That they may erect Store-houses, Granaries, Ware-houses, Work-houses: And may build and make Wharfs and Docks in and upon any of his Majesty's Wastes, Commons, or Waste-grounds adjoining unto, or upon any publick Rivers or Seas, within any his Majesty's Dominions, without paying, or rendering any Rent or Duty to his Majesty for the same.

XI. That neither their Masters, Skippers, Steers-men, Ship's Crews, Mariners, Fishermen, nor others employed by the Company in their Fishings, whether Foreigners or Natives, shall be impannell'd, sworn, or compelled to serve on any Juries, or Inquests at *Westminster*, the Assizes, Sessions, or elsewhere.

XII. They have also granted unto them the yearly Sum of twenty Pounds for each and every Dogger which they had, and which, within seven Years, they should build in *England*, or any other his Majesty's Dominions; the same to be paid Quarterly out of the Customs within the Port of *London*, without further Warrant or Directions from his Majesty. Also, all and sin-

gular Privileges in the City of *London*, as fully and freely as any Company of Merchants, established by Letters-Patents, or Charters, do, or may have, use, or enjoy.

XIII. That all and singular Admiral, Vice-Admirals, General, Commanders, Captains, Mayors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Custom-house Officers, and all other Officers, Ministers, Liege People and Subjects of his Majesty's whatsoever, shall be, in and by all Things, aiding and assisting to the said Company, and their Successors, their Factors, Agents, and Servants, in the Execution and Enjoyment of the Premises, as well on Land as by Sea, whensoever they shall be thereunto desired: As they tender his Majesty's Good-will and Pleasure, and will answer the contrary at their Peril, &c. As in and by the said Letters-Patents, Relation being thereunto had for the better Certainty thereof, may more fully and at large appear.

The Company being thus established, divers particular Members thereof advanced and paid in, as a Stock, at first; ten thousand, nine hundred and eighty Pounds: And, after that, about sixteen hundred Pounds more; which was laid out in buying, equipping, and setting forth several Fishing Vessels, &c. and employing of them in prosecuting the said Fishery Affairs: But that Undertaking was rendered ineffectual, and their said small Stock soon exhausted and consumed, not by any thing arising from the Nature of the Thing itself (as was apparent by the Experience the said Company had, in having taken and imported in one of their Doggers, in a Voyage of but three Weeks) thirty-two thousand Cods, and proportionably thereunto, in several other of their Vessels; and by the Advantage ordinarily made of the like Undertaking by our Neighbours, (which shall be demonstrated by some Narrative thereof, with particular Enumeration of their ordinary Successes in what follows) but by that ill Juncture of Affairs, wherein the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* were engaged in War with the *French*, who seized the Vessels and Goods of the Company, as *Dutch*, being some, or most of them *Dutch*-built and manned; and principally, because the Stock was not sufficient to support so great an Undertaking, in Case of any Misadventure.

And the Company consisting then principally of the honourable Persons nominated and incorporated by the Letters-Patents before recited; and they having also received in, admitted, and sworn several other Persons as Members thereof; they, looking into the Affairs of the Company, and finding them to be in Debt, upon the Accounts aforesaid, and not likely to get out, but by a further Subscription and Advance of Monies, as well for clearing off the said Debts, as for promoting and carrying on the said Trade in future, proposed the same might be done by a new Subscription of the then Members of the Company, to the Value of thirty thousand Pounds, or twenty thousand Pounds at least. Which was accordingly agreed unto by the General Court, &c. Towards which, eleven of the Members of the said Company only, (*viz.* of such of them as had been added to the Company, as aforesaid) began the Advance for paying off the Debts, and also gave Bonds of 1000 $\text{\pounds}$. each, as
was

was agreed on, for paying off 500 *l.* a-piece to the Treasurer of the Company, towards a Stock for entering thereupon, *de Novo*, expecting the Patentees would have done the like, which was declined. Nevertheless, several Meetings both of the Company in general, and of the Court of Assistants of the said Company, were appointed to consider how it might be done by other Persons; and to receive Proposals from any Persons for that Purpose, and to report the same, with their Opinions, and such Articles of Agreement touching the same, as they should judge might be most for the Advantage of the Company, and promoting the said Trade: Which, after several Meetings and Reports made of their Proceedings to the said Company at their General Court, produced a Draught of a certain Deed, entitled, *Articles of Agreement between the Company of the Royal Fishery of England of the one Part, and Sir Edward Abney, Knight, &c. of the other Part*; which were agreed unto, and ordered to be ingrossed, in order to the perfecting and confirming the same, under the Seal of the said Company; which was accordingly done on the second Day of *April*, 1683. Which, forasmuch as the clearing the Right and Title of the present Members of the Company, (exclusive of the said Patentees) may be of Use for the obviating of any Pretence of Objection, against the same: The Collector hath thought it convenient to insert the Abstract thereof, under the Heads, or several Sections following, *viz.*

I. There is express Mention and Recital of the Names of all the original Patentees, and of their being incorporated by the said Letters-Patents, for the carrying on the said Affairs, by them and their Successors for ever, &c.

II. There is, in like Manner, a Recital of the Names of such of the said Patentees as were then deceased; and, as had assigned and transferred their Interests to any others, and particularly to whom.

III. That, upon Consideration of the ill State of their Affairs, and the Debts they had contracted in the Management thereof, they did order their whole remaining Stock should be sold for Payment of their Debts, which was accordingly done, &c.

IV. Notice is taken, [and Mention made thereof, *viz.*] that the Trade and Being of the said Company might have then determined with their Stock, if some Persons therein named, upon Proposals made for entering upon a new Undertaking and Stock, for reviving and carrying on thereof, had not assisted, by raising a new Stock of 2600 *l.* which was also consumed and spent, &c.

V. That the said Company, at a General Court held the 8th of *March*, 1682, declared it was necessary for the carrying on the said Trade, that a Stock of 30,000 *l.* or at least of 20,000 *l.* should be raised with all convenient Speed: And that all and every of the then living Members of the said Company, should, at or before the 26th Day of the said Month of *March*, subscribe, and firmly oblige himself in a Bond of 1000 *l.* to *John Collins*, Secretary to the said Company, to advance and pay 500 *l.* to *Richard Hawkins*, Esq; their then Treasurer, for their Adventures in the Stock of the said Company, in Time and Manner therein set forth: And that every Person failing to make

such Subscription, Bond, and Payment, should forfeit 3 *l. per Cent. per Mens-*
sem, until he should comply therewith.

VI. For the Encouragement of Persons to become Adventurers in the Stock, and promote the Concern, in the Room of such as should not subscribe, &c. it was ordered, that any five of the Court of Assistants, &c. should receive any Proposals that might be advantageous to the Company: As also, to treat, contract, and agree with the Proposals thereof, for their being admitted into, and incorporated with the said Company: And to prepare and perfect Articles of Agreement, touching such Proposals as they should judge might be advantageous to the Company; to be confirmed by some legal Instrument in Writing, under the Seal of the Company.

VII. Notice is taken, that eleven Persons, and no more, of the then Members of the said Company had, in Pursuance of the Order afore-mentioned, subscribed to advance their said respective Shares, &c. and that the same, if brought in, would not be sufficient for the carrying on the said Trade, &c.

VIII. It recites also, that Sir *Edward Abney*, Knight, and others joined with him, being willing, as Members, to advance and bring in a farther Stock, &c. had made certain Proposals in Pursuance of the before-mentioned Order of the 12th of *March*, for the erecting and establishing a Bank of Credit, &c. in the said Company, &c. which might have been useful to their Affair.

IX. Also, that the Committees appointed by the Company on the 28th of *March*, 1683, after several Debates and Alterations made of the Proposals, had come to an Agreement with the said Sir *Edward Abney*, &c. and that they proposed, reported, and offered it as their Opinion, that the said Articles of Agreement, so altered and amended, should be ratified and confirmed at a General Court of the said Company, under the Seal of the said Company; which was accordingly done the second of *April*, 1683, in the Particulars following, (among others) *viz.*

I. That the Persons, whose Names are therein recited, and such others as they should nominate, not exceeding together with themselves) in the Whole, the Number of 22 Persons. And also, that the said Sir *Thomas Abney*, &c. (therein also particularly recited) and such others as shall be joined as Governors, or Masters of the Bank, not exceeding (together with themselves) the Number of 23 Persons more; and no other, or greater Number, than 45 Persons in the Whole, shall be, by the said Persons, respectively so named, chosen, admitted, or allowed to be of the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*. But, in case one or more of the late Members of the Company, who have not subscribed, &c. or shall not pay, &c. as aforesaid, shall, at any Time, or Times hereafter, be admitted, or allowed to be, or to act, or shall act as a Member or Members of the said Company, whereby the Number of the said Company shall exceed forty-five Persons in the Whole, that then the said Sir *Edward Abney*, &c. and such others as shall be joined unto them, as the Governors or Masters of the said Bank, or the major Part of them, shall have Liberty to nominate the like Number of Persons, in Balance of such additional Number; and that they shall be admitted into the Company to such further Number.

II. That

II. That the said whole Company shall be reduced, as soon as may be, to the said Number of forty-five Persons, or fewer, but not under twenty-eight Persons: And that in order thereunto, no Person or Persons, former Members of the said Company, who have failed to subscribe, and secure his Proportion, shall, for the future, act, or vote in any of the Affairs of the said Company, without the Consent of at least two Thirds of the said Company.

III. That the said Company, or such Number or Committees of them, as according to the said Letters-Patents, and these Articles of Agreement, shall be from Time to Time chosen in, may, to all Intents and Purposes, act, in all Matters and Things whatsoever, relating to the Fishery Trade, as if they and every of them, had been by Name expressed in and by the said Letters-Patents: And that no other, or further Number of Persons, shall be at any Time admitted to act, or vote as Members of the said Company, without the Consent of at least three fourth Parts of the said whole Number of the said Company and their Successors, in a General Court of the said Company, summoned for that Purpose; and meeting in such Manner and Place as is therein after agreed, &c.

IV. That the Bank of Credit, and Governors, or Masters thereof, shall receive, and be capable of all Powers, Privileges, and Securities whatsoever, which the same is, or can, by Counsel learned in the Law, be made capable of receiving, and taking of, in or by reason of the said Corporation, or Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, and their Charter of Incorporation, without Prejudice to the Royal Fishery Trade.

V. That whatsoever shall be concluded and agreed upon by the Committees of the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, agreeable to the Orders and Directions of a General Court, &c. shall be binding in what concerns the Royal Fishery Trade only: And that whatsoever shall be concluded, agreed, and acted by the Governors, Masters, and chief Managers of the Bank, or any three or more of them, only shall be binding in what concerns the Affairs of the Bank: And that all shall be deemed the Acts of the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, and have Allowance, Grants, and Confirmations under the Seal thereof, where they shall respectively propose and desire, or order the same.

VI. That before any Person be admitted to be a Member of the said Company, he shall oblige himself to observe, abide by, ratify, and confirm these present Articles of Agreement, and whatsoever shall be done in Pursuance thereof, &c. as by the said Articles of Agreement, Relation being thereunto had, for the better Certainty thereof, may more fully and at large appear.

So then, 'tis evident, that the present Members of the Company, consisting of the Persons particularly named and express in the said Articles, for carrying on and Manangement of the Trade and Affairs of the said Royal Fishery, and such others as by them have been since taken in, and added, as Members, Traders, or Adventurers with them, are the legal and rightful Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, exclusive of the said Patentees. And that their Proceedings thereupon, and all Acts, Orders, Constitutions, Laws, and Rules by them made, for the Government and Management of their Affairs;
and

and in order to the raising a New Stock for that Purpose, are unquestionable, and without the least Pretence of Irregularity or Prejudice to any Persons formerly concerned therein.

Since when, the Prosecution of the Affairs and Trade of the said Company hath been under the Care and Management of the said Persons, who have been endeavouring the setting up the same by new Subscriptions, designed and agreed by them, to the Value of sixty thousand Pounds, &c. But by Reason of the Death of his said late Majesty King *Charles II.* and the Troubles ensuing, &c. the same was thought fit to be suspended for some further Time.

And the Company, about three Years since, (conceiving it might be seasonably undertaken) assembled for putting their said former Design in Execution: And finding Encouragement, from the Readiness of divers Persons to join therein, upon several Proposals for a Subscription, such as, in Case of like Losses of some few Vessels, the said Affair might, notwithstanding, be carried on, without the Discouragement of being to seek of a Stock ready; they have been ever since waiting for a fitting Season, wherein they might humbly address themselves to his Majesty, and both the honourable Houses of Parliament, (without Interruption of the great Affair of providing for, and carrying on the War) for their encouraging this Undertaking. And,

In the Interim, that no farther Time may be lost in Preparations for this Undertaking, (which the Parliament, by their Act past in *Anno 13, & 14. Car. II. Cap. 28.* have declared, the Publick Honour, Wealth, and Safety of this Realm, as well in the Maintenance of Trade, and Support of Navigation, as in many other Respects, doth in an high Degree depend upon the Improvement of the Fishery) the Company have spent their Time, and taken much Pains, and been at considerable Costs and Charges, in and about the consulting, Consideration, and Preparation of such a Constitution, Laws, and Rules for Management and governing of their said Affairs; and framing such Articles, Terms, or Conditions for admitting Persons into the said Company, to be Members, Traders, and Adventurers with them therein, as, by discoursing others, they hope will be sufficiently encouraging to Subscriptions, for the raising such Stock for that Purpose. And, whereby his Majesty and the Parliament may be the better satisfied; that Persons of Honour, Interest, Estates, and publick Spirits, yea the whole Nation are, and may reasonably be imagined, will think themselves concerned, jointly to become engaged to carry on, and stand by the same, as far as the Nature of such an Affair will admit. And,

In order thereunto, the Company have thought fit to cause, as well the said Letters-Patents, as the said Constitution and Terms of Subscription, to be fairly engrossed at large, in Books to be exposed for Subscriptions of a present Stock of three hundred thousand Pounds, or of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds (at least) to begin withal, payable at ten Quarterly Payments, in equal Proportions, (which makes the raising of it very easy) the Time and Place of which Subscriptions will be seasonably advertized, in order

Order to these Books being perused, and considered by such as shall think fit to resort thereto for their Information. And,

For as much as all Persons, (especially such as live remote) may not have the Conveniency of their Perusal, and that the Affair may become as National and comprehensive of all, as may be (which is the Design and Desire of the Company) and none have Cause to think themselves neglected, precluded, or surprized thereby; the Collector of this Treatise hath thought it very conducing to the hastening of such Subscriptions, to cause, as well the Abstracts of the said Constitution, and Terms of Subscription, as of the said Letters-Patents, to be printed and published in these Collections; to the End all Persons into whose Hands this shall come, may have the Contents thereof before them, and may apply themselves to make such Subscriptions as they shall think fit; wherein they are to be advertized, as they are hereby, that the Subscribers of the first one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds of the said Stock, will (for their Encouragement) have three *per Cent.* allowed them, to be discounted out of their three first Quarterly Payments; which is considerable. Wherefore,

Take next the Abstract of the said Constitution, entitled, *A Constitution, Model, or Frame and Method, for Government and managing of the Trade and Affairs of the Company of the Royal Fishery of England*: As also of some Rules and Laws, necessary to be observed by the Persons concerned in the Improvement of the Stock, &c. viz.

I. That the chief Government of the Company shall be in, and consist of a Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees, (whereof four to be called Directors, and eight Masters) and also of fifteen Assistants, viz. to each of them one. Also, eight Wardens, and twenty-five Commissioners, or Agents for *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and as many more of the other Members of the Company, as shall from Time to Time be agreed to be admitted; who, or any fifteen or more of them, together with the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and their respective Assistants, or one of them to be present, five or more of the Committees, five or more of the Assistants, and five or more of the other Members of the Company, are to have the chief Power of making Laws, and ordering the whole Affairs of the Company, in their General Court.

II. That the Court of Assistants consist of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, the twelve Committees, and their fifteen Assistants; who, or any seven, or more of them, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, or their respective Assistants, or one of them, to be always one. Three of the said Committees, and three of the said Assistants, are to have the chief directing and managing of the Affairs of the Company; and to act in all Things, according to such Rules, Orders, and Directions, as shall from Time to Time be made and given by the said General Court; and for Want of such, may do and execute all Things, that they shall judge necessary and expedient, as the General Court may, &c.

III.

III. That for the more distinct and regular Management of the said Affairs, the said Court of Assistants are divided into four Chambers, *viz.*

1. The Fishery Chamber.
2. The Stock or Store Chamber.
3. The Treasury or Cash Chamber.
4. The Accompt Chamber.

Each of which is to consist of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and their respective Assistants, or one of them; one Director and his Assistants; two Masters and their Assistants, and two Wardens; who, or any three or more of them, to be a *Quorum*, are to act and execute by Rules and Instructions to be given to them under the Seal of the Company, and not otherwise, in their several and respective Chambers.

IV. That there be twenty-eight other Members of the Company, who shall be called Agents, or Officers, and be employed in the said respective four Chambers, as they shall be directed by the Court of Assistants.

V. That the Nomination and Election of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Committees, shall be in, and by the General Court yearly; save that, not above five of them shall be removed in any one Year, but for just Causes exprest, &c. The eight Wardens, and other Agents, Officers, or Commissioners for *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, to be nominated by the Court of Assistants, or sixteen of them.

VI. That within twenty Days after Publication of Subscriptions of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, a General Court shall be called, for electing a Sub-Governor, or Deputy-Governor, and four Committees, by the new Subscribers: And afterwards, Elections to be made on the thirtieth Day of *November* yearly, wherein not above five Committees to be removed, as aforesaid.

VII. The Articles, Terms, or Conditions, touching the admitting of Persons into the Company, &c. are confirmed, as a Part of the Constitution, inviolably to be observed.

VIII. That all Subscribers, who shall not be chosen for Managers, &c. shall be denominated as Traders or Adventurers: And their respective Shares, both as to Profit and Loss, yearly stated and determined, as other the Stock of the Company.

IX. That no Member of the Company, after the thirtieth Day of *November* next, after Subscriptions are notified to be compleated, shall have any Vote in Elections, or making Laws, &c. who shall not have subscribed, or be otherwise entitled to five hundred Pounds. Nor any Person be admitted a Member of the Court of Assistants, who shall not have subscribed, or be otherwise entitled to one thousand Pounds.

X. One Tenth Part of the clear neat Profits is set apart for bearing the Charges of the Company, Court of Assistants, and four Chambers, &c. Also
to

to pay Salaries, &c. to the managing Members, Officers, and Servants. And the Distributions and Proportions of each are thereby settled, &c. So as that there shall be no Diminution of the Joint-Stock on any Account whatsoever.

XI. The Accounts of Profit and Loss are to be yearly stated by the Officers in the Account-Chamber; each Year to end on the tenth of *June*; the Court of Assistants to examine and report the same to the General Court on the tenth of *September* following; nine of them to sign the brief Account thereof; and each one Share of Profits to be divided amongst the Persons concerned.

XII. In Case of Loss in any one Year, the Stock is to be made good out of the next, before any Dividend or Apportionment to Managers, Officers, &c. save that, Servants Salaries, of thirty Pounds *per Annum* and under, may be advanced and re-imburs'd out of the next Year's Profits; and in Case the Profits of any first Years shall not amount to one hundred Pounds each Share, the same shall also be made up out of the after-years Profits assigned for that Purpose.

XIII. Mentions in what Cases Persons may be dismiss their Offices and Employments: And that the General Court, or Court of Assistants Judgment shall be final for the Determination thereof.

XIV. Sets the Fines on such as shall absent themselves from their Attendance, when summoned, or upon Adjournments, or for not attending so many Hours as shall be agreed upon; unless in case of corporal Illness, or Licence from their respective Chambers.

XV. Directs the Custody of the larger Seal, Letters-Patents, Deeds and Evidences of Lands granted to the Company, to be kept under two Locks, whereof the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors to have the Key of the one, and their respective Assistants of the other. Also, that the Trustees, and each Chamber, the Secretary, and their respective Commissioners or Agents for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to have one of the lesser Seals, to be used by them respectively in the Company's Service.

XVI. If any Differences arise between the Members of the Court of Assistants or several Chambers, relating to the Company's Affairs, they are to be determined by the General Court, &c. And the Refusers to submit thereto, or to be dismiss their Offices and Employments.

XVII. The seven Trustees are named and settled; and three of the other Assistants. The other five Assistants are to be elected by them, out of such as shall become Subscribers to the New-Stock of the Company. Their After-Nominations and Succession is also agreed to be, by and amongst themselves, or the major Part of the whole fifteen Assistants.

XVIII. The Governor, Sub Governor, Deputy-Governor, Committees, Assistants, and all Subscribers, before they be admitted into any Trust or Office in the Company, are to declare their Approbation of, and acquiescing in the Constitution, and all other Constitutions, Laws, and Rules of the Company; as is more at large therein exprest.

Here also followeth the Abstract of the before-mentioned Articles, Terms, or Conditions, upon which all and singular Persons, of what Quality soever, within the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, &c. may be admitted into the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, or be Traders or Adventurers with them, *viz.*

I. That whosoever shall subscribe and pay in any Sum or Sums of Money, towards a Joint-Stock for carrying on the Trade of the Company, shall be admitted into the same, and have and receive all the Benefits and Advantages thereof; subject to the Constitution, Laws, and Rules of the Company, and these Articles, Terms, and Conditions, &c.

II. That the Sum designed to be at present subscribed, be three hundred thousand Pounds, whereof one hundred thousand Pounds by the surviving Patentees, their Heirs and Assigns, and the other present Members of the Company; and two hundred thousand Pounds more, by other Persons. The same to be paid into the Treasury of the said Company, in Manner following; *viz.* The first tenth Part thereof to be paid within thirty Days, from and after Notice or Publication of the compleating the Subscriptions of the said three hundred thousand Pounds, or of one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds at least, in Part thereof. One tenth Part more within three Months next after their respective first Payments: And the other remaining eight tenth Parts, by eight equal next successive Quarterly Payments.

III. That one tenth Part of each Sum so subscribed shall be appropriated to and for the Use and Disposal of the Trustees, and of such Persons as they shall judge have heretofore been, or may hereafter be useful for, or in promoting the Interest and Service of the Company, without Account. So as the same nevertheless shall be and remain in the Stock, for carrying on the Trade thereof. And the remaining nine Parts, to and for the sole Use and Benefit of the respective Subscribers, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns.

IV. That whatsoever further Sums shall, at any Time hereafter, be thought fit by the Company to be subscribed and paid in, for increasing the said Stock, shall be in like Manner subject to the Payment of the like tenth Part, &c. for and towards the Re-imbursment of the Subscribers said tenth Part of the said first three hundred thousand Pounds.

V. That whosoever shall subscribe, and pay in his first Payment, and shall not make his second, or any After-Payments, by the respective Days or Times before limited, shall forfeit his first Payment to the Use of the Company, and have Credit only for such After-Payments as he shall make.

VI. That all Shares, or Sums amounting to fifty-Pounds, and Assignments thereof, shall be entered and registered; and Certificates thereof exemplified under the Seal, be given for the same, to such Persons as shall desire it.

VII. That no Person shall be hereafter admitted a Member of the Company, unless he shall, at the Time of his Subscription, declare his Approbation of, and submitting to these Articles, and engage himself to observe and keep the same

same inviolably : And also all such Constitutions, Laws, and Rules of the Company, as they have or shall make for the Management and Regulation of their Trade, pursuant to the Letters-Patents, and the present Constitution ; as appears more at large therein.

And so much shall suffice for Answer of the first Particular proposed to be considered by the Collector hereof, *viz.* *The Narrative of what Attempts have been made ; under what Encouragements ; with what Stocks and Successes, both for Information and Caution.*

For the Second, *viz.* *How all Miscarriages in the said Fishery may be remedied and amended, and whence we may ground our Confidence, That in a due Management of the said Affair for the future (as is proposed by the said Company) they cannot miss of a desired Effect upon their undertaking it ;* the Collector hath thought fit to offer the Perusal of a small Treatise, entitled, *The Sovereignty of the British Seas*, proved by Records, History, and the municipal Laws of this Kingdom. Written by Sir *John Burroughs*, Knight, in *Anno 1633*, and printed *Anno 1651*. Which being hard to be gotten, some few Pages thereof are thence transcribed ; being so much as the Author thereof hath recommended under the Head or Title of, *The inestimable Riches and Commodities of the British Seas ;* which are as followeth, *viz.*

I. The Coasts of *Great Britain* do yield such a continual Sea-Harvest of Gain and Benefit to all those that with Diligence do labour in the same, that no Time or Season in the Year passeth without some apparent Means of profitable Employment, especially to such as apply themselves to Fishing : Which, from the Beginning of the Year unto the latter End, continueth upon some Part or other of our Coasts ; and therein such infinite Shoals and Multitudes of Fishes are offer'd to the Takers, as may justly move Admiration, not only to Strangers, but to those that daily be employ'd among them.

II. The *Summer* Fishing for Herrings beginneth about *Midsummer*, and lasteth some Part of *August*. The *Winter* Fishing for Herrings lasteth from *September* to the Middle of *November*. Both which extend in Place from *Boughones* in *Scotland*, to the *Thames* Mouth.

III. The Fishing for Cod at *Alamby*, *Whirlington*, and *Whitehaven*, near the Coast of *Lancashire*, from *Easter* until *Whitsuntide*.

IV. The Fishing for Hake at *Aberdeen*, *Abveswick*, and other Places between *Wales* and *Ireland*, from *Witsuntide* to *St. James's-tide*.

V. The Fishing for Cod and Ling about *Padstow* within the Land, and of *Severn*, from *Christmas* to *Mid-lent*.

VI. The Fishing for Cod on the West Part of *Ireland* (frequented by those of *Biscay*, *Galicia*, and *Portugal*) from the Beginning of *April* until the End of *June*.

VII. The Fishing for Cod and Ling on the North and North-East of *Ireland*, from *Christmas* until *Michaelmas*.

VIII. The Fishing for Pilchards on the West Coast of *England*, from *St. James's-tide* until *Michaelmas*.

IX. The Fishing for Cod and Ling upon the North-East of *England*, from *Easter* until *Midsummer*.

X. The Fishing for great Staple Ling, and many other Sorts of Fish lying about the Islands of *Scotland*, and in the several Parts of the *British* Seas, all the Year long.

XI. In *September*, not many Years since, upon the Coast of *Devonshire*, near *Minigal*, five hundred Ton of Fish were taken in one Day; and about the same Time, three thousand Pounds-worth of Fish, in one Day, were taken at *St. Ives* in *Cornwall*, by small Boats, and other poor Provisions.

XII. Our Five-Men-Boats and Cobbles, adventuring in a Calm to launch out among the *Holland* Busses, not far from *Robin-hood's* Bay, returned to *Whitby* full fraught with Herrings; and reported, that they saw some of those Busses take ten, twenty, twenty-four Lafts of Herrings at a Draught; and returned into their own Country with forty, fifty, and an hundred Lafts of Herrings in one Bus.

XIII. Our Fleet of Colliers, not many Years since, returning from *Newcastle*, laden with Coals, about the Well near *Flamborough-Head* and *Scarborough*, met with such Multitudes of Cods, Ling, and Herrings, that one among the rest, with certain Sheep-hooks, and other like Instruments, drew up as much Cod and Ling, in a little Space of Time, as were sold, well near, for as much as her whole Lading of Coals: And many Hundred of Ships might have been there laden in two Days and two Nights.

Out of which wonderful Affluence, and Abundance of Fish swarming in our Seas, that we may the better perceive the infinite Gain which foreign Nations make, I will especially insist upon the Fishing of the *Hollanders* in our Coasts, and thereby shew how, by this Means, principally they have encreased.

I. *In Shipping.*

II. *In Mariners.*

III. *In Trade.*

IV. *In Towns and Fortifications.*

V. *In Power Externe or Abroad.*

VI. *In Publick Revenue.*

VII. *In Private Wealth.*

VIII. *In all Manner of Provisions, and Store of Things necessary.*

First, *Encrease of Shipping.*

Besides seven hundred Strand-boats, four hundred Evars, and four hundred Sullits, Drivers, and Tod-boats, wherewith the *Hollanders* fish upon their own Coasts; (every one of these employing another Ship to fetch Salt, and carry

carry their Fish into other Countries, being in all three thousand Sail, maintaining and setting on work at least forty thousand Persons, Fishers, Tradesmen, Women, and Children;) they have one hundred Dogger-boats, of one hundred and fifty Tons apiece, or thereabouts: Seven hundred Pinks and Well-boats, from sixty to one hundred Tons apiece, which altogether fish upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, for Cod and Ling only; and each of these employ another Vessel for providing of Salt, and transporting of their Fish; making, in all, one thousand six hundred Ships, which maintain and employ Persons of all Sorts, forty thousand at least.

For the Herring Season, they have sixteen hundred Busses at the least, all of them fishing only upon our Coasts, from *Boughonnes* in *Scotland*, to the Mouth of the *Thames*: And every one of these maketh Work for three other Ships that attend her; the one to bring in Salt from foreign Parts; another to carry the said Salt and Cask to the Busses, and to bring back their Herrings; and the Third to transport the said Fish into foreign Countries: So that the total Number of Ships and Busses, plying the Herring-fare, is six thousand four hundred; whereby every Bus, one with another, employeth forty Men, Mariners and Fishers, within her own Hold, and the rest ten Men apiece, which amounteth to one hundred and twelve thousand Fishers and Mariners; all which maintain double, if not treble so many Tradesmen, Women, and Children at Land.

Moreover, they have four hundred other Vessels, at least, that take Herrings at *Yarmouth*, and there sell them for ready Money: So that the *Hollanders* (besides three thousand Ships before-mentioned fishing upon our own Shores) have at least four thousand eight hundred Ships, only maintained by the Seas of *Great Britain*; by which Means principally, *Holland* (being not so big as one of our Shires of *England*, containing not above twenty-eight Miles in Length, and three in Breadth) have encreased the Number of their Shipping to at least ten thousand Sail; being more than are in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Russia*; and to this Number they add every Day, although their Country itself affords them neither Materials, Victuals, nor Merchandize to be accounted of, towards their setting forth.

Secondly, *Encrease of Mariners.*

The Number of Ships fishing on our Coasts being, as aforesaid, eight thousand four hundred; if we allow but twenty Persons to every Ship, one with another, the Total of Mariners and Fishers amounteth to one hundred sixty-eight thousand; out of which Number they daily furnish their longer Voyages to all Parts of the World: For, by this Means, they are not only enabled to brook the Seas, and to know the Use of the Tackles and Compass, but are likewise instructed in the Principles of Navigation and Pilotage; in-somuch as from hence their greatest Navigators have their Education and Breeding,

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Encrease of Trade.*

By reason of those Multitudes of Ships and Mariners, they have extended their Trade to all Parts of the World; exporting, for the most Part, in all their Voyages, our Herrings, and other Fish, for the Maintenance of the same: In Exchange whereof they return the several Commodities of other Countries, *viz.*

From the Southern Parts, as *France, Spain, and Portugal*; for our Herrings they return Oils, Wines, Prunes, Honey, Wools, &c. with Store of Coin in Specie.

From the *Streights*, Velvets, Sattins, and all Sorts of Silks, Alloms, Currans, Oils, and all Grocery-Wares, with much Money.

From the East Countries, for our Herrings, and other *French* and *Italian* Commodities before returned, they bring home Corn, Wax, Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Soap-ashes, Iron, Copper, Steel, Clap-board, Wainscot, Timber, Deal-Boards, Dollars, and *Hungary* Gilders.

From *Germany*, for Herrings, and other Salt Fish, Iron, Steel, Glass, Mill-stones, *Rhenish* Wines, Button-plate for Armour, with other Munition; Silks, Velvets, Rashes, Fustians, Barratees, and such-like *Franckfort* Commodities, with Store of Rix Dollars.

From *Brabant*, they return, for the most Part, ready Money, with some Tapestries and Hull-shop; yea, some of our Herrings are carried as far as *Brazil*.

And that which is more strange, and greatly to our Shame, they have four hundred Ships with Fish, which our Men of *Yarmouth*, within *Kent*, almost at Land, do vent our Herrings amongst us here in *England*; and make us pay for the Fish taken upon our own Coasts, ready Money, wherewith they store their own Country.

Fourthly, *Encrease of Towns and Forts.*

By this their large Extent of Trade, they are become, as it were, Citizens of the whole World, whereby they have so enlarg'd their Towns, that most of them within these four hundred Years, are full as great again as they were before. *Amsterdam, Leyden, and Middleborough*, having been lately twice enlarg'd, and their Streets and Buildings so fair and orderly set forth, that, for Beauty and Strength, they may compare with any other in the World; upon which they bestow infinite Sums of Money, all originally flowing from the Bounty of the Sea: From whence, by their Labour and Industry, they derive the Beginning of all that Wealth and Greatness; and particularly, for the Havens of the aforesaid Towns, whereof some of them cost forty, fifty, or an hundred thousand Pounds. Their Fortifications also, both for Number and Strength, upon which they have bestow'd infinite Sums of Money, may compare with any other whatsoever.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, *Encrease of Power Abroad.*

Such being then the Number of the Ships and Mariners, and so great their Trade, occasion'd principally by their Fishing, they have not only strengthened and fortified themselves at Home, to repel all foreign Invasion, (as lately in the War between them and *Spain*) but have likewise stretch'd their Power into the *East* and *West-Indies*; in many Places whereof, they are Lords of the Sea-Coasts; and have likewise fortified upon the Main, where the Kings and People are at their Devotion: And, more than this, all neighbouring Princes, in their Differences, by reason of this their Power at Sea, are glad to have them of their Party; so that, next to the *English*, they are now become the most redoubted Nation at Sea, of any other whatsoever.

Sixthly, *Encrease of publick Revenue.*

Moreover, how mightily the publick Revenue and Customs of that State are encreased by their Fishing, may appear, in that, above thirty Years since, over and above the Customs of other Merchandize, Excises, Licences, Waftage and Lastage, there was paid to the States, for Custom of Herrings, and other Salt Fish, above three hundred thousand Pounds in one Year, besides the tenth Fish and Cask paid for Waftage, which cometh, at the least, to as much more, among the *Hollanders* only; whereto, the Tenth of other Nations being added, it amounteth to a far greater Sum.

We are likewise to know, that great Part of their Fish is sold in other Countries for ready Money, for which they commonly export of the finest Gold and Silver; and, coming Home, recoin it of a baser Alloy, under their own Stamp, which is not a small Means to augment the publick Treasure.

Seventhly, *Encrease of private Wealth.*

As touching their private Wealth; if we consider the abundant Store of Herrings, and other Fish by them taken, and the usual Prices that they are sold for; as also the Multitude of Tradesmen and Artizans, that by reason of this their Fishing, are daily set on work, we must needs conclude, that the Gain thereof, made by private Men, must of Necessity be exceeding great; as by observing the Particulars following will plainly appear.

During the Wars between the King of *Spain* and the *Hollanders*, before the last Truce, *Dunkirk*, by taking, spoiling, and burning the Busses of *Holland*, and setting great Ransom upon their Fishermen, inforced them to compound for great Sums, that they might fish quietly for one Year: Whereupon, the next Year after, the Fishermen agreed among themselves to pay a Dollar upon every Last of Herrings, towards the Maintenance of certain Ships of War, to waft, and secure them in their Fishing: By reason whereof there was a Record kept of the several Lasts of Herrings taken that Year; and it appear'd thereby,

by, that in one half Year, there were taken three hundred thousand Lafts of Herrings, which, at twelve Pounds *per* Laft, amounteth to three Millions fix hundred thousand Pounds: And at sixteen, twenty, thirty Pounds the Laft, they are ordinarily fold, then transported into other Countries, it cometh to, at leaft, five Millions; whereunto, if we add the Herrings taken by other Nations, together with the Cod, Ling, Hake, and the Fish taken by the *Hollanders*, and other our Neighbours, upon the *British* Coasts all the Year long, the Total will evidently arife to be above ten Millions.

The great Trade of Fishing, employing fo many Men and Ships at Sea, muft likewise neceffarily maintain as great a Number of Tradefmen, and other Artizans on Land; as Spinners, and Hemp-winders to Cables, Cordage, Yarn-twine for Nets and Lines; Weavers to make Sail-cloths, Cecive-packers, Tollers, Dreffers, and Couchers, to fort and make the Herrings lawful Merchandize; Tanners to tan their Sails and Nets; Coopers to make Casks; Block and Bowl-makers for Ships; Keel-men, and Labourers for carrying and removing their Fish; Sawyers for Planks; Carpenters, Shipwrights, Smiths, Carmen, Boatmen, Brewers, Bakers, and a Number of others, whereof many are maimed Persons, and unfit to be otherwise employ'd; befides the Maintenance of all their feveral Wives, Children, and Families. And further, every Man and Maid-Servant, or Orphan, having a poor Stock, may venture the fame in their fishing Voyages, which affords them ordinarily a great Encrease, and is duly paid, according to the Proportion of their Gain.

Eighthly, Encrease of Provisions.

And to conclude, it is manifest, that *Holland*, only affording itfelf fome few Hops, Madder, Butter, and Cheefe, aboundeth notwithstanding (by reason of this Art of Fishing) in plentiful Manner, with all kind of Provisions, as well for Life, as in Corn, Beef, Mutton, Hides and Clothes; as for Luxury, in Wines, Silks and Spices; and for Defence, as in Pitch, Tar, Cordage, and Timber: All which they have, not only in competent Proportion for their Ufe, but are likewise able, from their feveral Magazines, to fupply their Neighbour-Countries.

The Premises confider'd, it maketh much to the Ignominy and Shame of our *English* Nation, that God and Nature offering us fo great a Treasure, even at our own Doors, we do notwithstanding neglect the Benefit thereof, and by paying Money to Strangers for the Fish of our own Seas, impoverish ourfelves to make them rich; infomuch, that for want of Industry and Care in this Particular, two hundred twenty-five Fisher-Towns are decay'd and reduced to extreme Poverty; whereas, on the contrary, by diligently endeavouring to make ufe of fo great a Bleffing, we might, in a fhort Time, regain thefe decay'd Towns of the Kingdom, and add both Honour, Strength, and Riches to our King and Country; which, how eafily it may be done, will appear by fome few Observations following.

I. By

I. By erecting two hundred and fifty Busses, of reasonable Strength and Bigness, there will be Employment made for a thousand Ships, and for at least ten thousand Fishermen and Mariners at Sea, and consequently for as many Tradesmen and Labourers at Land.

II. The Herrings taken by the Busses will afford his Majesty yearly Custom outward, and for Commodities returned inward, thirty thousand Pounds, and above.

III. We have Timber sufficient, and at reasonable Rates, growing in our own Kingdom, for the building of Busses. Every Shire affordeth hardy and able Men, fit for such Employment, who now live poorly, and idle at Home.

IV. We have Victuals in great Plenty, sold at easy Rates, without Payment of Excises or Impost.

V. Our Shoars and Harbours are near the Places where the Fish do haunt.

VI. For Drink or Nets, salting and packing our Fish, and for Succour in Strefs of Weather, we may bring our Fish to Land, salt and pack it; and from some Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, be at our Markets in *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*, before the *Hollanders* can arrive in *Holland*.

VII. We have Means to transport our Fishing into some Northern Countries, where the *Hollanders* seldom or never come; and though we had as many Busses as the *Hollanders*, yet is there Vent for all, or more: For in the East and Northern Countries, and in many other Places, Herrings are every Day's Meat, *Winter* and *Summer*, as well to draw on Drink, as to satisfy Hunger: And in most Places, the greatest Part of the Year, they are scarce to be had; for presently after *Michaelmas*, the *Sound* and Rivers are frozen up, so as no Herrings can be transported into twenty several Kingdoms and Free States, until *July*, which is for thirty Weeks together; so that, when *Lent* comes, there are few to be bought for Money.

VIII. *Lastly*, Since by Care and Industry we gained from the *Flemmings*, doubtless, so by the same Means we may as easily grow expert in the Art of Fishing, and in Time make it a Staple-commodity of our own: But this we shall the better and sooner do, if we consider, and endeavour to reform certain Wants and Abuses, which hitherto have hindred us from effecting that good and great Work; whereof these that follow are none of the least.

I. General Liberty of eating Flesh, contrary to old Customs, and the Statute-laws provided for observing Fish-days; from whence Scarcity and Dearth of Fish proceedeth: For where Flesh is ordinarily spent, Fish will not be bought; and Want of Sale decayeth all Trade, Gain being the Nurse of Industry.

Secondly, Want of Order and Discretion in our Fishing, every Man being left to himself, and permitted to fish as best liketh him; whereas, amongst the *Hollanders*, two of the best experienced Fishermen are appointed to guide the rest of the Fleet; all others being bound to follow them, and to cast their Nets according to their Direction.

III. The *Hollanders*, and other Nations, set forth with their Busses in *June*, to find the Shoal of Fish; and having found it, dwell amongst it till *November*; whereas we stay till the Herrings come Home to our Road-steads, and sometimes suffer them to pass by before we look out, our Herring-fishing containing only seven Weeks at the most, and theirs twenty.

IV. The *Hollanders* Busses are great and strong, and able to brook foul Weather; whereas our Cobbles, Crayers, and Boats, being small and thin-fided, are easily swallowed up by a rough Sea; not daring to adventure far in fair Weather, by reason of their Weakness, for fear of Storms.

V. The *Hollanders* are industrious, and no sooner are discharged of their Lading, but put forth for more, and seek for Markets Abroad, as well as at Home; whereas our *English*, after they have been once at Sea, do commonly never return again, until all the Money taken for their Fish be spent, and they in Debt; seeking only to serve the next Market.

VI. The *Hollanders* have certain Merchants, who, during the Herring Season, do only come to the Places where the Busses arrive, and joining together in several Companies, do presently agree for thirty or forty Busses at once; and so being discharged, they may speedily return to their former Fishing: Whereas our Fishermen are uncertain of their Chapmen, and forced to spend much Time in putting off their Fish by Parcels.

These and other Defects would carefully be taken into Consideration, and certain Orders made, to make our Fishing prosperous and successful; especially considering the fearful Mischiefs the Neglects hereof hath brought to the King and Kingdom in general, and to many good Towns and Corporations in particular; as by Authority (even of Parliament itself, in the Statute of 33 *Hen. VIII.*) is plainly testified; which I have summarily here set down, to avoid the Prolixity of the Original, *viz.*

“ I. Because the *English* Fishermen, dwelling on the Sea-Coasts, did leave off
“ their Trade of fishing in our Seas, and went the Half-Seas over, and there,
“ upon the Seas, did buy Fish of the *Pickards, Flemmings, Normans*, and
“ *Zealanders*; by reason whereof, many Incommodities did grow to the
“ Realm; *viz.* the Decay of the Wealth and Prosperity, as well of the
“ Cinque-Ports, and Members of the same, as of other Coast-Towns by the
“ Sea-side, which were built and inhabited by great Multitudes of People, by
“ reason of using and exercising the Craft and Feat of Fishing.

“ II. The Decay of a great Number of Boats and Ships. And,

“ III. The Decay of many good Mariners, both able in Body, by their
“ Diligence, Labour, and continual Exercise of Fishing; and expert, by
“ reason thereof, in the Knowledge of the Sea-Coasts, as well within this
“ Realm, as in other Parts beyond the Seas. It was therefore enacted, that
“ no Manner of Persons, *English*, Denizens, or Strangers, at that Time, or
“ at any Time after, dwelling in *England*, should buy any Fish of any
“ Strangers in the said Ports of *Flanders, Zealand, Piccardy, France*, or
“ upon the Sea, between Shore and Shore, &c.” Which Act, by many
Con-

Continuations, was continued from Parliament to Parliament, until the first of Queen *Mary*, and from thence to the End of the next Parliament, and then expired.

For Conclusion. Seeing by that which hath formerly been declared, it evidently appeareth, that the Kings of *England* (by immemorable Prescription, continual Usage and Possession, the Acknowledgement of all our Neighbour States, and the municipal Laws of the Kingdom) have ever held the sovereign Lordship of the Seas of *England*; and that unto his Majesty, by reason of his Sovereignty, the supreme Command and Jurisdiction over the Passage and Fishing in the same rightfully appertaineth: Considering also, the natural Scite of those our Seas, that interpose themselves between the great Northern Commerce of the whole World, and that of the East, West, and Southern Climates. And withal, the infinite Commodities that by Fishing in the same is daily made, it cannot be doubted, but his Majesty, by Means of his own excellent Wisdom and Virtue; and, by the Industry of his faithful Subjects and People, may easily, without Injustice to any Prince or Person whatsoever, be made the greatest Monarch for Command and Wealth, and his People the most opulent and flourishing Nation of any in the World. And this the rather, for that his Majesty is now absolute Commander of the *British* Isle; and hath enlarged his Dominions over a great Part of the Western *Indies*: By means of which Extent of Empire, (crossing, in a Manner, the whole Ocean) the Trade and Persons of all Nations (removing from one Part of the World to the other) must, of Necessity, first or last, come within the Compass of his Power and Jurisdiction.

And therefore, the Sovereignty of our Seas being the most precious Jewel of his Majesty's Crown, and (next under God) the principal Means of our Wealth and Safety; all true *English* Hearts and Hands are bound, by all possible Means and Diligence to preserve and maintain the same, even with the utmost of their Lives, their Goods, and Fortunes.

Thus far the Author of that incomparable Treatise, on that Head, *viz.* Of the inestimable Riches and Commodities of the *British* Seas.

In the next Place.

The Collector hereof conceives it useful to transcribe and publish some of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander* and other Nations: Proving, that our Sea and Land Commodities enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own; which he humbly presented to his Majesty King *James I.* Anno 1618, in the Words following, *viz.*

“ *May it please your Majesty to consider these Points following:*

“ 1. Whether it be not fit, that a State-Merchant be settled within your
“ Dominions, which may both dispose more profitably of the Riches thereof;

“ and encounter Policies of Merchant Strangers, who now go beyond us in
 “ all Kind of profitable Merchandizing.

“ 2. Whether it be not necessary, that your native Commodities should
 “ receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects, within your Dominions.

“ 3. Whether it be not fit, the Coals should yield your Majesty and Sub-
 “ jects a better Value, by permitting them to pass out of the Land; and that
 “ they be in your Subjects Shipping only transported.

“ 4. Whether it be not fit, your Majesty presently raise your Coin to as
 “ high Rates as it is in the Parts beyond the Sea.

“ 5. Whether it be not necessary, that the great Sea Business of Fishing be
 “ forthwith set forwards.

“ If it please your Majesty to approve of these Considerations, and accord-
 “ ingly to put them in a right Course of Execution; I assure myself, by
 “ God’s Help, in a short Time your Majesty’s Customs, and the continual
 “ coming into your Coffers, will be exceedingly increased; your Ships and
 “ Mariners trebled; your Land and waste Towns, which are now out of
 “ Gates, better replenished; and your People employed, to the great Enrich-
 “ ing and Honour of your Kingdom; with the Applause, and to the Com-
 “ fort of your loyal Subjects, &c.”

Touching Fishing.

The great Sea Business of Fishing doth employ near twenty thousand Ships and Vessels; and four hundred thousand People are employed thereby yearly, upon your Coasts of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; with sixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* only have about three thousand Ships to fish withal, and fifty thousand People are employed yearly by them upon your Majesty’s Coasts of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. These three thousand Fishing-Ships and Vessels of the *Hollanders*, do employ near nine thousand other Ships and Vessels; and one hundred and fifty thousand Persons more by Sea and Land, to make Provisions, to dress and transport the Fish they take, and return Commodities; whereby they are enabled, and do build yearly a thousand Ships and Vessels, having not one Timber-tree growing in their own Country, nor Home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred Ships; and yet they have twenty thousand Ships and Vessels, and all employed.

King *Henry VII.* desirous to make his Kingdoms powerful and rich, by Increase of Ships and Mariners, and Employment of his People, sent unto his Sea-Coast Towns, moving them to set up the great and rich Fishing, with Promise to give them needful Privileges, and to furnish them with Loans of Money, if Need were, to encourage them; yet his People were slack.

Now, since I have traced this Business, and made my Endeavours known to your Majesty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, who have set down under their Hands for more Assurance; and promised to disburse large
 Sums

Sums of Money, for the building up of a strong, rich, and large Sea City; which will increase more Strength to your Land, give more Comfort, and do more Good to all your Cities and Towns than all the Companies of your Kingdoms, having fit and needful Privileges for the upholding and strengthening of so weighty and needful a Business.

For Example, twenty Busses built and put into a Sea-Coast Town, (where there is not one Ship before) there must be to carry, recarry, transport, and make Provision for each Bus, three Ships: Likewise, every Ship setting on Work thirty several Trades and Occupations; and four thousand Persons by Sea and Land; insomuch, as three hundred Persons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four Months for the Busses; which is no small Employment.

Thus, by twenty Busses, are set on Work eight thousand Persons by Sea and Land, and an Increase of above one thousand Mariners, and a Fleet of eighty Sail of Ships, to belong to one Town, where none were before, to take the Wealth out of the Sea, and to enrich and strengthen the Land, only by raising twenty Busses. Then, what good one thousand or two thousand will do, I leave to your Majesty's Consideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how necessary Fishermen are to the Commonwealth; and how needful to be advanced and cherished, viz.

1. For taking God's Blessing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwise we lose.
2. For setting the People on Work.
3. For making Plenty and Cheapness in the Realm.
4. For encreasing of Ships to make the Land powerful.
5. For a continual Nursery, for breeding and increasing our Mariners.
6. For making Employment of all Sorts of People; as blind, lame, and others, by Sea and Land; from ten or twelve Years and upwards.
7. For enriching your Majesty's Coffers, for Merchandizes returned from other Countries, for Fish and Herrings.
8. For the Encrease and Enabling of Merchants, which now droop, and daily decay.

Furthermore. *Some Particulars needful to be considered of, viz.*

The mighty huge Fishing that ever could be heard of in the World, is upon the Coasts of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: But the great Fishery is in the *Low-Countries*, and other petty States, wherewith they serve themselves, and all *Christendom*, as it shall appear.

In four Towns in the East Kingdoms, within the *Sound* (*Queensborough, Elbing, Statten, and Dantzick*) there are carried and vented in a Year, between thirty and forty thousand Lasts of Herrings; which, sold but at fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Last, is about six hundred and twenty thousand Pounds; and we none.

Besides

Besides *Denmark, Norway, Sweeden, Leafland, Rye, Nevil, the Nerre,* and other Port-Towns within the *Sound*, there is carried and vented above ten thousand Lafts of Herrings, fold at fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Laft, is one hundred and feventy thousand Pounds more yearly. And, in fuch Request are our Herrings there, that they are often fold for twenty, four and twenty, thirty, and thirty-fix Pounds the Laft; and we fend not one Barrel into all thofe Eaft Countries.

The *Hollanders* fend into *Ruffia* near fifteen hundred Lafts of Herrings, fold for about thirty Shillings the Barrel, which amounts to twenty-feven thousand Pounds; and we but about twenty or thirty Lafts.

To *Stoad, Hamburgh, Bremen, Embden* upon the River of *Elbe, Weafer,* and *Emby*, are carried and vented of Fish and Herrings, about fix thousand Lafts, fold about fifteen or sixteen Pounds the Lafts, which is about one hundred thousand Pounds; and we none.

Cleaveland, Gulickland, up the River of *Rbine* to *Cullen, Franckford*, or the *Maine*, and fo over all *Germany*, is carried and vented Fish and Herrings near two and twenty thousand Lafts, fold at twenty Pounds the Laft, which is four hundred and forty thousand Pounds; and wen one.

Up the River of *Maefe, Leigh, Maeftricht, Dendlow, Sutphin, Diventer, Camben, Swoole*, and all over *Lakeland*, are carried and vented feven thousand Lafts of Herrings, fold at twenty Pounds the Laft, which comes to one hundred and forty thousand Pounds; and we none.

To *Guelderland, Artois, Hainault, Brabant, Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-duke's Country, is carried and vented between eight and nine thousand Lafts, fold at eighteen Pounds the Laft, which is one hundred fixty-two thousand Pounds; and we none.

The *Hollanders* and others carried off all Sorts of Herrings to *Roan* only, in one Year, befides all other Parts of *France*, fifty thousand Lafts of Herrings, fold at twenty Pounds the Laft, which is one Million of Pounds; and we not one hundred Lafts thither. They are fold oftentimes for twenty-four, and thirty Pounds the Laft.

Between *Christmas* and *Lent*, the Duties for Fish and Herrings came to fifteen thousand Crowns at *Roan* only. That Year the late Queen deceased, Sir *Thomas Parry* was Agent then there, and *S. Savors's* Man knows it to be true, who handled the Bufinefs for pulling down the Impositions. Then, what great Sums of Money came to all in the Port-Towns, to enrich the *French* King's Coffers, and to all the Kings and States throughout *Chriftendom*, to enrich their Coffers?

Befides the great Quantity vented to the *Streights*, and the Multitude fpend in the *Low Countries*, which there is likewise fold for many a hundred thousand Pounds more yearly, is neceffary to be remembered; and the Stream to be turned to the Good of this Kingdom; to whose Sea-Coasts God only hath fent and given thefe great Bleffings, and Multitude of Riches for us to take, howfoever it hath been neglected, to the Hurt of this Kingdom; that any Nation fhould carry away out of this Kingdom yearly great Maffes of Money for Fish taken

taken in our Seas, and sold again by them to us, which must needs be a great Dishonour to our Nation, and Hindrance to this Realm.

In a Word, the main Bulk and Mass of Herrings, from whence they raise so many Millions yearly, that enrich other Kingdoms, Kings, and States: Coffers, and likewise their own People, proceedeth from our Seas and Lands: And the Return of the Commodities and Coin they bring Home in Exchange of Fish and other Commodities are so huge, as would require a large Discourse apart. And all the Amends they make us, is, they beat us out of Trade in all Parts, with our own Commodities.

III. It is also thought meet here to publish an Extract out of a Book printed in Holland, Anno 1669, put out by the late Pensionary *John de Witt*, entitled, *A Representation of the wholesome political Grounds and Maxims of the Republick of Holland, and West-Friesland*. Wherein

He makes an Estimate of the Number of Souls Subjects of the States General, and concludes they are in Number 2,400,000.

And says, these Persons maintain themselves as followeth, viz.

By Fishing at Sea, and to set them out as Fishers with Ships, Rigging, Casks, Salt, and other Materials, or Instruments, and the Traffick that depends thereon,	450,000
By Land Husbandry, Inland Fishing, Mowers of Downs, and Turf-makers; with those that are to furnish those Trades, with all Sorts of Materials, as they are Husbandmen,	200,000
By making all Manner of Manufacturies, Ships, Mechanick, or Handicraft-works, which are consumed in Foreign Parts; as also, Traders relating to the said Manufactures,	650,000
By Navigation, or Sailing for Freight and Trade only, whereby I mean Freight or Carriage into Foreign Parts, to sell and to buy; as also, to carry from and to Holland, all such Wares and Merchandizes, which pertain not to Fishing and Manufactures, nor depend thereon: And lastly, I include herein all Inhabitants that are serviceable to such Traders and Owners of Ships let out to Freight, amounting in all to	250,000
By all these Inhabitants, as they are Men, Women, and Chil- dren, to provide with and work about all that is spent in this Land; as Meat, Drink, Cloathing, Housing; Arts necessary for Ease, Pleasure, or Ornament; Household Goods to sell or make,	650,000
By the Labour and Care of all the above-mentioned Persons, idle Gentry without Callings, Rulers and Officers in Polity, Usurers, Soldiers, Hospital-men, Beggars, &c.	200,000

In all 2,400,000

That

That HOLLAND lies very commodiously to fetch its Provisions out of the Sea, and to provide for its Maintenance by other Arts and Expedients; and how great a Means of Subsistence the Fishery may tend to us.

TO procure its Food out of the Sea, which is common to all Men, *Holland* is very well situate; not only on a Sea abounding with great Store of Fish near the *Dogger-Sand*, where Haddock, Cod, and Ling, may, in great Abundance be taken and salted; but also, near the Herring-Fishery, which is no where else but on the Coast of *Great-Britain*, viz. from *St. John's* to *St. James's*, about *Hitland*, *Phagril*, and *Bobennes*, in the deep Waters, Eastward of *Yarmouth*. And this Herring-Fishing, now of two hundred Years standing, since *William Benkelson* learned first to gill, salt, and pack them up in Casks, with the Cod-Fishery, is become so effectual a Means of Subsistence for these Lands, (especially since so many neighbouring People, by reason of their Religion, are obliged, upon certain Days and Weeks of the Year, wholly to refrain eating of Flesh) that the *Hollanders* do only fish in a Time of Peace with more than one thousand Busses, from four and twenty to thirty Lasts Burthen each; and with one hundred and seventy small Vessels fish for Herrings, within the Entrance of *Texel*: So that those thousand Ships being set to Sea for a Year, wherein they make three Voyages, do cost above ten Millions of Guilders, accounting only the Buss with its Tackle, at four thousand five hundred and fifty Guilders; and the setting forth to Sea, five thousand five hundred Guilders, there remaining nothing of all its Preparation the second Year but the bare Vessel; and that much worn and torn, and needing great Preparation.

If these thousand Busses do take yearly at least forty thousand Lasts of Herrings, counting them worth two hundred Guilders the Last, they will produce to *Holland* more than eight Millions of Guilders.

And seeing People have begun of late to make use of Whale-Oil and Whale-fins; and that they are taken to the Northward, not far from us, so that we, by Southerly Winds, can sail thither in six or eight Days, the Trade of Fisheries and Salt may easily be settled and fixed to us; or, as it were, entailed to our Country: For to fix these Fisheries, and many Manufactures, and consequently the Trade and Returns of them, depending upon the Navigation and Freighting of Ships; we must well consider, that the greatest Difficulty to enable so innumerable a Number of People to subsist on its own Bottom, is the powerullest Means to draw all Foreign Wares into *Holland*; not only to store them up there, and afterwards to send them up the Countries through the *Maese*, *Waal*, *Yssel*, and the *Rhine*, (making together one River)

River) to numerous Towns and People lying on the Side of them, (the most considerable in the World for the Consumption of Goods) but also, to consume the same imported Goods, or to have them wrought up at home. It being well known, that no Country in the World, of so small a Compass, has so many People and Master-workmen as we have. And besides this,

Hereunto may be added, That no Country in the World is so wonderfully trenched or cut through for navigable Rivers, whereby all Merchandize may be carried to and fro, with so little Charge.

Emanuel Van Materan, in his History says, " That in three Days Time, " Anno 1601, there sailed out of *Holland* to the Eastward, eight or nine hundred Ships, and fifteen hundred Busses, on Herring Fishing." And that Fishing is such, if that may be credited which the *English* Authors have written, [viz. *Gerard Malines*, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, and *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and which *Lieven Van Aitzma*, Anno 1653, Page 863, seems, in some Measure, to confirm] viz. " That there are yearly taken and spent by the *Hollanders*, " above three hundred thousand Lasts of Herrings, and other salted Fish:" And, that the Whale-Fishing takes up above twelve thousand Men, which sail out of these Countries. For, since the *Greenland* Company is dissolved, and the Whale-Fishing set open for all Men, that Fishing is increased from one to ten; so that we compute that all these Fishing-Vessels are built here; the Ropes, Sails, Nets, and Casks made here, and provided with Salt: One may easily imagine, that there must be an incredible Number of People that maintain themselves thereby; especially when we add thereunto, that all the People have Need of Meat, Drink, Cloathing, and Housing; as also, that the Fish, when caught, is transported by the *Hollanders*, by Shipping, throughout the whole World.

And indeed, if it be true, that *Sir Walter Raleigh* affirms, (who made diligent Scrutiny thereinto, in the Year 1618, whereby to inform K. *James*) that the *Hollanders* fished on the Coast of *Great-Britain*, with no less than three thousand Ships, and fifty thousand Men: And that they employed and set out to Sea, both to transport and sell the Fish so taken, and to make Returns thereof, nine thousand Ships more, and one hundred and fifty thousand Men besides. And if we hereunto add what he further says, viz. that twenty Busses do maintain eight thousand People; and that the *Hollanders* had, in all, no less than twenty thousand Ships at Sea.

As also, that the Fisheries, Navigation, and Traffick by Sea, with its Dependencies since that Time, to the Year 1667, is increased one Third more: I say, if it be so, we may then easily conclude, that the Sea is a special Means of the *Hollander's* Subsistence; seeing *Holland*, by this only Way, affords by its own Industry, above three hundred thousand Lasts of salted Fish taken on board Ships: So that,

If we add hereunto the Whale, Oil, and Fins, and our *Holland* Manufactures; with that which all our Rivers within our Dominions afford us, it must be confessed, that no Country in the World can make so many Ships lading of Merchandize out of itself, as *Holland* alone.

To which the Collector thinks he has the Freedom to add, *viz.*

That the Foundation of all this, is the Fish taken out of the *British* Seas, belonging to *England*, &c.

IV. Take a Copy of some farther Considerations, in all Humbleness propounded to his late Majesty King *Charles II.* by Dr. *Benjamin Worsley*, sometime Secretary to the Right Honourable the Lords of his said Majesty's Council for Plantations and Trade, &c. which said Copy hath come to the Hands of the Publisher, who well knew him to be a Person of great Ingenuity and Truth; and had spent some Years, and Hundreds of Pounds, in making himself Master of this Craft, by his Travels into *Holland*, &c. worthy the Acceptance of all Persons, who incline to be concerned in the Fishery Affairs. He asserts,

1. That the least Valuation that hath been hitherto generally put upon the Herring Fishing, is, three Millions of Pounds Sterling *per* Year.

2. That the Reasonableness of this Valuation may appear, by the Number of Busses usually imployed in the said Fishing, which are said to be at least sixteen hundred; by the Quantity of Fish usually caught in each of the said Busses; by the Registries kept of Import and Export of the said Fish in several Custom-Houses of *Holland* and *Friezland*; and by the known Price that the said Fish usually bears in all Markets.

3. That, according to this Valuation, the Fishing alone doth amount to more than either the whole Manufacture and Commodities of *England* apart; or the whole Manufacture of *France* apart; and consequently, to more than the whole Plate and annual Production of *Spain*, considered apart.

4. That the Fishing therefore being added to all the rest of the Manufactures of *Holland*, (both Woollen and Linnen) and to the Greatness of its *East-India* Trade, doth unavoidably cast a Super-balance upon *Holland*, more than upon any State of *Europe* besides, even near to the double, and by this Means a Super-balance also of Stock and Strength at Sea proportionably.

5. That, on the other Hand, if the Scale of the said Fishing may by any Means possibly be removed from *Holland*, and transferred into any other Nation; the Fishing so transferred, shall, and must cast near as great an Over-balance of Trade upon that Nation, wherein it is, and as great an Advantage of Stock, Commerce and Strength at Sea, as *Holland* itself now hath.

6. That the Fishing then, is the very Goal or Prize of Trade, and the very Goal or Prize of the Dominion of the Sea; and that Thing singly, which whosoever gains, makes himself Master of both these. And that very Thing, which, whosoever misseth, doth miss of both these.

7. That, if we shall therefore wholly relinquish the said Fishing to the *Hollander*, with all the Gain and Advantage of it, we shall and must relinquish of Course to him, both the Superiority of Trade, and the Superiority of the Power at Sea. Yea, we shall and must also deprive ourselves of all Capacity for ever, to hinder him in either of these two; both because of the extreme Loss we have had of our Seamen of late; and because we have neither any
moral,

moral, or rational Way, or Possibility left us, of recovering the said Loss again, unless by setting upon the said Fishery.

VIII. That the Herring-Fishing, though proper only to his Majesty's Dominions, and though frequently attempted by us, hath nevertheless, hitherto, always miscarried with us, even from the very End that hath been propounded to ourselves in it: Which is, the Example of the *Hollanders*, and the Gain he makes of it, and the Necessity we suppose there is of following the same Method which we observe him to take in it; which is, to catch and save the said Fish in Herring-Busses.

IX. That this our Miscarriage constantly in it hath produced, not only a General Indisposition, but a General Despondency upon the Nation, any more to undertake it, or adventure upon it; as having entertained a certain secret Persuasion at length, through our Unsuccessfulness in it, that our Nation hath not a Genius for it; and that there is a Mystery in it, which though the *Dutch* do well understand, yet we cannot reach it.

X. Whereas indeed the proper Causes of all our Miscarriages hath (as I humbly conceive) been rather produced from the Deficiencies following.

1. Because we have not thoroughly considered, that the *Dutch* have many more Conveniencies for prosecuting the said Fishing than we can possibly have, if we will make *London* to be the principle Scale, Seat, or Staple for the said Fishing-Trade (as hitherto we have done) and shall resolve to bring all the Fish that is caught, here, into the *Thames*, to be shipp'd off hence; even as the *Dutch* do usually bring theirs into *Holland*, before it can be any where transported. And therefore,

2. Have not well weighed the great Disadvantage of this very Foundation itself; in regard, it is not a Matter of Election that the *Dutch* do bring in all their Herring first into *Holland*, before it be shipped, but is a Matter of absolute Necessity that lieth unavoidably on them, rather than of Choice.

3. Forasmuch as the *Hollanders* have now for near a whole Age been Masters of the said Fishing, and of the present Method of it, in managing it by Busses: And forasmuch as they have been now for so long a Time possesst of such a vast Stock, both of Busses, Boats, Nets, and all Manner of Provisions, and Conveniencies for it, which no other Nation besides hath; and which none can in any reasonable Time, nor without the Expence of at least a Million of Pounds *Sterling*, ever be able to compass. They must, for these Reasons, of Necessity be in a Capacity of Husbanding the said Fishery in the present Order of it, to a far greater Degree of Advantage, than it is possible for any Nation to do besides, who shall endeavour only to follow them, and imitate them in their Way, and in the present Manner of their ordering of it.

4. It seems not to have been duly considered, that the Fishing hath not only of late, but for many Years, been made the very Interest of the *Netherland* State; and being looked upon by them as such an Interest, without which it is every Way impossible that they should be able to uphold the Greatness of their Stock, Power, or Trade. And,

5. Such an Interest therefore, that as they will never suffer themselves to be beaten or treated out of it, either by Prudence or Force; so will they never suffer any to share with them in it, if they can any Way possibly hinder or avoid it. And consequently,

6. That inasmuch as this is such an Interest as upon which they themselves know, that the whole of their Stock, Power, Strength, and Commerce by Sea, doth not only in Part, but altogether depend; they must bend the Chief of their Policy, Counsel, and Force, not only to discourage any that shall attempt it, but utterly to beat out any that shall undertake it; even though it should be with never so much Loss to themselves for a Season.

XI. That, as it is for these Causes, and upon these Grounds therefore, that we have hitherto lost all the Stock, that we have ever employed about the said Fishing: So, while the said Causes and Grounds do remain, it seems altogether impossible that we should avoid the losing of whatever Stock we shall hereafter adventure in it, or employ about it. Seeing, if we shall proceed in no other Method than that we have hitherto accustomed ourselves to, it will always be in the Power of the *Hollander* to under-sell us; and he will be sure purposely to anticipate, clog, and prevent the Market of us, where we shall trade for the said Fish; provided, we continue only in his Course, and set not upon the said Fishing in any other better or more advantageous Order, than that which he is himself so very well seen, versed, and experienced in.

XII. That by Reason of the many Advantages which it is known that the *Hollander* hath of us in this Business; and by Reason of the Experience which we have so often had of our own Loss and Miscarriage in the said Fishing, we come likewise to lie under this further Disadvantage at present, *viz.* That there can be no Ground rationally to expect that any Stock should for the future ever again be raised to set on Foot the said Fishing, out of the voluntary Contribution of ordinary and private Persons.

XIII. That these Things being thus truly stated, these Deductions following seem necessarily consequent.

1. That it is altogether in vain ever to expect any Advantage from the said Fishing, unless some Course can rationally be propounded, whereby we may set upon the said Fishing, without that extraordinary Preparation and Charge, which the *Hollanders* are necessarily put unto at present in it. Nor, without we can be able to make the said Fish cheaper than the *Hollander* now does in the Way wherein he is. Nor unless we can be able to under-sell him something in it, without any considerable Loss to ourselves. Nor, without we can also hope (upon such Grounds and Inductions as are reasonable) that we shall be able to go to Market with the said Fish before him.

2. That the setting also upon the said Fishery seems wholly unpractical, if not impossible, unless such a Stock may be raised and found out for it, that shall not be dependent upon the Subscriptions, or Pleasures of any private Persons;

Persons; and that shall nevertheless be not only sufficient to begin it, but sufficient also, by being applied constantly to it, by Degrees to promote it: And may be sufficient also, in Time, with the Blessing of God upon it, both to defend it, and protect it; and therefore to bear the Hazard of such extraordinary Casualties in it, which is not to be expected can, or ever will be borne by the Fortune of private Persons.

3. That the said Fishing, being so great an Interest of State, as it is in *Holland*, it can never increase therefore with any Success in these Kingdoms, but it must expect to meet with many Indignities, Discouragements, and Affronts to be put upon it, from our Neighbours, in order to hinder it; and therefore it can never be so far pursued in *England*, as to arrive to any visible Head, and much less attain to any Manner of Growth or Completion, without the express Authority of the Government to countenance it, and without the thorough Resolution of his Majesty to defend it, and protect it, in the just and merchantable Methods of it.

XIV. Which Foundations, as those which are the main and principal ones, being now premised, for the full, clear, and entire settling of the whole Affair of the Fishery, these Particulars following are therefore, in all Humbleness, supposed to be requisite.

1. The signal and express Countenance of his Majesty in it, with the publick Authority of Parliament.

2. A Correspondency through his Majesty's special Favour, Assistance and Grace, with the Government and Subjects of his Majesty's Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

3. An exact Method for pursuing of the said Fishery in such Manner as may not only be easy, feasible, and practical, but as secure, and free from all Hazards, as we can rationally or morally propound Things to be.

4. Such a different Manner and Order of catching, curing, and saving the said Fish, as shall be every Way more cheap, than that which the *Hollander* is in the present Practice of, and such as may be soon expedited and dispatched also, as that the Foreign Markets of the *Hollander* shall be generally always anticipated by our Shipping.

5. Such a Body of Instructions therefore, as shall be sufficient to give Light into each Particular that may rationally be supposed to be of Moment, with reference to the whole Affair of the said Fishing.

6. A select Choice of such Persons, as a Council or Directors of the said Fishing (not exceeding seven) as may not only be of Integrity, but of sufficient Ability to manage all Things tending to the promoting of the said Fishery, pursuant to the said Method and Instructions that shall be propounded: And consequently, such Persons as are skilled in the practical Part of the Trade of the said Fishing.

7. That the said Council or Directors have the same Powers and Authorities given them, as have been usually heretofore granted to such Councils, as have been.

been appointed for the Royal Fishing, together with such other Powers as to the Wisdom of his Majesty shall be thought fit: And that the said Powers and Authorities be confirmed by Act of Parliament. And,

8. That grand Commissioners be also appointed, for the chief Over-sight of the said Fishing, consisting of the principal Officers of State, and of so many others, as to the Wisdom of his Majesty, and of the Parliament shall be thought fit.

9. That the said grand Commissioners have full Power to call the said Council or Directors of the said Fishery to an Account, once every half Year; and to see, by the Entries of their Journal, Letters, Orders, and Instructions, what Progress they do from Time to Time make in the said Business. To the End that his Majesty may have a perfect Account of it, and their Faithfulness or Negligence in it: And of whatever Accident may at any Time happen to impede it, protract it, or discourage it.

10. That to this End, Duplicates of the said Council's Journal, Books of Letters and Instructions, be constantly transcribed, not only for the Use of the said grand Commissioners, but that they may be the better preserved, and remain upon Record.

11. That the said grand Commissioners may have Power, with the Leave of his Majesty, to propound some *Præmium* as an extraordinary Reward from his Majesty, to encourage the Diligence of the said Directors; which *Præmium* therefore is to be only out of the clear Gain that shall be made of the said Trade, through the prudent and faithful Management and Conduct of the said Directors: And shall be therefore such a Part of the said clear Gain only, as to his Majesty's Wisdom shall be thought fit.

12. That the said grand Commissioners have further Power, with the Consent of his Majesty, to give Directions in all such Cases of Difficulty, as shall at any Time arise about the said Fishery. As also to hear and determine all such other Debates relating to the said Affair, as the said Directors may be doubtful in, or may not be able to agree amongst themselves fully about.

13. That if upon the good Success and Blessing of God upon the said Fishery, any of the Nobility, Gentry, or other private Persons, shall desire to incorporate themselves, for the further Assistance and carrying on of the said Design, and for the making the Trade of the said Fishing the more compleatly a publick and national Concern; or if the said Directors shall find it for the Service of his Majesty, and of absolute Necessity for the promoting of the said Fishing, to take into Association any of his Majesty's Subjects of *Scotland*, or of *Ireland*, with reference to the Fishing of either of the said Kingdoms: In either of these Cases, such a Method is to be set down by the said Directors for the Manner of it, as is to be wholly approved by his Majesty, and the said grand Commissioners.

14. That such a Fund or Stock, that may be both Annual and certain, be by the special Grace and Favour of his Majesty granted and assigned, for the undertaking and carrying on the said Fishing; and not only for the Increase, but for the better Protection and Defence of it, and for the defraying the Salaries

Salaries and Contingencies of such as shall be appointed the immediate Directors of it.

15. That for the better preventing either any Impediment or Interruption that may be endeavour'd to be given by any, at any Time hereafter, in or about the said Fishing, it is further humbly propounded, that the Application of the said Fund or Stock entirely for the carrying on of the said Fishing, and for the Ends now mentioned, may be settled by Act of Parliament; together with so many of these Proposals, or of such others, as shall be thought fit to be allowed or approved by his Majesty.

16. For the greater Encouragement of the said Fishing, and as a particular Mark of the Parliament's Approbation of it, and of their Desire to promote it: It is further humbly propounded, that all such Persons as shall subscribe a Stock towards the Advancement of the said Fishing, and all such others as shall be any ways employ'd for, or in the managing of it, or for pursuing such Instructions and Directions about it, as shall any way be derived from his Majesty's Authority in it, shall be expressly declar'd to be taken into Protection by the Government, whether they be Natives of his Majesty's Dominions, or whether they be Foreigners; together with all such Ships, Busses, Boats, and all other Vessels or Craft whatsoever, that shall be employ'd by any of the Persons so associated in the said Fishing, or by any deriving Authority from his Majesty in it: And likewise, that all Ships and Vessels which shall be built or bought by the Stock appointed for the said Fishing, or by any that shall further subscribe to it, or be associated with it, shall be exempted from paying Duty, Custom, or Impost, for the Fish which they shall export: Or for whatsoever Salt, Barrel-staves, Net-Yarn, Flax or Hemp, for making the said Net-Yarn, which they shall import for the said Fishing, during such Time, as to the Wisdom of his Majesty and the Parliament shall be thought fit.

17. That for the greater Encouragement of Merchants, and others of Wisdom, Knowledge, and Experience, to subscribe towards the carrying on the said Fishery; and for the better making the said Undertaking, the general Concern of this Nation, it is further humbly propounded, that all such Losses as shall proceed from the mere Casualty of the Seas by Storms or Shipwrecks; and all such Losses as shall happen through any Injury or Violence that shall be offer'd us by any of the Subjects of the neighbouring Princes or States about us, shall be so far borne and eased, out of the said publick Stock (which shall be designed towards it) as to the Wisdom of his Majesty and of the Parliament shall be thought fit.

18. That for the farther Encouragement of all Sorts of Persons to subscribe to the said Fishing, and for encouraging all Persons of Quality the more, to make the said Undertaking the general Concern of this Nation, it is likewise humbly propounded, that as ample Privileges may be given, by his Majesty and the Parliament, to all such Persons as shall be incorporated in the said Fishing Stock, as have been of late granted by the Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, for the general Undertaking of the said Fishing in that Kingdom.

XV. And in regard not only the Valuableness, but the entire Practicableness of all these Proposals, doth wholly depend upon the finding out such a Fund or Stock as is herein mentioned; and upon clearing the Feasibility of carrying on the said Fishing, in a Way of more Advantage than the *Hollander* is in at present, and forming such Instructions as are propounded: Wherefore, in order to the compassing both the said Ends, as such a Method or Practice is herewith humbly tendered, and such a Body of Instructions for pursuing the said Fishing, as may be answerable to the Ends which are now laid down, and to the Advantages herein mentioned: So there are some Gentlemen, who, out of their Affection to his Majesty's Service, and out of the great Sense they have, how much the gaining of the said Fishing doth import and concern this Nation, have digested some Proposals to tender to his Majesty, about the Præ-emption of Salt, with such a moderate Duty upon it, as may be neither grievous to the Nation, nor burthensome to the Manufacture of it. By the Benefit of which Præ-emption alone, nevertheless it is hoped, that about twenty thousand Pounds Sterling *per* Year, or more, may be easily raised, as a Fund or Stock, that may not only give a Beginning to the said Fishing, but by a constant Application to it, may by Degrees encrease it, and in Time be able to perfect it; and may, if the Blessing of God give Success to it, encourage divers others of the Nation to contribute both their Estates and Advice for the farther Help of it; so as, as it is hoped, nothing will be wanting, that may conduce to the compleating our Desire and Design, of undermining the *Hollander* in the present Possession he hath of the said Fishing; which, as it is the main and principal Scope of this Paper, so of the Discourse hereunto annexed.

XVI. That both the said Discourses, and the said Proposals, about the Præ-emption of Salt, have the rather been tendered at this Season, in regard of the present Treaty which his Majesty is in with *Holland*; and that, considering how much his Majesty and his Subjects have suffer'd from that Nation, it is hoped, that nothing, in this Conjunction of Affairs, will prove more grateful to the Parliament, or more obliging to the Nation itself; and therefore, that nothing may be more for his Majesty's present Service.

XVII. That by how much the more plainly and obviously it doth appear, that the promoting of the Fishery is for the necessary Good and Interest of this Nation; and by how much the more highly grateful and obliging it must needs be, to see such a Foundation laid, as may, in Probability, every Way tend to the exceeding Greatness of it; by so much the more injurious and distasteful it must justly render the *Dutch*, to the Generality of this Nation, if they shall either wrongfully disturb us in it, or if they shall endeavour by Violence to force us from it.

XVIII. This Proposal is the rather presented at this Season, that upon this Occasion the ancient Rights of his Majesty, and the known Customs of this Kingdom, may be farther examined and enquired into, *viz.* For the granting, not only a Guard and Protection, but express Licence to all Fishers whatsoever, for Fishing in any Part of the Seas, from the West of *England* even unto *Scotland*;

land; and for the demanding a Duty upon all Fish so caught in any Part of the said Seas, towards defraying the Charge of the said Guard and Protection, not only from the Subjects belonging unto *France*, but from the Subjects belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Dukes of *Britany*; and that if the said Custom of giving Licence and Protection to all Fishers, be found to be the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and of this Kingdom, the said Custom may receive such farther Sanction, Assertion, and Confirmation from his Majesty, and from the Parliament, as to the Wisdom of his Majesty, and of the Parliament, shall at this Juncture of Time be judged most convenient.

XIX. Lastly, This Proposal is the rather tendered, because, notwithstanding the extraordinary Gain which the *Hollander* doth continually reap from our own Seas by the said Fishing; and notwithstanding the many Laws which he hath made for the encouraging, regulating, and promoting his own Fishing; [which are about thirty] and notwithstanding the several Affronts that have been offered, both in *Scotland*, and in our own Channel, by their Fishers; and notwithstanding that both his Majesty's Father and his Majesty's Grandfather have been constrained, by their respective Proclamations, to vindicate their Rights against the Insolencies of the said *Dutch*, both to the said Seas, and to the said Fishing; yet no Parliament of *England* hath hitherto either made any Law purposely or principally for encreasing the said Fishing; or hath ever raised or appointed any Stock towards it; or hath erected any Council about it; or hath encouraged the Nation itself to undertake it; or hath warranted them their Protection in it.

V. In the next Place, shall be super-added a few Pages of a Treatise, written by Mr. *Andrew Yarranton* (entitled, *The Second Part of England's Improvement by Sea and Land*) who, upon much Travel and Observation, (among other Things) thought fit to give his Furtherance and Advice towards the Undertaking and Management of the Fishery: Evincing how we may outdo our Neighbours therein; [which may serve by Way of Answer to their Objection, who would have us believe, that we cannot do it to the like Advantage, and at lower Charge, &c.] which is transcribed in his own Words, as followeth, *viz.*

So prodigiously rich is the Fishing-Trade, and so plainly the Right of the King of *England*, that with good Reason is our Negligence taken Notice of by all *Europe*, and our Prudence questioned by it; that we keep so little a Share of it to ourselves as we do, and let our Neighbours grow great and haughty, by the peaceable and full Enjoyment of that considerable Trade. 'Twas a most unlucky Piece of Goodness, that some of our former Princes ever suffer'd a foreign Bus to visit the *English* Coasts: The Tributes and Acknowledgments were paid them then, in return of that Favour. And most unlucky still it was, that the sad calamitous Times, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* prevented his Resolution of correcting the *Dutch*, and keeping the Wealth of the Seas to his own People: And that the Civil Wars, some time after, gave

Occasion to the *Hollanders* to fix themselves in that Trade; and 'tis now a difficult Matter (by Force) to dispossess them of it.

This only Trade hath been the Occasion of their present Greatness. This hath given them their mighty Numbers of Seamen, their vast Fleets of Ships, and a Foundation of all their other Trades: But they could not so easily have ingrossed the Fishery to themselves (notwithstanding those Opportunities they have had of advancing themselves, whilst we have not had Leisure to look Abroad) if at other times we had used a due Prudence to withdraw it from them.

We have endeavour'd, with Force, and a prodigious Expence of Treasure and Blood, to bring down their Hearts, and level their Trades: And had they dared to meet us in open Sea, no doubt we had done their Business, and our own; but they are too wise to do so, without all the Advantage in the World, and therefore have commonly so manag'd themselves, by standing on the defensive Part, by prolonging a War, by retiring within their Sands, and natural Defences of their Seas, that we have been hardly able, at any time, to do any Thing considerable upon them; never to vindicate the Fishery to ourselves, nor indeed to bring them to their Acknowledgment for that Privilege.

We have endeavour'd otherwise also to raise our Fishery, and depress theirs; as, by raising Joint-Stocks for the buying Busses and Nets, and all other Necessaries for so great an Affair; and by making Companies, and gathering large Sums of Money, to be employ'd in the same Manner. But all these industrious Attempts have had ill Success, and have ended in nought but a visible Loss to the Undertakers, and Reproach to the Nation.

How there should be these Miscarriages, it may seem wonderful to most Men, when the Fish are on our own Coasts, when we have had good Harbours, and the whole Nation praying for the Prosperity of the Undertaking; and if you read all the Books that have been wrote on this Subject of the Fishery, you shall not find one give the Reason of our Failures.

You shall find them plentiful in setting forth the great Riches attending thereon; the mighty Encrease of Seamen; the constant Employ of the Poor, and the Enlargement of their several Trades; not one Word of the Grounds of our ill Success, or of the Reasons of the Prosperity of the *Dutch*, or of the Remedies to be made use of by us to recover our Loss and Credit. Alas! without these last Enquiries, what signify the first, but to raise our Grief and Torment, when we know the Advantages of the Fishery, but cannot attain to them? Methinks, if they had not been very ingenious and prudent Men, which had pass'd by these Enquiries, I could presently be satisfied, that I could give a Resolution to them; nor do I nevertheless despair that I can: For, the Things are so evident to myself, that I cannot doubt but they will be so to all others also.

What then is the Reason, why our *English* Fishery is unprosperous, and the *Dutch* successful?

'Tis, in short, that we fish intolerably dear, and they exceeding cheap.

What

What also, if this Inconveniency of ours might be remov'd, by being taught to fish cheaper than the *Dutch* possibly can? For it is not to be doubted, but as Cheapness is one of the most essential Parts of Trade; and as he that can sell a Commodity cheapest, shall certainly have the Trade of that Commodity; so, because the *Dutch* fish cheaper than we now, and therefore can sell cheaper, they therefore consequently have the Trade of the Fishery; and by the same Reason, when we are able to fish cheaper than they, we shall carry away the Fishing-Trade from them also: For the Trade must necessarily be there where 'tis carried on cheapest. No other Reason can there possibly be, why the *Dutch* should get the Fishery to themselves.

If you say, the Regularity of their Trade, or their Industry may effect this, and deny that they fish cheaper; you may easily be answer'd, as to the two first Parts of your Assertion; for they are both resolved into Cheapness. Industry promotes Cheapness, and so does Regularity; both of them are but Promoters of that which I have told you is the Supporter of the *Dutch* Trade: And as to the latter Part of the Assertion, you must be convinced by Fact.

I will therefore shew you, *First*, How the *Dutch* manage their Fishery to the best Advantage.

Secondly, In what chargeable Ways the *English* proceed in the Fishery. And then, at last,

Thirdly, I will endeavour to shew you, how the Defects of our *English* Fishery may be removed, and made cheaper than it is with the *Dutch*.

As to the Management of the Fishery to the best Advantage by the Hollanders.

The great Trade of building Busses, making Nets, and doing all other Things which are convenient for the Fishing-Trade, is at *Enecusen*, upon the *South-Sea*, and at several Places adjoining; so that, all the Conveniencies for that Trade lying near together, it is carried on with the greater Expediteness and Cheapness. It is not in the Power of any Man to run the Prices of Things high, where there is a mighty Number of the same Profession about him, who all of them work with the greatest Diligence that can be, that they may not be underfold by another.

In other Places, (where two or three only of the same Trade reside) they very often presume upon the Necessity of the neighbouring Countries dealing with them, and therefore live profusely, and demand intolerable Prices for their Commodities; which (according to their Way of living) they cannot afford cheaper. Here is no Ground for such an Extravagancy; you must live moderately, and sell cheap, or you cannot drive a Trade in these Parts.

What promotes especially the building their Busses as cheap as they do, but their good Husbandry, in always being provided with Timber, fitted to all Dimensions? So that, they can no sooner resolve on building a Bus, but the Timber is instantly laid out for its Foundation and Bones, and with mighty Expedition the Bus is raised.

And now the Buſs is raiſed, what can they do leſs than take care to preſerve it from all Storms and Bruiſes, whiſt it lies at Home in Harbour? And therefore they have cut Rivers and Channels for its quiet Repoſe, which requires not the Charge either of Cable or Anchor, or of any Perſon to look to it, when not employed in Fiſhing. Theſe are great Advantages; but ſee what mighty ones follow: The Buſſes and Nets, and the Tackling belonging thereto, are always to the Owners ſufficient Credit to take up ready Money, either to be employed in the Voyage, or to buy Salt or Viſuals, or for any other neceſſary Occaſions; and the Title to the Buſs never ſo much as questionable, ſhe being always under a Register: A Thing of no ſmall Importance to all Perſons therein concerned, were it well conſidered. For, thereby all Men whatſoever are made capable with Swiftneſs to run their Money into the Fiſhing-Trade, and buying a Part of, or the whole Buſs. And ſince there is ſuch Security, what! Should the Money lay ruſting in the Bags? No; it is not ſo; it tumbles out into Trade immediately; the Owner either willingly running the Hazard himſelf, or letting it at three in the Hundred Intereſt; nay, ſometimes for two, the Fiſherman hath enough to ſerve his Occaſions. An unſpeakable Benefit is this to him, and a prodigious Advancement to the Trade in general.

But, oh! This Trade is ſo ſweet, (ſee the Care and Diligence of the States about it) no leſs than forty Placarts made by them, for the curing, and well-ordering of the Herrings, as the Season of the Year ſhall require. What quick Diſpatches has the Fiſhery in all its Affairs, whenever it comes before the Body of the States? They give them all ſufficient Guards, whiſt they are laboriouſly drawing up into their Ships the Riches of the Sea; and permit the Fiſhers to end all their Differences by Men of their own Trade, that it may be concluded with Quickneſs, and ſmall Charge. So great are all theſe Advantages of the Fiſhery, that one would think, that one need not have another; and yet they have a conſiderable one: They make Salt upon Salt, with *Portugal* Salt and Sea-water mixt together; and by this Means they have this Commodity cheap, which is uſed ſo conſiderably in the Fiſhery; and under theſe beneficial Circumſtances is the Fiſhery of *Holland* (at all Times) managed.

I do not here intend to ſpeak of their Benefits and Returns in the Fiſhing-Trade, by the vaſt Exchange and Barter which they make with their Fiſh, for other Commodities, in moſt Parts of the World. It is enough for my Purpoſe, that I have given you the ſeveral Conveniencies that do attend them, until their Fiſh (caught and cured) be brought into their Harbours.

But now, let us ſee how bleſſedly the *Engliſh* Fiſhery is managed. We are likely indeed to keep Pace with the *Dutch* in that Trade, when it is carried on ſo, as if we had ſtudied to make it as chargeable as it could be.

The building of Buſſes is hardly known by us; or, where it is known, it is a mighty Charge above what the *Dutch* build at; ſuch bad Huſbands are we in providing Stores of Timber, and ſorting it out for all the Dimensions of our Buſs: Beſides, our Timber coſts us more (though we have it off our own Soil)

Soil) than it doth the *Hollander*, that fetches every Plank of it from *Germany*, or other remote Places.

Our Nets, and all our Tackle, convenient for the Fishery, are not here to be had, but at much greater Rates than what the *Dutch* pay for them ; and if they chance to want mending at any Time, it is impossible, as Matters go with us now, we cannot, with Speed enough, have them done here, but must be forced to send them over to *Enecusen*, in *Holland*, to have them mended, with greater Expedition and Cheapness.

And now perhaps the Fishing-Time is over, and the Buß is brought into Harbour, (not into Cuts or Channels for that Purpose) but she must have Anchor and Cable to keep her to her Station : She continually suffers the Unkindness of frequent Tides : And here only is the Care of our Bußes eminent, that we provide Men to look to them, and are even expensive, rather than suffer them to lie alone : So great is our Negligence, and so small is our Policy !

But we even outdo ourselves in the Concern of Salt ; our Folly, even in this alone, is sufficient to ruin the Fishing-Design ; for we have no Salt-Works wholly applicable to, and at the Command of our Fishery, and therefore we expose it to all the Uncertainties in the World : Let but a War fall out between us and some potent Prince or State, and presently Salt rises to such excessive Rates, that the Fishery cannot be carried on, while it continues so : Trade cannot endure such a mighty Inconvenience, and is impatient of staying any where, but where it may be even and clever.

Well, the Fisherman has Need of a little Money, to mend or buy some Nets, or some Provisions for his Voyage ; let us see after what Fashion he will be furnished : The Property of his Buß is not so certain, as to take up Money upon it, nor draw in a Partner. If the poor Man would any ways procure a Supply, he must bring his Sureties, and pay at least six in the hundred, and let him be sure to observe the very Minute of Payment, or he will be swinged unconscionably by his Creditor. But, perhaps, he cannot get Security, and then his Voyage is hinder'd, and no-body has the Benefit of his Disappointment but the *Dutch*, and his Wife, who, by this Means, has his Company the longer. I need not declare any other Disadvantages of the *English* Fishery, as a long Process of Law upon Controversies, few or no Directions for its Management from publick Authority, and Persons employ'd therein many times very unfitting for that Business.

What I have already shewn, is enough to convince any Man, that we manage our Fishery basely, and at a vast Expence, in Comparison of the *Dutch*, and that we are deficient of the Encouragements that they enjoy.

I should now proceed to the Redress of these Mischiefs, but I must first vent my Sorrow, and lament a while, that we have thus long lain under these Inconveniencies, to the utter suppressing this Trade, which would have given the Nation a mighty Strength and Treasure ; which would have employ'd Thousands of poor People, who heretofore, and now, want Bread to maintain them for want of Work ; and to the raising some of our Neighbours (as well *Hans-*
men

men as *Dutch*, though I have not named them) to great Riches ; to a Power and Impudence of confronting ourselves, and maintaining their Insolence by that very Strength which our Remissness and Negligence has given them.

I come at last to shew how these Miscarriages may be retrieved ; how we may gain the Fishery to ourselves, and exclude the *Dutch* who have enjoy'd it so long already : And certainly this can never be done, but by putting ourselves in a Way to sell the Commodity cheaper than they. I would have said also, we ought to sell our Fish as well-conditioned as they, but that it is plain, Goodness is included in Cheapness ; for I may sell a Commodity not cheaper than another, though I sell it at a lower Price, if the Commodity be not comparable to his in Goodness.

This Thing, Cheapness, is, as before I have said, the great Controuler of all Trade ; and is, as it were, the Waiting-Gentlewoman to Trade, who must be obtained before ever 'tis possible to gain the Mistress. This is so clear, that I need not recount the common Instances of its Effects over all the World : By this Means Empories have been shuffled from one Place to another ; and it hath been the common Artifice of such as have desired to engross the Trade of their Neighbours, to act by such Methods.

I will go on therefore, and endeavour to inform you, how this Cheapness may be introduced ; and, in order to it, will use this Method.

First, To shew you how, and where sufficient Iron and Timber may be had to build Busses, and how it may be contrived, that we may build them cheaper than the *Dutch*.

Secondly, To recommend a Place to you, where we may have Cuts and Channels, and all other Conveniencies for the receiving in of Busses, as well as they in *Holland*.

Thirdly, Propose where a convenient Sea-City may be built for those that are employ'd in the Fishery, to inhabit in, and how it may be conveniently erected.

Fourthly, To shew you, that we have so great a Conveniency for the making of Salt, that we may, at all times, afford it much cheaper than the *Dutch* can ; and that this Salt will be much better for curing Fish, than any that is now extant. And,

Fifthly, Offer some Reasons, for the allowing certain Privileges to the Sea-City, and the Inhabitants thereof, for their Encouragement and trading cheap.

As to the first Proposal of making Busses cheap.

In many Places of *Ireland*, Timber lies wasting and decaying for want of Money to make the Ways passable to some Rivers, and the making such Rivers navigable, for the bringing down Timber for its Exportation ; so that, at present, the Timber is of little or no Advantage to the Owners, or the Publick : And this is so, more especially in the County of *Wexford*, near the River *Slane*. There is a Wood, with prodigious Quantities of Timber, which may be brought to a convenient Place upon the said River, for eight Shillings the

the Ton, or Load; there all the Timber and Beams of the Buſs may be fixed, and then ſhe may be taken off the Stocks, and the River (with four or five thouſand Pounds Charge) may be made ſufficiently uſeful for that Purpoſe: Then ſhe may be convey'd towards the Sea by ſeveral Flaſhes, from Place to Place, till you come to *Eniſcortby* or *Scarawalſh*, where ſhe may be fitted up and finiſhed. In like Manner may all Sorts of Timber be convey'd down the *Slane* for Exportation.

As to what Iron is neceſſary towards the Building of Buſſes, it may be made upon this River, with the vaſt Timber that now lies rotting, and the Offal of ſuch Timber as ſhall be uſed in the building of Buſſes; and of the Foreſt of *Dean* Cinders and Iron-Stone, which Metal makes the beſt Iron in the World, except what is made of Iron-Stone, dug out of the Clay-Hill near *Ludlow* in *Shropſhire*: And the Price of this Iron, ſo made, will not be above nine Pounds the Ton, in the Bar, and eleven Pounds drawn out into Bolts, as it is in *Germany*, for the Uſe of the *Dutch* in building their Shipping.

For your better Satisfaction, take here the Rates of making one Ton of Iron, fifteen Miles upon the *Slane*.

Of Iron, Stone, and Cinders, carried out of the Foreſt of <i>Dean</i> , by Sea, to <i>Wexford</i> , and ſo unto the Place where it is to be con- verted to Iron; two Tons of Cinders, and one Ton of Iron-Stone (which three Ton of Mine will make one Ton of Iron) deliver'd in <i>Weymouth</i> , will coſt	l. s. d. } 0 18 0
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The Carriage of three Ton of Iron-Stone and Cinders, from <i>Weymouth</i> to <i>Wexford</i> ,	} 2 0 0
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The Carriage of three Ton from <i>Wexford</i> to the Place in- tended for the Furnace,	} 0 12 0
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Two Loads and half of Charcoal, to make one Ton of Sow- Iron, at 8 s. per Load,	} 1 0 0
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Founders Wages for making one Ton of Sow-Iron,	0 4 0
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So the Ton of Sow-Iron made in the Place, will be	4 14 0
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Two thouſand ſeven hundred of Sow-Iron, will make one Ton of Bar-Iron, whereof the Charges of making one Ton of Bar- Iron, will be	} 6 8 6
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For making one Ton of Bar-Iron to the Finery, or Hammer- Man,	} 1 0 0
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Three Load of Charcoal to make one Ton of Bar-Iron, at 8 s. per Load,	} 1 4 0
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All which makes the Ton of Bar-Iron deliver'd in the Place,	} 0 12 6
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For drawing one Ton of Iron into Bolts the <i>German</i> Way,	2 0 0
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So

So the Charge of Iron drawn, into Bars, is 8 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* } 10 12 6
and in Bolts, 2 *l.* in all,

And that which will contribute much to the Cheapness of working Iron into divers and various Commodities is, that within twelve Miles of the Place, fit and convenient for this Design of building Buffes, there is the best and durablest Pit-coals fit for Smiths, that ever yet I saw; it is called *Kilkenny* Coals. Here are therefore redundant Advantages, besides the Promotion of the Cheapness of building Buffes, that the Trade of working Iron into Commodities may be highly advanced; so that, in that also, we may outdo, and undersell our Neighbours.

But to come narrowly to the Consideration of what I have said in relation to Buffes; Timber is, by that Means, to be had at the third Penny the *Dutch* now pay for theirs, which they are forced to fetch out of *Germany*, and Iron at two Thirds the *Dutch* now pay for theirs.

When the Buſs is building, we shall have Advantages also; for Provisions may be had for the Workmen at two Thirds of what it costs the *Dutch*: And certainly all this considered together, there will be no small Assistance found out, for procuring Cheapness in our Fishery, and underselling the *Hollanders*.

Yet, to set out and compleat the Buſs, there are still wanting Pitch, Tar, and Maſts, which may be brought with as little Charge to the Place proposed, for erecting Buffes, betwixt *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as it is now to *Holland*. Rope and Canvas (if we please) may be also procured, as cheap as by them.

And now the Buſs is fitted out, let her be laded with all Sorts of Timber, ready prepared for Shipping, as also with Iron-Bolts, Trindle-pins, and Planks, to be carried to the new Sea-City, hereafter mentioned, to be used either for building or repairing other Fishing-Buffes; or for Occasions in Shipping or Building.

I am ready to justify the cheap building of Buffes, I have here proposed, to any Man whatsoever, that denies it. Nor am I stinted up only to the Woods upon the River *Slane*; for there are several other Woods in *Ireland*, that lie very conveniently, and may be almost as useful as those. So that, upon the Whole, I dare aver, that *Ireland* may be made as beneficial, or more to *England*, than *Norway* is to the *Dane*; if Matters were but fitly applied, and the Cheapness it would give us in Trade, taken hold of.

For Places to be made to hold the Buffes when not employed Abroad, and thereby to save all that needless Expence we are at present at, to preserve the Buffes from the Damage they commonly receive, when they lie in our great Rivers; and thereby to make our Husbandry as great as it is with the Dutch.

Certainly, there cannot be a greater Conveniency than is in the *Isle of Dogs*, or *Blackwall-Level*, an Isle seated in the *Thames*, (one of the best Rivers in the World) just over-against *Greenwich*. This Level lies so low within its Banks, that

that the *Thames*, at high Water, rises five or six Feet above its Surface: By which Means, the Channels may, with very little Charge, be cut, the Earth not being to be carried away, but thrown up to raise a Bank, for making the Channels sufficient to keep in the Tide. If the Channels be cut six Feet deep, the Water will be eleven Feet deep in them; so that any Bufs fully laded, there will be Water sufficient for to swim in and out.

And upon the Banks of these Cuts may be built the Sea-City, before proposed for the Conveniency of Fishermen, and others concerned in the Fishery; and then the Bufs may be laid up just under (or before) the Fisherman's House; and the Water (Bye-locks) may be kept back at the Re-flowing of the Tide, for the more convenient and quiet living of the Bufs: Here will be no Need of Anchor or Cable, or Man to look after the Bufs.

Here also may be made all Manner of Ropes and Nets for the Use of the Fishery; and here may be made Docks convenient to build Ships and Busses, and Yards, to receive in all Things that may be wanting, for the equipping of the Bufs.

And that the building such a City is necessary for the carrying on so great a Design, we may consider how easily a new Undertaking is destroyed in the Beginning, without all the Encouragements and Helps in the World, that may be afforded.

This hath been apparent in the setting up all Manufactures whatsoever, and from whence it has been a common Policy to settle a Staple in some certain Town, where it is best to be regulated, by the Members of the Trade living together. And this Cohabitation has been a frequent Cause of Industry, and great Improvements: One Man advancing the Husbandry and Invention of another; it has prevented Cheats and Cozenages, and extravagant Prices: For every Man is cautious that he deals honestly, and sells at a moderate Price, when he knows he shall be otherwise supplanted in his Trade, by his more honest Neighbour: But how much does it concern us to provide these Conveniencies for the Advancement of the Fishery, when we shall not be able to make any thing of it, unless we are able to undersel the *Dutch*, (a vigilant and industrious People, already fixed in that Trade) who know their Support and Being depends upon it; and therefore will, by all Means whatsoever, endeavour to ruin the Enterprize?

Next comes the Consideration of Salt.

It has been for many Years disputable in *Holland*, what Salt is best for curing the Herrings; and what Sorts of Salt are fittest to be used in the several Fishing Seasons. And there hath been much Labour, and practical Experience used, to bring the Salt to such Perfection as it is now with them. But, notwithstanding all their Practice and Enquiry, there are many good Arguments to be produced, which may prove, that great Part of the Salt now used in curing their Fish, is not so good as the World takes it to be.

I am not at present for Controversies; but I dare affirm, and shall be ready at any Time to make it appear, that there is in *England* Salt Brine running at Waste, of such noble and good Quality, that if it were made and converted into good sizeable Salt, fit for salting Herrings, it would surpass any Salt that is now extant; and make the Herrings that are salted therewith, bring at all Markets more Money by the Barrel, than twice the Value of such Salt, as will be used in salting such Herrings shall come to.

This is a rare Salt indeed; and removes not only those Mischiefs, which, at present (in the Fishery) have Relation to Salt, but seems, in a mighty Measure, to promise us the Fishing Trade.

Salt was a Charge before to us, but now it will be the Occasion of a greater Gain; affording us upon the Return, by the Sale of the Fish, double its Charge and Worth: And it will be much better for us to use Salt thus, than if Fish could be cured without Salt, and sold at the Price it is now at. Whilst this Advantage is enjoyed by us, still must the *Dutch* be at the same Expence for their Salt: They must first fetch their Salt from *France* or *Portugal*; and if they make Salt upon Salt, they must fetch their Brine from Sea to mix with *Portugal* Salt: This is toilsome and chargeable; but ours will come at much lower Rates. It may be delivered in *Cornwal* for salting the Pilchards, and at the *Dogger-Sands* for salting Herrings, even at twelve Pence the Bushel: For the Salt Brine lies so conveniently, that it may be conveyed in Pipes to a Place plentiful of Coals, and joining to a great navigable River, by which a Ship of fifty Tons may come to it.

A Sample of this Salt shall be at Mr. *Man*'s Coffee-house, at *Charing-Cross*; at *Jonathan*'s Coffee-house in *Exchange-Alley*, and at *Richard*'s at *Temple-Bar*; where some Persons of Honour will attest the Truth of the Discovery, and of the Quantity that may at all Times be had. And how can we now fear (if what I have said be true) but that the Fishery must certainly be ours? We shall have cheaper Timber, cheaper Iron by far, than the *Dutch*; other Things necessary for a Bus, as cheap as they. Salt incomparably better, as convenient Channels and better, being seated in the Middle of a well-ordered Town. But,

To these mighty Advantages, how happy should we be, if one more were given us? viz. To have great Privileges and Immunities conferred upon the Sea-faring City. As much may be said for this, and more than what was urged before, for a City's being granted. How can there be too great Immunities given, for the settling so great a Design as the Fishery? Great Privileges will draw in Numbers of Inhabitants, from at home and abroad; does also cause Cheapness, (the essential Part of Trade :) And indeed is as convenient for raising the Fishing Enterprize, as any Thing that can be named.

I therefore lastly humbly offer these Privileges may be granted the Fishing City.

I. A Freedom from Taxes for a certain Number of Years.

II. Freedom

II. Freedom from Customs, for all Goods that shall be used about the Fishing Trade, and in making Busses, &c.

III. That the Houses in the City, and Busses, may be put under a Register, and so become transferrable Credit.

IV. That Granaries, and Lumber-houses to take in Corn, and Pawns, by way of Registry, may be allowed.

V. That Naturalization may be allowed to all Strangers and Foreigners, and Liberty of Conscience, &c.

VI. That a Fund be fixed, for Maintenance of all such as shall fall into Want, who are employed in the Fishing Trade, and did not break by their own Knavery, or Negligence.

VII. That all Differences betwixt Party and Party, relating to the Fishing Trade, may be ended by Members of the said City and Trade.

These Privileges proposed for the Fishing City, and what before I offered the Redress of the ill Managements in our Fishery, will, no Doubt, answer the intended End. Nothing being amiss in our Fishery, but a Way is shewn how it may be corrected; nothing good and commendable in the *Dutch* Fishery, but a Discovery is made, how we may outdo and undersell them.

As I have ventured on the Grounds and Reasons of the Fishing Trade, I doubt not, but (if the Parliament approve of my Sentiments upon it) they will be willing to raise a small Sum for the Advancement of this vast Design of the Fishery: But it is strange, that a certain Gentleman should advise the Parliament (in Print) to raise six hundred thousand Pounds for this Enterprize, without giving any Reasons how the Obstructions that make so noble a Design ineffectual in the End, might be removed.

VI. To draw towards a Conclusion of this Collection, take an Abstract of the Laws, &c. respecting the Fishery Trade, and Encouragements thereto, taken out of the last Impression of the Collection of Acts of Tonnage and Poundage, and Book of Rates, *Anno* 1689, (and other Statutes) which being in most, or many Merchants Hands, they may examine the same, and find the Contents of them more at large, in the several Pages of the said Book herein after mentioned, viz.

Page 44. Under the Head of Fish, it is noted, that all Sorts of Fish, *English* taken, and brought in *English* Ships, ought to pay no Custom, as by the Statute of 5 *Eliz. Regin. cap.* 5.

Page 115. By the Act of 12 *Car. II. Regis*, entitled, *An Act for encouraging and increasing of Shipping and Navigation*: That Fish, Fins, and Oil, not made and cured by *Englishmen*, shall pay double Strangers Customs, upon their Importation.

Page 121. By the same Act it is provided, this Act shall not extend to lay Aliens Duties on Salt made in *Scotland*; nor to any Fish caught, saved, and

cured by the People of Scotland, and imported directly in Scotch-built Ships, &c.

Page 139. In the Act of 12 Car. II. entitled, *A Subsidy granted to the King of Tonnage and Poundage*, &c. it is provided, that all Manner of Fish, *English* taken, and brought by *English* Bottoms into this Realm; and all Manner of fresh Fish and Bestial, that shall come into this Realm, are excepted and fore-prized.

Page 141. In the same Act it is provided, that it shall and may be lawful, to all and every his Majesty's Subjects, at his and their Will and Pleasure, to convey and transport out of this Realm, all and any Kind of Herrings, and other Sea-Fish, to be taken in the Sea, by any the Subjects aforesaid, from, or out of any Port, or Harbour of this Realm, to any Place out of your Majesty's Dominions, without paying any Custom, Subsidy, or Poundage-Money for the same Herrings, or other Fish so carried and transported; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

In an Act past *Anno 13 & 14 Car. II. Regis, cap. 24.* entitled, *An Act Declaratory concerning Bankrupts*; it is enacted, that no Person, or Persons whatsoever, who have adventured, or put in, or who hereafter shall adventure, or put in any Sum, or Sums of Money, in the *East-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, or into any Joint-Stock or Stocks of Money, by them, or either of them, made or raised, or to be made and raised, for and towards the maintaining and carrying on the Trade by the said *East-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, managed, or to be managed, or who have formerly, or shall hereafter adventure, or put in any Sum, or Sums of Money, into any Stock, or Stocks of Money, for the maintaining and carrying on of the Fishing Trade, or the Trade now called *Royal Fishing Trade*; and shall receive, and take his or their Part, or Dividend of Fish, Goods, or Merchandizes in Specie, and shall sell, or exchange the same; shall, for, or by Reason only of such Adventure of Monies so put into the said *East-India* Company, or *Guinea* Company, or into any Stock, or Stocks, for and towards the said Fishing Trade; or for, or by Reason only of the receiving and taking such Fish, Goods, and Merchandizes in Specie, or selling for Money, or exchanging the same again, be adjudged, taken, esteemed, or reputed a Merchant or Trader, within any Statute, or Statutes for Bankrupts, or be liable to the same, &c.

Page 165. In the Act of 14 Car. II. *Regis*, entitled, *An Act for preventing Frauds*, &c. the King, by his Commission, may appoint lawful Keys, &c. for the Shipping and Lading of Goods, and that no Goods shall be laden or discharged, but at such lawful Places: Fish taken by his Majesty's Subjects, Bestials, and Salt only excepted.

Page 169. In the same Act, Pitch, Tar, Salt, Rosin, Deal-Boards, Fir, Timber, &c. from the *Netherlands*, or *Germany*, are prohibited to be imported in any Sort of Ships whatsoever, on Penalty of the Loss of the said Goods and Ships, &c.

Page 175. In the same Act it is provided, that it shall and may be lawful to export, from any his Majesty's Dominions, Fish, into any Parts of the *Mediterranean-Sea*, in any *English* Ship or Vessel whatsoever; provided, that one Moiety of her full Lading, be Fish only. And, in such Case, to import any Wares or Merchandizes in the same Ship for that Voyage, without paying any other Rates or Duties of Tonnage or Poundage for the same, than were heretofore accustomed. And,

Page 176. That all Salt imported from *Scotland*, shall pay one Half-penny for every Gallon *Winchester* Measure, at the lading thereof, to his Majesty.

Page 194. In the Act of 15 *Car. II. Regis*, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of Trade*, it is provided, that it shall and may be lawful to ship and lade, &c. Salt, for the Fisheries of *New-England* and *Newfoundland*, &c. and the same to transport into any the Lands and Places therein named; any thing in the foregoing Clause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Page 199. In the same Act, for the Encouragement of Herring Fisheries, is this Clause, *viz.* And for the Encouragement of the Herring and North Sea, *Iceland*, and *Westmony* Fisheries, be it enacted, &c. that from, and after the first Day of *August*, 1664, no fresh Herring, fresh Cod, or Haddock, Coal-fish, or Gull-fish, shall be imported into *England*, *Wales*, &c. but in *English*-built Ships, or Vessels, or in Ships or Vessels *bonâ Fide*, belonging to *England*, &c. and having Certificates thereof, &c. and which hath been fished, caught, and taken in such Ships or Vessels, and not being bought or had of any Strangers born, or out of any Strangers Bottoms, under Pain of Forfeiture of Goods and Vessels, &c.

Page 209. In the Act of 18 *Car. II. Regis*, entitled, *An Act against Importing Cattle from Ireland*, &c. for the better Encouragement of the Fishery of this Kingdom, it is enacted, that if any Ling, Herring, Cod, or Pilchard, fresh or salted, dried or bloated, or any Salmon, Eels or Congers, taken by any Foreigners, &c. shall be imported, uttered, sold, or exposed to Sale in this Kingdom, the same shall be seized, sold, &c.

Page 245. In the Act of 25 *Car. II. Regis*, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trade, and for the better securing the Plantation Trade*; Liberty is given for all Persons to trade thither, and to import into this Kingdom, all Sorts of Oil, Blubber, and Fins, &c. and to use and exercise all other Trade, to and from those Parts, without paying any Custom or Duty, for any such Goods brought in by any *English* or *Welch* Vessels: But if, by any Shipping of the King's Colonies and Plantations, then to pay the several Rates mentioned in this Act, &c. and the *English*, who are to have the Benefit of this Act, must proceed from *England* to *Greenland*.

Page 249. In the same last before-mentioned Act, it is also enacted, for the Encouragement of the *Eastland* Trade, that all Persons shall have free Liberty to trade into, and from *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, &c. any thing in the Charter of the Governor, &c. or any other Charter, Grant, Act, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding; and that any Persons of this Realm, that shall

desire

desire it, may be admitted into the said Fellowship of Merchants of *Eastland*, paying for his Admission forty Shillings, and no more.

Page 255. In the Act passed *Anno primo Regni Jac. II.* intitled, *An Act for the settling the Revenue on his Majesty for Life*, was settled on his said late Majesty for his Life, &c.

Also, in the Act passed *Anno 5 & 6 of W. & M.* (whereby it is enacted, that from and after the 25th Day of *March*, 1694, there shall be paid to their Majesties, until the 17th Day of *May*, 1697, and no longer, for Salt, the Rates and Duties therein mentioned) it is provided, that for all such Fish, therein after mentioned, as shall be exported from any Port or Place in *England, Wales,* and *Berwick*, into any Parts beyond the Seas, shall be repaid to the Exporter, these Rates following, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For every Vessel of Pilchards, containing fifty Gallons,	0	12	0
For every Barrel of White Herrings, ———	0	2	6
For every Barrel of Red Herrings, ———	0	2	0
For every Barrel of Salmon, ———	0	5	0
For every Hundred of Cod-fish, Ling, Conger, or Hake,	0	15	0

And so proportionably for a greater or smaller Number or Quantity; which shall be paid by the Officer appointed to collect the Duties upon Salt, payable by the said Act: And, if the Officer have not Money in Hand to pay the same; then, upon his Certificate, the principal Commissioners of Excise shall pay it; and if the Officer refuse to pay or give such Certificate, he shall forfeit double the Sum; [as by the said Act, Relation being thereunto had, for the better Certainty thereof, it doth, and may more fully and at large appear.]

To all which Premises, for the further Encouragement of Persons to become Subscribers and Engagers in this Fishery Affair, it is thought meet to conclude with the Abstract of a Paper (come to the Collector's Hands) which contains the Substance of the Things before written, under the Title of *Some Preliminary Considerations and Advertisements, &c. viz.*

The Advantages thereof may have Demonstration and Evidence, by the great Power and Wealth which our Neighbours have arrived unto thereby, in Multitudes of Ships and Seamen employed therein; and publick Revenues, and private Advantages of their Merchants, by and with the Commodities and Monies returned, for the Fish they take; whereas, we have not one Ship of War built or maintained thereby, nor Mariners bred up (or very few, comparatively, of equal Skill, Hardiness, or Strength, for Labour or Service) nor Trade by Fish considerable, but buy, and are supplied by our Neighbours, at so dear Rates, as none but Persons of great Estates can eat Fish with us. And moreover, consume and spend our Coin abroad, for the Necessaries relating to our Manufactures; which, by the setting up this Trade, would be prevented and increased: And also, our Towns on the Sea-Coasts (destroyed or neglected, through the Decay of the Fishery and Manufactures) might become re-edified and peopled. Our publick Revenues would become augment-
ed

ed to a Sufficiency of preserving the Dominion of these Seas: Our Trade would be vastly spread, even to many unknown, or, at least, untraded Parts: Our poor and idle People would be maintained, and their Earnings in the Manufactures, relating to the Fishery, would enable them, both to buy Cloaths and Victuals, and save the vast Collections made every Year, for their Maintenance in Idleness and Sloth. In short, we might hereby become the Mart of all Trade, and be furnished at all Times with Magazines and Stores of all Sorts, both for War and Peace, for ourselves and all our Neighbours; being better situated for Markets, than any other trading Nation whatsoever; which would multiply our Silver and Gold, and reduce it to its Par, as in our most *Halcyon* Days.

Quest. If it be enquired, how shall this Affair be disposed, so as to prevent former Miscarriages and Discouragements?

Ans. 1. By a large Stock for carrying on the same to the utmost Extent it will bear.

2. By making a present Entrance upon this Trade, by the Company, under the Constitution, Laws, and Rules framed and fixed for that Purpose.

3. By his Majesty's and the Parliaments further Grants of Aid, Countenance, and Protection.

Obj. If it be alledged, it is a Time of War and Hazard, should it be now undertaken?

Sol. 1. There are several Things requisite to be prepared and provided; several Manufactures relating to the Trade to be erected, and Persons to be trained up and employed therein for some Time, before it can be actually engaged in (after some Stock is provided) in which, the Stock, as it comes in gradually, will be improved to the Adventurers Advantage, for their Encouragement, to begin the same; and, it may be hoped, the War will have an End.

2. There are several Fishing Places so situated, as that they may be made Use of very profitably, without considerable, if any Hazard, Loss, or Damage: For that some Vessels will seldom need to lie or labour out of Sight and Protection of our own Shores; whereby we may be enabled to furnish our Home Markets with Fish, at reasonable Rates.

3. If some Vessels should be lost, the Stock being great, and managed by a Corporation for a Joint-Account, the Damage would scarce be felt, and soon recovered, in so gainful a Trade.

4. A small Convoy, or Guard, on such Coasts will secure them; which the Letters-Patents provide for.

Obj. If it be said, we cannot build our Vessels, or sail them, nor manage our Affairs to that Advantage that our Neighbours do.

Sol. Many such Objections have been cast in, and probably will be revived, to discourage the Undertaking, by amusing ignorant Persons.
But

But the Error thereof is before evinced, by the Collections aforesaid, to the full Satisfaction of all that consider what is written; touching either the providing Timber and other Materials for building Fishing-Vessels; or the Rates of Buildings within his Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions; or the providing of Salt, both better and cheaper; or the saving the Duties imposed, both on the Salt, and the Exportation of the Fish, &c. or the Conveniencies of our Situation for exporting the same to Countries that will take them off: And many other Things observable out of what is collected as aforesaid. To which might have been added, an Abstract of Sir Roger Le Strange's brief Treatise to that Purpose, entitled, *A Discourse of the Fishery*; briefly laying open, not only the Advantages and Facility of the Undertaking, but likewise, the absolute Necessity of it, in order to the Well-being both of King and People, printed Anno 1674. And,

Q. If any be desirous to know, or have an Estimate of the ordinary Charge of building and equipping a Fishing-Vessel of about seventy Ton, for the first Year of its setting out, and so afterwards for twenty Years, in repairing and amending the same, and all its Furniture. As also, what may be the Annual Profits thereof one Year with another, &c.

Ans. None may presume on what depends on God's Providence and Blessing in the most prudent and diligent Management of this Affair, more than on any other maritime and merchantly Adventurers. But, computing the Particulars of Profit and Loss, by others Observations and Experience, it may be reasonably expected, that the Disburse of about one thousand Pounds, in building, equipping, victualling, and Wages of a Fishing-Vessel of about seventy Ton, may produce *Cent. per Cent. per Annum.* For, so have very prying and experienced Men in the Fishing-Trade computed; and such Estimate thereof has been formerly presented to a Committee of Parliament, appointed to enquire about the Fishery-Affair; and is evidenced, by a small Treatise, called *Britain's Buss*, printed Anno 1615, and re-printed Anno 1630, setting forth the Particulars.

But, supposing it to be but Half so much, or one Quarter, (*viz. 25 l. per Cent. clear Gains*) 'twere sufficient Encouragement and Motive to incite all Persons to be concerned therein by their Subscriptions; and the rather, for that 'tis so essentially requisite to the Strength, Safety, Wealth and Trade of these Kingdoms; and therefore is worthy the most serious Consideration and Regard of all true-hearted *English* Men, of whatsoever Characters and Denominations amongst us; and ought accordingly to be so managed, as all the People of these Nations, who are able to contribute towards the Stock thereof, may be admitted so to do; and thereby become engaged in Interest, to stand by, and defend the Rights and Privileges of these Kingdoms, in the Fishings aforesaid; and not to be limited within the sole Power and Advantage of a few, the Subscribers of the first Stock (proposed for the entering upon this Affair) exclusive of after-Subscriptions, to as far as the Trade and Affairs thereof will bear and require.

In

In order whereunto, the Company of the Royal Fishery of *England*, incorporated as aforesaid, in Prosecution of this great Affair and Design, have caused, as well the Letters Patents for their Incorporation, as the Constitutions Laws, and Articles, Terms or Conditions of Subscription, and bringing in Persons into the said Company, to be Members of, or Traders, or Adventurers with them therein, to be fairly ingrossed and published in Books, to be exposed and opened for Subscriptions. As also, Abstracts of them to be printed and published, in order to Persons having the Contents thereof before them for their Consideration, before they do subscribe.

The present Stock proposed by them is three hundred thousand Pounds; or one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds (at least) to begin the same withal: 'Tis made payable at ten several quarterly Payments; and not any Part thereof to be paid till thirty Days, from and after Notice or Publication of the compleating the said Subscriptions of the said first 150,000 *l.* as by their publick Advertisements may appear.

Out of all which, 'tis evident, that their is (1.) a legal Foundation, *viz.* By Letters Patents, or Charter from his late Majesty King *Charles II.* (2.) A regular Constitution and Laws, for the Management of the Affairs of the Company, so as may be both safe and easy; unto which all the Members of the Company are to subscribe, for the Conservation, observing and keeping the same inviolably. And, (3.) Considerable Encouragements to the Subscribers of the said first 300,000 *l.* not only by their Re-imbursment of their tenth, by the Subscribers of the next 300,000 *l.* as aforesaid, which is proposed to be allowed for the first Patentees, and such Disbursements, Losses, Charges and Damages, as the Members of the Company have sustained, in the Management and preserving the Patent, &c. in being, to this Time; and other uses of the Company, entrusted by the Constitution, to be distributed by the Trustees of the Company; but by three *per Cent.* allowed to the Subscribers of the first one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds thereof, out of their three first quarterly Payments, by equal Proportions: All which, notwithstanding, is also to be made good unto the Stock of the Company, by and out of the said tenth Part, proposed as aforesaid.

And to the End that Persons in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the remote Parts of *England*, might not be surprized or excluded the first Subscriptions and Benefits thereof, (if they should think fit to begin so early) the Company, by their Order of the third Day of *June* last, deferred their taking Subscriptions unto the third Day of *September* following; and resolved, that should have been the Day of opening their Books, for the said whole Sum of 300,000 *l.* And that they would speedily agree, and notify the Place, or Places, for doing thereof; which having been notified, several worthy Persons of the City of *London* and Parts adjacent, became engaged in Subscriptions and Promises, to the Value of about 50,000 *l.* (in case the Books should be then opened for that Purpose) Whereupon the Company thought meet to have their Books opened accordingly for such Value. But,

Upon further Considerations, (as namely, that most Members of Parliament, and others of the Nobility and Gentry, were out of Town, and were not likely to come sooner than about the Beginning of the next Term: And, that it was meet for the Company to provide they should not be precluded of any Advantages, proposed to the Subscribers of the first 300,000*l.*) The Company therefore, by their further Order of the 31st Day of *August* last, thought fit, upon the Subscriptions of the said 50,000*l.* to restrain any farther Subscriptions, or opening of their Books for that Purpose, until the fourth Day of *November* next; and having in nine Days Time received Subscriptions of the said 50,000*l.* they shut up their Books accordingly; and have ordered the same should be published; and that they will no longer, than the said fourth Day of *November* next, delay the Subscriptions, that any Persons shall think fit further to make, for raising the said Stock, and settling their other Affairs, relating to the Management thereof. And, in the mean Time, will live in Hopes of the Parliaments Confirmation of, and Additions to their Privileges, herein before-mentioned, to have been formerly granted to the Undertakers; whereunto they are encouraged, by the Judgment of the Parliament of this Kingdom, declared in the Preamble of an Act, past in the fourteenth Year of his late Majesty King *Charles II.* Cap. 28. wherein is this Expression, *viz.*

The publick Honour, Wealth, and Safety of this Realm, as well in the Maintenance of Trade, and Support of Navigation, as in many other Respects, doth in an high Degree depend upon the Improvement of the Fishery, &c.

Which may be thus paraphrased, *viz.* The Fish of the *British* Seas, and other his Majesty's Dominions, within the Grant afore-specified, (which costs us nothing but the taking) being added to our other useful and necessary Products and Manufactures, wherewith these Kingdoms and Dominions are blessed, beyond any other trading Nations of the World; wherein also consists the Honour of these Islands, may be exported to double, yea treble the Value of all necessary Imports of Merchandizes from other Countries, and so must necessarily produce great Wealth of all Kinds, and particularly Plenty of Monies, for its Balance. And, the Fishings train up Multitudes of the hardiest and skilfullest Seamen for our other Navigations and Defence: In the Improvement whereof principally, lies the Safety and Strength of these Nations; and the Situation of these Islands being such, as may justly challenge to be the Emporium, or Mart of Trade beyond all others, we shall not need to fear the Vent of such Surplusage of such Imports, for ready Monies of all Countries who need them. And, if so, (not regarding the malicious and clandestine Whisperings and Backbitings of such as envy and bear Ill-Will to our Nations, flourishing under our present Government, and the Ways and Means proposed for the Management of this Affair, (which they understand little of) let all the cordial Promoters thereof be up and doing: and if our only Strength fail us not, we may bid Defiance in his Name to all the Might of *Europe*; which shall conclude this Subject: With this brief Avertisement

ment of the Collector hereof, touching the present State of these Kingdoms, with respect to the present Advance of our Gold and other Monies, above the common Standard and Denomination, at which they are coined; *viz.* That the same is impoverishing and destructive to the Trade, Prosperity and Wealth of these Nations. That yet the Government may be eased of the Burthen of our clipped Monies, without Charge or Loss to the Nation; yea, to the great enriching thereof, and so as may tend to the carrying on the Fishery; the present War with the *French*, and all its Tradings whatsoever, to the Excess of Profit and Commodity before-mentioned; the Methods and Means of which he reserves to the further Prosecution of what he hath heretofore humbly proposed.

A LETTER to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of that Body. By Sir BARTHOLOMEW SHOWER, Knight.

S I R,

I Will be as good as my Word with you, and give you an Answer to those three Questions which you were pleased to put to me in our last Conversation: 1. What Occasion there is at present for a Convocation? 2. What Law there is, that commands, or permits their Sitting and Acting, but the absolute free Pleasure of the Prince? 3. Of what Validity their Acts and Resolutions are, unless confirmed and approved by Parliament?

The first of these three Questions I should regularly have ask'd you; the particular Course of your Thoughts and Studies has made you better able to answer it, than I am; and I think your Attendance on Convocations has left you Leisure enough to do it: However, since you tell me you expect my Opinion upon it, I, who can deny you nothing, will not deny you that. In plain *English* then, I think, that if ever there was Need of a Convocation, since Christianity was establish'd in this Kingdom, there is Need of one now; when such an open Looseness in Mens Principles and Practices, and such a settled Contempt of Religion and the Priesthood have prevail'd every where; when Heresies of all kinds; when Scepticism, Deism, and Atheism itself have over-run us, like a Deluge; when the Mosaic History has, by Men of your own Order, been cunningly undermined and exposed, under Pretence of explaining it; when the Trinity has been as openly denied by some, as the Unity of the Godhead sophistically opposed by others; when all Mysteries in Religion have been decried as Impositions on Mens Understandings, and nothing is admitted as an Article of Faith, but what we can fully and perfectly comprehend: Nay, when the Power of the Magistrate and of the Church is struck at, and the Indifference of all Religions is endeavour'd to be establish'd, by

Pleas for the Justice and Necessity of an universal, unlimited Toleration, even against the Sense of the whole Legislature; at such a Time, and in such an Age, you and I, Sir, and all Men that wish well to the Interests of Religion and the State, cannot but think, that there is great Need of a Convocation.

There is Need of it, to give a Check to the farther Proceeding of these loose and pernicious Opinions; or, if that cannot be done, yet, at least, to remove the Scandal which their Growth and Impunity have brought upon this Church and Nation; especially when we consider the sad Effects of these Opinions with regard to the Corruption of Mens Morals.

Sir, It is no News to either of us, (who are sometimes used, you know, to look Abroad, and see how the Wind stands from *Holland*) that the *Socinians* and other Anti-Trinitarians there, and their Abettors, are free enough in claiming our Church to their Party; Men of their boasted Probity and Reason would not, we may well think, pretend to it without some Grounds; the avowed Doctrines and Principles of our Church, we are sure, afford them none; and we are not able to guess whence they should have any, unless from the private Encouragements and Furtherance they have found in their secret Correspondence with some of our Members, that now make a very considerable Figure in it. Some Letters that have appear'd not long since, in the Account, a notable *Socinian*^y has given us, of the Reasons of his embracing the Romish Religion, have startled many considering Men amongst us, and made them doubt, there is somewhat more in these Boasts of that Sort of Men, than yet appears above-board; and inclined them to conclude, that the honest Divine in *Holland* was not very much mistaken, who, on that^z Occasion, about six Years since, expressed himself thus concerning them and us. “On this Score, *says he*, I shall add, that the Church of *England*, which is the most illustrious Part of our Reformation, owes us Something for our Edification: God forbid we should give any Credit to the Accusations made on that Account against her; but in Consideration of the Confidence where- with the Pleaders for an universal, unlimited Toleration, on this Side the Water, accuse her for being in their Opinions, I must take the Boldness to say, she ought not to refuse a publick, and, in some sort, solemn Disavowal of them, to refute those Calumnies.”

^a About the same Time we were thus called upon from thence, the Synod of the *Walloon* Churches of the United Provinces assembled at *Amsterdam*, being inform'd by the Memorials and Instructions of their Churches, and by a^b Letter from between thirty and forty of the *French* Ministers here at *London*, that several of their Communion did, both there and here, teach the *Socinian* Heresies, some of them openly; and that others of them more artificially hid their Poison under the Cover of an unbounded Toleration: This Synod, I

^y Mr. Papin. ^z *Jurieu Tableau du Socinianisme, à la Haye, 1690. Prim. Part, 5. Lettre, p. 211.* ^a *r. Extrait des articles résolu au Synod des Eglises Wallones, &c. Lettre 8. p. 565. Tableau du Socinianisme.* ^b *Ibid. 559.*

say, then thought it necessary, solemnly and unanimously to condemn several Propositions of that Nature and Tendency, as false, scandalous, and pernicious; forbidding, under the highest Censures, all Persons, Ecclesiastical or Secular, to vent them, either in their Sermons, Lectures, or even private Conversations; and ordering the private Persons, found faulty in that kind, to be excommunicated, and the Ministers to be suspended from their Charge, till the next Synod should determine farther concerning them.

We have Reason to honour this Synod, upon the Account of its laudable Zeal for the Faith; you may well remember, on another Occasion, with what Warmth and Eagerness the Judgment and Example of the Reformed Abroad have been pressed upon us; and our being permitted now to follow their Example, cannot reasonably be opposed by those, who have, upon other Occasions, laid so great a Stress upon it, especially when the Danger from those Opinions is now so much encreased, and the Occasion so much more pressing: For though the many *Socinian* Pamphlets, then publish'd without Controul, did great Mischief among us at Home, and gave some Grounds Abroad for the Brags on the one Side, and the Suspicions on the other concerning us, yet the (falsly stiled) *Vindication of the holy and ever blessed Trinity*, &c. with the several bold Defences of it, the sophistical Account of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, the Treatise call'd, *Christianity not Mystrious*, and the Discourse concerning the *Divinity and Death of Christ*, had not then appear'd, nor was the shameful Correspondence above-mention'd then discover'd.

Indeed, to be plain, there seems to be an universal Conspiracy amongst a Sort of Men, under the Stile of *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Latitudinarians*, Deniers of Mysteries, and pretending Explainers of them, to undermine and overthrow the Catholick Faith: There seems too much Reason to fear, there is no Order, Degree, nor Place among us, wholly free from the Infection; and as a Convocation, regularly meeting and acting freely, is the greatest Fence against these Mischiefs, and the most proper Instrument to apply a Remedy; so you cannot allow yourselves to doubt, but that my Lord of *Canterbury's* Piety and Zeal will move his Grace to represent it so, and incline his Majesty (who has run so many Hazards Abroad for securing our most holy Religion pure and uncorrupted) to think, there is now a proper and needful Occasion of using this Means to preserve it at Home.

You cannot imagine the mischievous Effects, which these various Opinions and Heresies, of late published and vindicated, have produced amongst the Laity; they are such, that a Convocation seems necessary, not only for the sake of the Faith and Doctrine of our *English* Church, but even to preserve the Belief of any Revelation: Such are the Inferences which the Gentlemen of this Age make from the Books above-mention'd, and the Opinions deliver'd in them, as command your Declaration, that there is a Religion enjoined by Heaven; for otherwise you must expect, that the next Age will believe none: I am loth to be more particular, but the Cause and the Effect are both plain.

Sir, I am sensible, that there are two or three Things, which may be objected to this Proposal. It will be said, perhaps, that my Lords the
Bishops

Bishops have a standing Jurisdiction, and Courts of their own, wherein they may proceed and judge of Heresy, and censure the Persons guilty of it; that the Universities have the like Power within themselves; and that his Majesty, by Virtue of his Supremacy, hath Power, according to the Laws of the Land, to oblige them to do their Duty in this, as well as in other Instances: That some of the heretical Opinions, from whence so much Danger is pretended, have been censur'd in this Way, and the Offenders punish'd; and that his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to give his Directions to my Lords the Bishops, forbidding the Use of any new Terms in the explaining of our Faith, and commanding and encouraging the Bishops to use their Authority therein; and that therefore these Mischiefs may be prevented in the ordinary Way, without having Recourse to a Convocation, where Mens Minds may be easily put into a Ferment; and *from which Sort of Meetings*, a great Man, not long since President of it, has been reported, by his Creatures, to have said, *he never knew any Good to come.*

Now, as to the Power and Jurisdiction of my Lords the Bishops in Matters of Heresy, whatsoever it be originally, and of ecclesiastical Right, yet it is, you know, by the Laws of *England*, confined within particular Bounds; and beyond those Bounds they are not allowed to have any Authority to determine or punish, and are, consequently, in very great Peril, if they exceed them: And whether they do or not, is to be judged in the Temporal Courts, where theirs are esteemed and treated as Foreign Courts, and as derogatory to the Crown and its Prerogative, altho' all of them are holden by the same Law, and under the same Authority.

Under such a Limitation of their Powers, and an Uncertainty of what Construction shall be made of their Use of them, and an Hazard of their Liberties and Estates if a Construction be made in their Prejudice, it cannot be pretended reasonable to expect the Suppression of Heresy from their single Endeavours, (and they cannot Act otherwise than singly, unless in Convocation) and therefore this Objection can proceed only from such as do in 'good earnest desire and endeavour the Progress and Increase of Heresy.

You need not doubt but that their Lordships are sufficiently sensible of the great Power and Malice of their Enemies, and may well hope to be excus'd to all considering Men, if they do not hastily run into the Snare which such treacherous Pleaders for their Authority would lay for them.

The only Prelate I can think of, who has had the Boldness to enter the Lists with these Men, agreeably to the ancient Courage of his Family, and to that Zeal for the Honour of God, and of his Church, which is so confirmed and distinguishing a Part of his Character, how basely was he every where traduced by this set of Men? How falsely represented, even where it concerned him, and the Cause he was embarked in most, to appear in a just and true Light? Such and so many expensive Discouragements were enough to have shaken and tired any Man of less Resolution and Integrity: And tho' his Lordship had the Honour and Satisfaction of seeing the greatest Credit and Support of the Bench all along, and the highest Court of *England* at last, declare in his

his Favour; 'tis an Honour you cannot expect that many will contend for, a Satisfaction that very few will care to purchase at so dear a Rate. The Man thus excommunicated by that Bishop, and solemnly condemned by the University for notorious Heresy, enjoys (as I am informed) a Living, with Cure of Souls, untouched, and even unquestioned by another, who wants not Courage or Zeal, we know for the Honour of his Character, but is more wary than to cast himself into the Expence and Uncertainties of a long Law-Suit.

As to the Authority of the Universities in this Case, the Coercive Part of it (the only Part that can do any Good in such a corrupt Age as this) extends only to their own Members. An^c Author I have lately mentioned, had not else in publick Conversations dispersed his pernicious Notions in one of them so long as he did, unpunished; nor chosen to leave it at last, rather tired with the Successlessness of his Endeavours, than scared with any ill Consequence that might attend them. It is so far from that, that I am told, he has entertained new Resolutions of returning thither, and of entering the Town in Triumph upon his late fancied Defeat of Mysteries. The Congregation *de propaganda Infidelitate* have, it seems, thought fit to dispatch this warm Missionary into those Parts, once more to try his Fortune in making Profelytes; in which they have some Hopes he will succeed better than formerly, since he has erected himself into an Author, and has had the Honour of being answered, and has made some little Noise in the World.

If they and he continue in their Resolutions, the University will, I question not take such Measures as are proper for her Safety; should she have no direct Authority over a Stranger; yet she can hinder him from holding Commerce with any of her Members, or from entering into any of her Libraries; and this, I dare say, she will do, if he ever presumes to fix himself there, and to disturb the Peace of that Place, a second Time.

Whatever further Powers *Universities* may be thought to have in these and the like Cases, yet those Powers have, you know, been used but sparingly, and not without some Difficulty and Check, and have, when exercised, been pursued always with the Calumnies and Outcries of the whole Party—Some good Effect indeed the exerting of them has had in one of those learned Bodies, but the Influence of it has not reached so far as we might have wished and expected.

His Majesty's Authority over the Bishops and them can reach no farther than the enforcing the Exercise of those Powers, which I have shewn, and Experience proves, to be too short, or clogged with too much Difficulty and Discouragement to attain the End we all so much want and contend for. And though the Church has great Acknowledgments to make to his Majesty, for those very pious Admonitions and Instructions he has been pleased to give the Archbishops and Bishops, in his excellent Letter to them; which has not only served to countenance the Orthodox, but in some Measure, to quiet and depress the Insolence of the bold Innovators in the Faith, and the prevaricating Interpreters of it: Yet even that Letter itself has been broadly hinted by some

of them (however, we are well assured, with much Untruth) as intended in their Favour. And so long as these Books pass uncensur'd and unretracted, under the Stile and Name of Men of great Place and Character in the Church, the Mischief, which the Authority they have yet left with some Men, may be able to do, is not sufficiently prevented, nor the Scandal wiped off from our Faith and Nation.

So that all we can conclude from what his Majesty has done in this Matter, is, that he hath discover'd by it a godly Concern for the Support of the Catholick Church in his Dominions, of which he is the avow'd Defender, and a Readiness to do yet more for its Defence and Encouragement, when the true and only proper Means of doing it, the humble Advice of his Clergy, assembled in Convocation, shall be seasonably and fully laid before him.

If there should be any of that venerable Body, who should have the Boldness to attempt to raise a Ferment in it, in Defence of Doctrines or Persons too justly liable to Censure, it is not to be doubted but that the Piety, Moderation, and Christian Courage of the rest will be soon able to suppress it, and to advance the good Ends for which they are call'd. But as it is easy to be observ'd, that none are so great Enemies to the frequent Use of Parliaments, as they, who by the Disappointment of their Ends upon them, have taken a Disgust; or by their corrupt Dealings in the Course of their Ministry, have most Reason to fear them; so the like Use of a Convocation cannot, with any Grounds, be distrusted by any, but such as have either been defeated already in their Practices upon it, or else have less Concern for the preserving the Unity and Integrity of the Catholick Faith, than for some new-fangled Opinions of their own, which expose them to Censure.

If, after all, it should be pretended, that the proper Way of redressing these Mischiefs and Grievances, is by Parliament — That there are Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. — To this it may be replied, that, as it is certain in fact, notwithstanding the Urgency of the Occasion, yet no Relief has hitherto been effected that Way; and though the Commons have a standing Committee for Religion, yet nothing, as I remember, has, since the Revolution, been done by them in Behalf of it: So it is farther considerable, that such a Method is, in the Nature of the Thing, improper; 'tis a little too much to suppose Country Gentlemen, Merchants, or Lawyers, to be nicely skill'd in the Languages of the Bible, Masters of all the Learning of the Fathers, or of the History of the primitive Church, which they must, in some Measure be, who sit Judges of religious Doctrines and Opinions. The Bishops Concurrence in the House of Lords is not required to a Vote, (though their Summons is necessary to make a Session) they may be, and frequently are, out-number'd by the Lay-Peers: Their calling thither is upon another Principle; *viz.* by reason of their Baronies. Besides, the ascribing such a Power to either of the two Houses, or to both of them together, is to confirm the Grounds of the Papists Cavil at our Reformation, when they say, that our Religion is merely Parliamentary, and changeable at the Will of the Prince, and of the Majority of the Peers and Commons; an Assertion, which, I believe, there is no worthy Member

Member of either House, but would reject with Disdain, as zealous as they are for their just Powers and Privileges upon other Occasions. I have that Opinion of those noble and worthy Men, that compose the two Houses, as not to doubt, but that they, if they were to sit Judges of this Controversy, would certainly determine in favour of that holy Faith, into which they were all baptized, and would readily and warmly assert its Interests; and I have, at the same Time, that Opinion of them too, as to think, that, were the Controversy laid before them, they would certainly decline giving Judgment in it, and remit it to its proper Tribunal, a Convocation. For the same Reason, that they are concern'd to maintain the Rights and Privileges of their own Body, they would be careful not to invade those of another. They are wise enough to know, that the preserving the Constitution as it is, is the best Way to preserve their true and real Interests; and that the Constitution can be no otherwise upheld, than by the several Parts of it being preserv'd in their just Rights and Powers, allow'd to act in their proper Spheres, and circumscrib'd within them: This, I say, they are Wise enough to know, and within just enough to own, that a Convocation is as much a Part of the Constitution as a Parliament itself.

Suffer me, Sir, to consider that Opinion, which puts the Management of Powers, merely Ecclesiastical, into the Hands of Laymen; suffer me, I say, to consider it a little farther, and to the Bottom. 'Tis somewhat without the Bounds of my Study; and I may therefore talk wildly; if I do, you, who have drawn the Trouble upon yourself, must e'en bear it patiently.

It is agreed, I think, that Almighty God is the Author of all lawful Power, whether it be spiritual or temporal, ecclesiastical or civil: At least, if there should be any Difference of Opinion concerning Civil Magistracy, and the Origin of that, yet no Christian, I suppose, will deny the Original of Ecclesiastical Authority to have been from Heaven. None will say otherwise, but such, who esteem Religion to be merely an human Invention, set a-foot for the better Government of the World; and even they must agree, when they discourse to the Governed, that it is of divine Institution, even for the Sake of their own pretended Policy, or else, its Influence is lost.

These Powers are distinct in their End and Nature, and therefore ought to be so in their Exercise too: The one relates to the Peace, Order, Health, and Prosperity of the Man in this Life, as a sociable Creature; the other concerns his eternal State, and his Thoughts, Words, and Actions preparative thereto: The first is common to all Societies, whether Pagan or Christian; the latter can rightly be exercised among Christians only, and among them, not as inclosed with any civil State or Community, but as Members of a spiritual Society, of which Christ Jesus is the Head, who has also given out Laws, and appointed a standing Succession of Officers under himself, for the Government of this Society. And these Ministers of his did actually govern it, by those Powers committed to them from him for near 300 Years before any Government was Christian: From whence it follows, that such spiritual Jurisdiction cannot be, in its own Nature, necessarily dependent on the temporal; for then it could

never have been lawfully exercised, till Kings, States, and Potentates became Christian. And as Christianity could not, at this rate, have been planted at first, till Kings were converted, so must it still be very precarious as to its Duration and Continuance; and removeable at Pleasure, whenever any Prince shall not think fit to encourage it.

It was the Opinion, indeed, of a late great Preacher, that Christians under a Mahometan or Pagan Government, ought to value the Peace of the Country above the Conversion of the People there.—But, for all that, few, I dare say, who have read, and believe the New Testament, can forbear thinking, that the Laws of Christianity oblige those to whom they are publish'd, though living under the Dominion of a Turk, or an Heathen; and consequently, that there may be amongst such Christians the Exercise of an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, not dependent on the temporal Power of that Place.

The Church then is a Society instituted in order to a supernatural End; and, as such, must have an inherent Power in it, of governing itself in order to that End; for a Society without a Power of Government, is a Bull in Polity.

There being in this Society a distinct Order of Men, particularly impowered and qualified to teach, instruct, and govern the whole Body, in relation to the Ends of it, and the supernatural Means of exercising these Powers (immediate Illumination) not being by the Author of its Institution thought necessary to its Continuance, it is, on that score, left to such ordinary and natural Means as conduce best to its End; such as assembling, debating, and, by Majority of Voices, deciding, concerning such Rules and Principles as the Society is to be govern'd by.

The Law of this Society is indeed made to their Hands: They have no Power of changing, adding, or diminishing; but the applying this Law to particular Cases, explaining the Doubts that may arise concerning it, deducing Consequences from it in Things not explicitly determined already by that Law, and the enforcing Submission and Obedience to their Determinations, are the proper Objects of their Power and Jurisdiction.

This Power having been actually claimed and exercised, by the Apostles and their Successors, without Regard, nay, in Opposition to the Heathen temporal Authority, is therefore, we say, not necessarily, in its own Nature, dependent on such Authority. And if we should say farther, that this Society has an inherent and unalterable Right to the Exercise of this Power, it would be no more than what every Sect and Party among us claims and practises; and what the Defenders of an universal and unlimited Toleration, by their own Principles, are bound to allow and justify: And we may presume, such strict Pretenders to Reason will not say, that the Church of *England*, declar'd free by *Magna Charta*, establish'd, fenc'd, and supported by our Laws, is, even by that Means, in a worse Condition, than the most inconsiderable Sect or Party, now indulg'd or tolerated among us.

But this is what, at the present, we neither do, nor need say, though it is more than the Objectors will easily reply to; such, I mean, as are really of
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any Religion among us : But for such, indeed, as have no Religion at the Bottom, nor any Notion of a Church, however, for their worldly Interest, they may pretend to this or that Party, by joining themselves to its Communion (and too many such, we may justly believe, there are among us) that such may be for ever silenced in this Question, it will be proper to shew them, what the Law of their Country says in this Case ; that Law, the Obligation of which, whatever else they think fit to disclaim, they cannot but own and acknowledge. They are to know therefore, that

A Convocation is an Ecclesiastical Court or Assembly, essential to our Constitution, and establish'd by the Law of it, by the same Law as the Gentleman receives his Rent, or the Member enjoys his Privilege. And my Lord *Vaughan* therefore, who made as great a Figure in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, as ever he did on the Bench, agrees, that a lawful Canon is the Law of the Kingdom, as well as an Act of Parliament ; and whatever is the Law of the Kingdom, is as much the Law as any thing else is so : For there are no Degrees of Comparison in the Matter ; a Law cannot *suscipere magis & minus*. But the fuller State of this Point will more properly fall under the two remaining Enquiries, in one of which you have oblig'd me to shew,

What Law there is that commands or permits their assembling, conferring, or resolving, as a Convocation, but the absolute free Pleasure of the Prince ?

Before I give a direct Answer to this Question, I shall take leave to say, that should it be admitted, that the assembling of Convocations is entirely dependent on the Sovereign's Will, yet, considering the great Need there is, at present, of one, we cannot doubt of the King's gracious and ready Concurrence to this Purpose, upon the least Motion of his Grace my Lord Archbishop. And notwithstanding the Disuse of a Convocation, and the defeating the Ends of it by repeated unwarrantable Adjournments, during the Life of the last Metropolitan, yet the present, we question not, would zealously move and promote their Assembly and Session, to the Honour of Religion, and Good of the Church, if he had Intimation of the Necessity and Seasonableness of it.

His commendable Warmth for the establish'd Church, against the Enemies of it, on one Side, assures us, that he will, undoubtedly, on this Occasion, express even a greater Zeal (in Proportion to the greatness of the Danger) against those of the other : And as for his Majesty's Good-will, we do not, I say, we will not in the least doubt of it ; though some, who would be thought to understand his Mind best, and to be most in his Interests, are pleas'd, in all Companies, to admire and celebrate a Prince of no Religion, as the best of Governors : For which saucy Insinuation, we hope, in Time, that Vengeance will find them.

Had we no Hold on his Majesty's Kindness and Affection towards the Religion establish'd by Law, yet should we not suspect his Compliance on the Score of strict Justice. His Coronation-Oath obliges him to preserve the

Rights of the Church of *England* entire; and we humbly presume, that one of the Chief of those Rights is a frequent Sitting of Convocations, as shall be largely made out by and by.

He has, since his Accession to the Crown, several Times conven'd the *Scotch* Assembly; and the Church of *England*, therefore, which pays as much Regard, at least, to crown'd Heads, as an Assembly does, may justly expect from him, as tender a Concern for her Welfare and Interests. The Friends of Monarchy, who acknowledge the King their supreme Head and Governor, may, we think, as safely be trusted together, as the profess'd Assertors of a levelling Parity, who pretend to no Union with the Civil Power, no political Dependence upon it, but to act separately, and set up for themselves.

Let Men whisper what they please, No-body shall ever persuade us, but that his Majesty's Judgment and Piety engage him to be present at our Service and Communion: And notwithstanding all the Contumely and Reproach of our Enemies, we cannot discover what Sect or Persuasion there is among us either so amiable, as to steal his Inclinations from us, or so numerous and powerful, as to make it a Piece of Policy not to espouse us.

I shall, in this Case, very freely borrow the Words of a certain Author, who wrote either at the Declension of the last, or the Beginning of this Reign. "We may, *says he*, consider ourselves as the only great and united Body of "Protestants in the Kingdom, with whom all other Parties, compar'd, bear "no considerable Proportion." For though the Non-conformists, consider'd abstractly, make a vast Number of useful People, yet being laid in the Scale with those of the Episcopal Communion, they are but few, and lie in a little room: And whosoever will be at the Pains to balance the one against the other, even where the Dissenters make the greatest Figure, and may justly boast of their Numbers, they will soon be convinc'd, that the other doth far exceed them. And if it be so in Cities and Corporations, where is the greatest Multitude, it is much more so in the Country Parishes, where they bear not the Proportion of One to an Hundred.

Nor doth the Church of *England* more exceed the other Parties in her Numbers, than she doth in the Quality of her Members; for whereas they who constitute the separate Congregations, are chiefly Persons of the middle Rank and Condition, the Church of *England* doth, in a manner, vouch and claim all the Persons of Honour, and of the learned Professions, and such as have valuable Estates, for her Communicants: And though the other Sort are as necessary in the Commonwealth, and contribute as much to its Strength and Prosperity, yet they make not that Figure in the Government, nor stand in that Capacity of having Influence upon publick Affairs. For not only the Gentlemen of both the Gowns, who, by reason of their Calling and Learning, are best able to defend our Religion, and vindicate our Rights and Privileges by their Tongues and Pens; but they whose Estates, Reputation, and Interest recommend them to be elected Members of the great Senate of the Nation, as well as they, who, by reason of their Honours and Baronages, are hereditary Legislators, are generally of the Church of *England*: So that they who conform
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to the establish'd Worship and Discipline, are to be look'd upon and acknowledged as the greatest Bulwark of the Protestant Religion in *England*, and the Hedge and Fence of our Civil Rights and Liberties.

Thus far my Author. Now, the Use I would make of these Reflections of his, is, to shew, that it cannot be worth any Prince's while to discourage the Church of *England*, in order to gain the Favour of any, or of all these separating Parties; and therefore, that his Majesty, we may be sure, will be tender of the Interests of our Church, when his own Interest, as well as his Affection and Judgment, lead him to it.

But could it be suppos'd, that a wise Government would fall in with the dissenting Side, and act by the Measures which should, from that Quarter, underhand be prescrib'd, yet can we not imagine, that the Dissenters themselves would interpose in this Case, to hinder the Sitting of a Convocation? They know, that you pretend not to meddle with those that are without, nor to exercise any Act of Jurisdiction over them; but only to frame Rules and Decisions, that shall hold within yourselves, and to govern and judge your own Members. You envy not them, I dare say, their legal Indulgence, nor any Privilege which they enjoy under it; nor do they, I hope, envy you your legal Establishment, or any Right that you claim from it. You differ, indeed, from one another in Matters of Discipline and Ceremony, but in Matters of Faith and Doctrine you agree; and therefore, if they wish well to that common Faith, they will be glad to see it asserted, against Heresies and Innovations, by a Synod of *English* Divines, whose Judgment, in Points of this Nature and Importance, they and all the World must revere.

There can be no Opposition from that Side therefore: The greatest Danger, in this Case, is by some thought to arise from such as are Enemies to all Religion, and to all the Professors of it; and consequently are most so to those of the Church of *England*, because they are the firmest Support of Religion, by reason of their Number and compacted Strength, under a legal Establishment: But though the Encrease of these kind of Men shews, that there is great Need of a Convocation, yet their Interest, we hope and believe, can never be considerable enough to prevent its sitting and acting.

'Tis very hard to suppose, that a Government should be influenced to such a Degree, by Men who can never be Friends to any Government, and who are incapable of having any effectual Obligation ever laid upon them from the Principles either of Good-nature, Duty, or Gratitude.

Were the calling therefore of Convocations lodg'd purely in the Breast of the Sovereign, yet could we have no manner of Jealousy of his princely Readiness to call them: But now, besides the King's good Intentions, we have the good Intentions of the Law too on our Side; and what that says in the Case, is to be the next and chief Subject of Enquiry.

An exact and full Account of this Matter cannot be given, but by one, that has great Skill in our *English* Laws and Antiquities, and besides a great deal of Leisure. The latter of these you know very well that I want; and I am sure, I know, that I want the former. I content myself to have Law enough

to be useful to my Neighbours where I live, and to be able to serve my Country in Parliament ; so that you must not expect from me a compleat History of all the Rights and Powers of a Convocation, deduced regularly thro' the several Periods of Time, and Reigns of our Kings, but only a short Account, how the Matter stands, or ought to stand, by our Law, at present : And if, in giving this very Account, you expect I should use a scrupulous Strictness of Stile and Method ; say not a Word more or less than I need say, and every Thing just in the very Place where I ought to say it ; in this too, Sir, you will find yourself mistaken.

What I offer lies within a little Compass ; the Books I shall consult, upon this Occasion, are in every-body's Hands ; and yet, perhaps, what I produce from thence will have the Advantage of appearing new, because we live in an Age, when Convocations, and the Learning that relates to them, are out of Fashion, and even Understanding-Men are content to know as little of an *English* Synod, as of a *Jewish* Sanhedrim. But to return to our Point.

A Convocation is the highest Ecclesiastical Court or Assembly ; it is called and convened in Parliament-time by the King's Writ, directed to the Arch-Bishops ; it consists of all the Clergy of both Provinces, either personally or representatively present : In the upper House are the Arch-Bishops and Bishops ; in the lower House, or House of Commons Spiritual, are the Deans, Arch-Deacons, one Proctor for every Chapter, and two for the Clergy of each Diocess : This is the Court.

Our Laws are, by the best Authors, divided into Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the same Division holds for our Courts ; the same Distinction is likewise used for Causes examinable in those Courts : Nor is the Distinction less common in respect of Persons ; of which the several Instances and Authorities are too plain and known to need any Exposition. Now as the Parliament is the highest temporal Court, so is a Convocation, or national Synod, the highest and most supreme Court-Christian within this Realm, and each gives Laws respectively to all Inferiors.

The King, indeed, is supreme Head over all Persons, and in all Causes within these Dominions : Our Laws and our Oaths, taken in Obedience to them, have declar'd him so ; and with sound Reason, in Contradiction to all foreign Powers and Jurisdictions : But it is apparent, by our Constitution, that the King is intrusted with the Power of convening Synods or Convocations, in respect of the Church, as he is with summoning Parliaments, for the Redress of Grievances, and the publick Safety of the Nation, in the same Manner, and under the same Limitations.

'Tis true, a Convocation cannot assemble without the Assent of the King ; his Writ is necessary in order to it : But the Question is, Whether that Writ ought not to issue whensoever a Summons goes out for a Parliament ? And in order to a Resolution of this, it may not be improper to consider the great Resemblance there is between a Parliament and a Convocation. Each consists, as I said, of two Houses, and these have (or should have) their several Prolocutors ; one of which is so by Virtue of his Precedency and Place, the other is chosen from among themselves. The one of these Courts is of the same Power
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and Use with regard to the Church, as the other is in respect to the State. Nay, though they have different Names, and the Word Parliament be appropriated to signify a Temporal Legislature, yet anciently the same Appellation belonged to both. A *Wittena Gemote* signified what we call a Parliament, and a *Church-Gemote* what we call a Convocation.

It is observable therefore, that the Judges use the same Words with regard to the King's Writ about a Convocation, as they do, when they mention the Summons of a Parliament; and to satisfy you, that the one stands upon the same Foundation and Principle, with regard to the King's Prerogative, as the other doth, it may be convenient to recollect the Common-Law Maxims, used, and frequently urged by our Enemies for the one; and you will find them applicable in like Manner to the other; *viz.* That the Kings of *England* can do nothing as Kings, but what, of Right, they ought to do; That the King can do no Wrong; that the King's Prerogative, and the Subjects Right are determined by Law; that the King hath no Power but what he Law gives him; that the King is called *Rex à bene regendo*; i. e. according to Law; because (say they) he is a King, while he rules well, but a Tyrant, while he oppresses; that the Kings of *England* never appear more in their Glory and Splendor, and Majestick Sovereignty, than in Parliament; that the Prerogative cannot do Wrong, nor be a Warrant to do Wrong; and they quote *Plowden*, and other Books to this Purpose. They say farther, that Parliaments constitute, and are of the Essence of the Government; that they are Bulwarks of our Liberty, the Boundaries that keep us from the Inundation of Tyrannical Power; that their Business is to make and abrogate Laws, and to redress Grievances: And from hence it has been argued, as self evident, that, if Parliaments are so absolutely necessary in our Constitution, they must then have certain Stationary Times of meeting and sitting, for providing Laws essentially necessary to the Being and Well-being of the People; and, to this Purpose, several Authorities, from old Books and Statutes, are urged for the Frequency of Parliaments: And thus run many of the popular Pamphlets in the two last Reigns.

Nay, they farther insist upon it, that, were there no Statute, nor any Thing upon Record extant, concerning the Necessity of Parliaments sitting to redress Grievances; yet it must be so by the fundamental Laws of the Government, which would be very lame and imperfect without it: For otherwise (say they) the Prince, and his Ministers might do what they please, and make their Will the Law and Measure of our Duty; which Defects must needs be provided against in the Essence and Constitution of the Government itself. And this (says one of those Authors) we may call the Common-Law which is of as much Value, if not more, than any Statute; and of which all our good Acts of Parliament, and *Magna Charta* itself, is but declaratory. So that, though the King be entrusted with the formal Part of summoning and pronouncing the Dissolution of Parliaments, which is done by Writ; yet the Laws, which oblige him, (as well as us) have determined how, and when he shall do it; which is enough

enough to shew, that the King's Share in the Sovereignty, which is lodged in the Parliament, is cut out to him by Law, and not left to his Disposal.

Thus far, and much farther has it gone, with publick Approbation; and this before the *Triennial Bill*, by Force of the Common-Law, or certain antient Ordinances presumed to be affirmative of it.

Now, to apply all this to our present Purpose, let us consider our Sovereign as a Christian King, whose Religion is established by the Laws, and the Profession of it moulded into the Form of a National Church, a Church which, by the same Law, hath its Rights and Privileges; and this Privilege, in particular, which is the Subject of the present Debate.

Let us take this View of Things, I say, and then see, whether every one of the Axioms above-mentioned, will not hold upon this Account, as they do on the other; does it not follow from hence, that though the King be entrusted with the formal Part of summoning and convening, yet, since by the very Essence and Constitution of our Church, a Convocation ought to meet, sit, and act; does it not follow, that the Fundamentals of our Government shew him, when and how, that Power is to be exercised; and that it ought not to be at his free Will and Pleasure? It may not be grateful to enlarge on this Topick; and therefore I forbear: But a farther Application is very easy.

The Statute of *Henry VIII. 6. Cap. 1.* is strong for their calling, whenever a Parliament is summoned; it runs thus. *Because the Prelates and Clergy of the Church of England called to the Convocation, and their Servants and Families that come with them to such Convocation, oftentimes and commonly be arrested, molested, and inquieted, our said Lord the King, willing graciously in this Behalf to provide for the Security and Happiness of the said Prelates and Clergy, by the Assent of the Great Men and Commons aforesaid, hath ordained and established, that all the Clergy hereafter to be called to the Convocation by the King's Writ, and their Servants and Families, shall for ever hereafter fully use and enjoy such Liberty and Defence in coming, tarrying, and returning, as the Great Men and Commonalty of England called, or to be called to the King's Parliament, do enjoy, and were wont to enjoy, or in Time to come ought to enjoy.*

Now this, by the Way, gives them the Benefit of the *5 Henry IV. Cap. 6.* and of the *11 Henry VI. Cap. 11.* and all other Privileges in respect of their Persons and Retinue, which the Members of the House of Commons enjoy. But what I urged it for, is, that the King, the Great Men, and the Commons, esteem'd a Convocation to be an Assembly which was frequently and of Necessity to meet, and sit too, and act; for otherwise, what Need had there been to make these Provisions for them, if they were to be called only once in a Century or two, according as the Sovereign was, or was not in Humour? The Act says, they were frequently and often-times arrested and inquieted in their coming; and, by consequence they came, and met frequently.

That the Convocation is summoned by the King's Writ, is no Argument, that it is a precarious Assembly: For, at this Rate, all, or most of the Writs under the Great Seal, which are either for the publick Good, or private Relief, may be said to be precarious too. But we say, that the Law of the Realm hath

hath directed the King, or at least his Chancellor, Keeper, or other Minister, having the Custody of the Great Seal, to issue such Writs; and they can no more be omitted than any single Peers Summons to Parliament.

A Convocation may be considered, not only as a Court, or Assembly for the making Laws in Ecclesiastical Matters, but as a Court properly so called, having Jurisdiction in respect of Crimes Ecclesiastical; and so runs *Coke's Account* of it, where he declares its Business in part to be the preventing, or suppressing *Heresies and Schisms*; and that therein they proceed *secundum Legem Divinam & Canones sanctæ Ecclesiæ*; and in antient Time it was frequently, and of Necessity used to that End; for without it, there could be no Punishment of Heresy.

Fitzherbert, in his *Natura Brevium* (a Book I have heard the Professors of the Law vouch as good Authority with them) saith, that 'tis the Statute of 2 *Hen. IV. Cap. 15.* which first enabled the Ordinary of the Diocese to convict of Heresy; and this, by that Law, without the King's Writ. But then the 25 *Henry VIII. Cap. 14.* doth repeal that Statute, and directs the Ordinary to transmit no Heretick to the Lay-power, without the King's Writ first obtained. But before the Statute of *Henry IV.* every Person was to be convinced by a Provincial, if not a National Synod; *i. e.* by the Archbishop and all the Clergy of that Province, as appears by the Recital made in our old Writs to that Purpose; the Form of which runs thus: *Salutem, cum venerabilis Pater Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar totius Angliæ Primas, de consensu & assensu ac consilio Episcoporum & Confratrum Suffragan suorum, nec non totius Cleri Provinciæ suæ in Concilio suo Provinciali congregat, &c.* had declared, and adjudged, &c. Now no Man will say, that this Act of Jurisdiction was precarious, and at the King's absolute Will and Pleasure, whether it should be exercised, or not.

The Ancient Writ whereby the Bishops where summoned to Parliament doth seem to intimate as much, as I argue for in this Case. It hath the common Recital of all Writs of Summons to Parliament: But then, as I find it in the New Edition of the *Register of Writs (Append.)* it adds to the Command of the Bishops Presence these Words following — *& hoc, sicut nos & honorem nostrum, ac Salvationem & Defensionem Regni & Ecclesiæ prædict: Expeditionemq; dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis; præmonentes Decanum & Capitulum Ecclesiæ vestræ Gloucester ac Archidiaconos totumq; Clerum vestræ Diocesis, quod iidem Decanus & Archidiaconi in propriis personis suis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idemq; Clerus per duos Procuratores idoneos plenam & sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis Capitulo & Clero divisim habentes ad parliamentum prædict personaliter intersint, ad consentiendum iis quæ tunc ibidem de communi Consilio regni nostri (divinâ Clementiâ favente) contigerit ordinari. Teste meipso, &c.* I shall make no Remarks on the Words of this Writ, they are plain; nor will I dispute *Coke's Exposition* upon it, which is, that these *Procuratores Cleri* were called to consent to those Things, which by the Common Council of the Realm should happen to be ordained, so as their Consent was to be only to such Things as were so ordained: And therefore, that there might be an Act of Parliament without them. I will not pretend to censure the Logick of

this *Ergo*; nor shall I concern myself in the History of our *English* Parliament, how anciently constituted, or what Share the Clergy had therein, or when they ceased to have it. Whatever becomes of those Points, this to me seems certain, that the *Premonition*, or Warning mentioned in this Writ, being to those who are Members of, and constitute the lower House of Convocation, is an Argument of invincible Strength to establish the Necessity of Convocations meeting as often as Parliaments.

I must admit, that it is said in the second Part of *Roll's* Abridgment, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was prohibited to hold such Assembly by *Fitzbert* Chief Justice, because he had not the King's Licence; but he adds, that the Archbishop would not obey it; and he quotes *Speed* for it. I shall not consult that lame Historian for a Law-Point; and it seems strange, that *Rolls* should cite him. But however his Assertion doth not affect what I contend for, that the Fundamental Rules of our Constitution command the summoning and convening of a Convocation, whensoever a Parliament is summoned. Neither Peers nor Commons can assemble but by the King's Authority; and yet we think their Meeting not to be entirely dependent on Pleasure.

Look into the Abridgments of our Law; you will find a Convocation there always described, as a Meeting of the whole Clergy to consult of Matters Ecclesiastical in *Time of Parliament*. Look into our common Vocabularies, where Terms of Law are expounded, you shall find that *Blount*, *Minsheu*, and the rest of them, in their Exposition of the Word, constantly add the same Circumstance of Time.

Pardon me, Sir, for sending you to Books of this Kind, their first and chief Use indeed is, to explain Words, but they serve also to shew the Nature of Things as commonly believed and understood, under the Use of those Words; and to this Purpose they have been employed by very Great Men, upon very great Occasions; witness the Debates about the Abdication, which are very full of *Dictionary Learning*.

One Thing more I shall observe to you on this Point, out of a Speech of *Grimston's*, spoken in the House about the Canons of *Charles* the First's Time. You may see it at large in *Rushworth*. His great Complaint there is, that the Clergy framed these Canons out of Parliament-time, and out of Parliament-time gave Subsidies. And according to the Account given us of this Debate in *Whitelock's Memoirs*: The Question was, whether they were not dissolved by the Dissolution of the Parliament, without special Writ to that Purpose? And there were great Opinions on either Side of the Question: All which implies and allows, that they were to sit and act in Parliament-time: And I think no-body will mistrust that House of Commons for being willing to allow the Clergy greater Privileges than they really had.

Thus far, I think, our Way is plain and clear. But supposing all this, the Question still is, whether or no the Convocation may confer, after their Summons and Meeting, without the King's special Licence and Assent? In answer to which, I must acknowledge, that the common received Opinion is in the Negative. However, if what has been offered already, with Regard to their convening,

convening, have any Weight in it, it must hold also in some Degree, with respect to their conferring and treating when met, about Matters proper to their Cognizance.

If they are a Court, and have their Jurisdiction; or are a Legislature, and have the Power of making Ecclesiastical Laws, both which they certainly are and have, then the Liberty of conferring and discussing is necessary to their very Existence: For otherwise, they are an Assembly to little or no Purpose whatsoever. If their Tongues are to be entirely at the King's Will, 'tis improper to give their Resolutions any Title but the King's Rules and Ordinances: They are to all Intents and Purposes His, upon whose Will, not only their Meeting, but their very Debating depends. This is too harsh to be asserted or supposed of a free *English* Synod, which, in so many respects as we have heard, resembles a free Parliament; and cannot therefore be unlike it in that, which is most essential to it, a Freedom of Debate and Argument.

The Prerogative Power of assembling them by Writ, doth not import a Power of licensing or confining them in their Debates, any more than it doth in the Case of a Parliament. Nor doth the *Writ of Summons* necessarily imply any thing of this Nature, when fairly considered: It is in this Form,

Gulielmus Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & Fideli Consiliario nostro, Thomæ eâdem Gratiâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, securitatem & Defensionem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem & tranquillitatem Regni nostri & subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, Vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenementi rogando mandamus quatenus præmissis debito modo intuitè attenditis & ponderatis, Universos & singulos Episcopos Vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos Ecclesiarum Cathedralium nec non Archidiaconos, Capitula & Collegia totumque Clerum cujuslibet Diœcesios ejusdem Provinciæ ad comparendum coram vobis in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Sancti, Pauli Londini Viceßimo secundo die Novembris proximi futuri vel alibi melius expedire videritis cum omni celeritate accommodâ modo debito convocari faciatis, ad tractandum consentiendum, & concludendum super præmissis & altis quæ sibi clariùs exponentur ex parte nostrâ. Et hoc sicut Nos, statum Regni nostri & honorem & utilitatem prædictæ Ecclesiæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, apud Westmonasterium 12. die Octob. Anno, &c.

There is nothing, I say, in this Writ, that can be pretended to imply, that a Licence to treat or debate is necessary; or that the King is to propose the Heads or Subject Matter upon which they are to treat or debate: Nor would such Proposal imply, that they could treat of no other that's proper for their Consideration. The Reason suggested for their Call is, some urgent Affairs relating to the Security and Defence of the *English* Church, and the Publick Peace and Tranquillity of the Realm; it is in order to their treating, consenting, and concluding *super præmissis & aliis quæ sibi clariùs exponentur ex parte Domini Regis*. Here are no negative or restrictive Words; nor is it said

which shall be proposed to them : And it may be a Question in Grammar, whether the *Quæ clarius exponentur* ought not to be referred to the *Aliis*, as the last Antecedent, and not to the *Præmissis*. But supposing the Words to have a general Reference to all that foregoes, it can amount to no more than this, that the particular Occasion of their Meeting shall be signified more at large to them when they are met ; which is what is practised in the Case of Parliaments by a Speech of the King's or of some one of his chief Ministers : But it cannot be concluded from hence, that therefore they are confined not to discuss any Matter that is not thus proposed. Because the King says, that the urgent Affairs relating to the Security and Defence of the Church, which occasioned their Assembly, shall be more fully represented to them there and then, on the King's Behalf ; does it follow therefore, that, when assembled, they must not discuss any Subject which is not so represented ? I shall not, at present, entertain any Doubt, whether these Words were anciently and constantly inserted in those Writs, because I have not sufficiently enquired into it. But did the Writ run always thus, yet no Inference, I say, can be drawn from thence, to deprive them of their Freedom of Debate, and Treaty about Matters purely Spiritual and Christian.

E're I dismiss this Writ, I must observe to you (though a little out of its proper Place) that 'tis tested the same Day with the Summons to Parliament ; that it commands an Assembly of the Clergy the same Day with their Meeting : And by the whole Tenor of it, it appears, that the Weal of the Church, and of the State, the Peace of the Publick, and the King's Interest, are all concerned in their Convocation and assembling. One would think, that the Consequence from hence should be, that, whenever this Writ goes out, they should not only meet formally, but sit and act as the Parliament do ; that there should be a Session of Convocation, as well as a Session of Parliament ; that the lower House should be formed into a Body, have its Prolocutor, and Opportunity given it to propose what shall be thought necessary for the Good of the Church ; to pray the Removal of Scandals, Inconveniencies, and Grievances ; and to do in Ecclesiastical Affairs what an House of Commons would claim a Liberty of doing, at due Times, though the King had no Money to desire of them. This, I say, one would reasonably expect from the issuing of such a Writ, and from the Nature of the Thing ; and not, that a Convocation should be summoned Year after Year, and Parliament after Parliament, for no other End and Purpose, but meerly to be adjourned ; that a venerable Number of Men should be called to Town, once or twice every Winter, from all Quarters of the Kingdom, in order to be told, that they must go down again.

It is plain, that Convocations ought to be held as often as Parliaments ; but surely this is a very odd Manner of holding them : Were a Parliament thus summoned and adjourned, e'er the lower House had made a Vote, or so much as chosen their Speaker, I believe the Members of that House would hardly allow this to be holding a Parliament.

But

But they tell us, the Case is different; and that, though the Parliament, whenever it meets, acts a Course, yet a Convocation cannot, without being particularly impowered by the King to that Purpose. If this Assertion had Truth in it, it would indeed go a good Way towards excusing every Thing; but I have shewn already, and shall shew farther, that there is no manner of Ground or Colour for it. Even *Prynne* himself, in his 2d *Tome of the History and Vindication of the King's supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, doth not pretend to stretch the Prerogative in this Matter any farther, than to prohibit the Clergy's assembling in Synod without his Summons, or their debating and concluding any thing in prejudice to the Crown and Kingdom: All which we fully and freely allow. But he never says (as I can find in any of those three voluminous Works of his, or in his *Animadversions* on the 4th of the *Institutes*) that a Licence in Particulars is antecedently requisite to a Debate; or that a general Licence under the Broad Seal, is necessary for a Deliberation. But, were either of these necessary, yet, for that very Reason, it ought to be granted; and it matters not much, whether we say, that a Licence ought, *ex Debito Juslitiae*, to be granted, to empower them to deliberate, or whether they have of themselves a Power of Deliberation, without such Licence expressly given. Nor can any Argument be drawn for the Necessity of this Licence from its having been desired; (which, whether it has or not, I, who live in the Country, cannot readily answer) The Speaker of the House of Commons prays a Liberty of Speech; and that Liberty hath been sometimes granted under Restrictions and Limitations; for Instance, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign: And it is too well known, that she did sometimes commit Members of the House of Commons for pretended Excesses in the Use of that Liberty. Notwithstanding which, in every Reign, since that Time, such Liberty of Debate hath been affirmed and allowed to be their original Right, without Prayer by them, or Licence from the King to that Purpose. And the present Speaker therefore, when first presented in the House of Peers, did (as I remember) by Order or Intimation from the House omit to ask it. However, the asking it is no more an Argument for its being dependent on the Sovereign's Pleasure, than it is a Proof that they have not, of Right, a Freedom of Access to his Majesty's Person, because at the same Time they ask that also. No, these are Fundamental Rights, essential to their Constitution, without which they might be an Assembly of Men, but not a Parliament. The very Word Parliament is derived from *parler ment*, to speak one's Mind, according to *Coke's Etymology*: And to say therefore, that a Parliament may be without Liberty of Speech, is to use the Word without meaning any Thing by it. Should therefore Liberty of Speech have, at Times, been formally asked by the Convocation, and as formally granted by the Sovereign, yet this would not hinder its being their Right and Due without Prayer, and a Franchise necessarily incident to their assembling. Their Desire in this Case must be interpreted to be only an Instance of the respectful Duty of the Clergy towards the Crown, and not a real Proof of the Authority of the Crown over them: And to say otherwise, is to wound the Liberties of the Parliament through those of the Convocation.

But

But I must not leave this Parallel here ; it will be to our Purpose to consider, a little farther, what is usually alledg'd in Behalf of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. The great Friends of Liberty (as they would be thought) argue thus ; that not to permit them to sit, debate, resolve, and act, and thereby answer the great Ends for which they were instituted, is expressly contrary to the Common Law, and consequently to the Law of God and Nature, which are its Foundation ; that thereby a Violence is offer'd to the Government itself ; that 'tis a plain Infringement of the People's fundamental Rights and Liberties. They quote 2 *Rich. II.* Numb. 28. as very notable to this Purpose : 'Tis in these Words, or to this Effect.

“ Also the Commons in Parliament pray, that forasmuch as Petitions and
 “ Bills presented in Parliament by divers of the Commons, could not heretofore
 “ have their respective Answers, that therefore both the Petitions and Bills in
 “ this present Parliament, as also others that shall be presented in future Par-
 “ liaments, may have a good and gracious Answer, and Remedy ordained
 “ thereupon, before the departing of every Parliament ; and that, to this Pur-
 “ pose, a due Statute be ensealed, or enacted, in Force for all Times to
 “ come.” *To this the King's Answer was,* “ That the King is pleased, that
 “ to all such Petitions deliver'd in Parliament, of Things or Matters which
 “ cannot otherwise be determined, a good and reasonable Answer shall be
 “ made and given before the Departure of the Parliament.”

Accordingly *Coke* observes, in the 4th of his *Institutes*, that Petitions being duly preferr'd, (tho' very many) have been answer'd by the Law and Usage of Parliament, before the End of it ; and this, he says, appears from the ancient Treatise *de modo tenendi Parliamentum*, that the Parliament ought not to be ended, while any Petition remains undiscuss'd, or, at the least, unto which a determinate Answer is not made. He says farther, that one of the principal Ends of calling Parliaments is for redressing Grievances, which daily happen ; and then as to the departing of Parliaments, it ought to be after this Manner, saith the *Modus*, viz. There should be publick Proclamation and Demand in Parliament, and within the Palace of the Parliament, whether there be any that hath deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, and hath not receiv'd an Answer to it : If there be none such, it is to be suppos'd, that every one is satisfy'd and answer'd ; at least so far forth as by Law may and ought to be. And this Practice, our Arguers say, is consonant to the King's Coronation-Oath, which is, to grant, fulfil, and defend all rightful Laws which the Commons of the Realm shall chuse, and to strengthen and maintain them after his Power. If you think fit, you may read more to this Purpose, about the Practice of evil Princes, and the Fate of evil Counsellors, who acted or advised the contrary, in the *State-Tracts*, printed for *Richard Baldwin*. And to what you there find on this Head, you may add farther, that though the City's Remonstrance against a Prorogation before the Business in Hand was determin'd, was the Forfeiture of their Charter by Judgment in *Quo Warranto* ; yet a Parliament in this Reign hath revers'd that Judgment, and by a Side-wind therefore hath declar'd and establish'd the antient Right of Parliament, to sit, and act, and redress

redress Grievances, without being cut off, in the midst of their Business, by hasty and abrupt Prorogations.

I may seem, Sir, by this long Account, of what some Men say in Behalf of Parliaments, to have stray'd from my Point: But indeed I have not; for all this is, in some Degree, applicable to a Convocation. The Liberties of the Church do, in great Measure, run parallel to those of the State; and both of them must, according to the Nature and Constitution of our *English* Government, stand or fall together. It would be needless here to repeat the same Things, with a small Difference of Words, inserting the Convocation instead of the Parliament, and the Church instead of the Realm.

I had rather leave this to be done by you; and shall add only, that an *English* Christian King is as much oblig'd by the Laws and Usages had and accustomed in this Kingdom, in regard to the Church, as the Sovereign of *England* is with relation to the State.

It is, I know, objected commonly, in Prejudice to the Liberties of a Convocation, that they have oftentimes been commanded, by the King's Writ, to deal with nothing that concern'd the King's Power or Dignity, his Person or State, or the State of his Council and Kingdom, in the following Terms—*quod nullo modo præsument consilium tenere de aliquibus quæ ad Coronam Regis pertinent, vel quæ personam Regis, vel statum suum, vel statum Consilii sui contingunt*: Or, as the Form of other Writs is, *quod nihil attentent in prejudicium Coronæ*: And again, *ne indicto Consilio quicquid in nostri vel status nostri vel regni nostri prejudicium statuatis vel facietis*. Several Prohibitions of this kind are mention'd in 2 *Roll's Abridgm.* We own it; but what follows from thence? That because, by Writ, they may be prohibited to meddle with that which doth not concern them, therefore they must not meddle with that which doth concern them, without special Licence? Excellent Reasoning indeed! Now, methinks, the Inference is quite on the other Side: That since these Prohibitions are only to keep them from Excess, and within their just Bounds, it is evidently suppos'd, that they may intermeddle with any other Matter, without express Licence; it is implied, that, when assembled, they might act, provided they kept within those Restrictions limited and mentioned in those Writs: They cannot indeed invade any Man's Property, nor proceed contrary to the King's Prerogative, Common Law, Statute, or Custom; they cannot do any Thing in Prejudice of any of these, but still all this supposes, that they are at Liberty for Debate in other Matters, not interfering with those Limitations.

But, besides, I have this further to add concerning these Writs; they were, at first, fram'd upon Occasion of the supposed Dependency of the *English* Church upon that of *Rome*, and the Clergy's Application to the Pope in many Cases, which ceasing by the Reformation, methinks much of the Reason of these Writs vanish'd too: And, upon this Account, I have often thought, that the Form of our common Prohibitions, directed to ordinary Courts, was very extravagant; they run, *in Exhæreditationem nostram, & contra Coronam nostram*: A Form, for the Use of which there is now, I think, no manner of Colour or Reason.

But

But in the 12th *Report*, 22. 'tis said, that they cannot confer nor execute any Canon without the King's Licence; and 'tis urg'd to be a Resolution of the two Chief Justices, and other Judges, at a Committee of the Lords in Parliament, 8 *Jac.* I. 'Tis true, it is there so said, and so laid down: But this Report is not of the greatest Authority; several Opinions contain'd in it are agreed not to be Law. 'Twas publish'd in a Time when the Church was under Persecution, and all its Rights invaded: Besides, this was not the Opinion of these Judges, by way of Judgment, upon any Case depending before them, but only by way of Opinion or Advice before a Committee of the Lords. And if we consult *Coke* himself, we shall find, that what he alledges in Justification of this Opinion of theirs, is by no Means satisfactory and concluding: He urges the prohibitory Writs, which we have already admitted and consider'd: He insists upon the Invalidity of those Canons which oppose the Common-Law or Statute, Customs, and Prerogative, and gives Instances of some Canons deem'd and declar'd void upon this Account. This, it seems, is the Foundation they went upon; and all that could be pretended in Behalf of their Opinion, except only the 25th *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 19. which is mightily insisted on: And yet in the same Place, it is agreed to be an Act of Parliament made in Affirmance of the Common-Law, and to prove it to be so, the 19th *Edw.* III. (*titl. quare non admittit* 7.) is cited; where 'tis held, that if a Canon Law be against the Law of the Realm, the Bishop ought to obey the King according to the Law of the Kingdom: He quotes the 10th of *Hen.* VII. 17. and the common Instance of Bastardy, upon which came the *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*. Further, *Coke* very wisely observes, that before the Act, a *Disme*, granted by the Clergy at the Convocation, did not bind the Clergy, till the King's Royal Assent was had, 20 *Hen.* VI. 13. But no more doth the Commons Grant of a Subsidy, till the King accept it, tho' it were *per quandam indenturam sigillo Prolocutoris Communitat. sigillat.* as one of the Lawyers Books of *Entries*, which I have seen in the *Temple*, shews it anciently to have been.

This is all that is offer'd in Behalf of that Opinion, and I leave it now to any fair and impartial Man to judge, whether it be reasonable and well founded; especially considering what has been already alledg'd, on the other Side, in these Papers, and shall be further offer'd in what follows.

It is own'd by these Judges, that this Statute is only an Affirmance of the Common-Law; and if so, then it can never preclude the Convocation from conferring, debating, and resolving without the King's Licence; because this, at Common-Law, before the making this Statute, was their undoubted Right; and, for any Thing I can find to the contrary in the Statute itself, it is their Right still. The Words by which this Right is pretended to be cut off, are these: "That they shall not enact, promulge, or execute any Canons or Constitutions, unless they may have the King's Licence to enact, promulge, and execute them." The plain Intent and Meaning of which Words is, that they shall not presume to make any Ecclesiastical Law or Constitution of themselves, *ex mera Authoritate propria*, without the Royal Concurrence: But does this any ways hinder them from conferring and debating, and framing the
Draughts

Draughts of Canons before-hand, in order to the King's Confirmation afterwards? "They shall not enact, promulge, or execute;" therefore they shall not consider of what is fit to be enacted, promulg'd, or executed: They shall not do that which is necessary to be done, in order to enacting, because they shall not enact; I hope, for the Sake of the Profession, that there's no Law; because, I am sure, there is no Sense in this kind of Reasoning.

The Common Law and Constitution of the Realm is the same in this Point, in respect of Parliaments as Convocations. Now, suppose a Statute made in these very Words, for Parliaments, would it be pretended fromthence, that the Lords and Common smight not debate and vote, and frame Draughts of Acts without express Licence? I am confident, that all which such a Statute would be construed to amount to, would be this, that they should not presume to make an Act of Parliament by themselves, without the King; and further than this, therefore, it cannot be extended in respect of a Convocation.

Should the Convocation vote a Constitution, and humbly prepare it for the Royal Assent, without a Licence antecedent, and the King afterwards give his Assent to it, would not a Canon, thus made, be lawful and binding? Undoubtedly it would; and, if so, then a Licence to confer, cannot be antecedently necessary.

To what Purpose is such a Licence, before-hand, to make Canons, since the King's Assent must be had to them afterwards, e'er they can be promulg'd? Does the Act say, that there shall be a double Licence from the King? That he shall assent once to the preparing and framing Canons, another Time to the promulging them? Does it mean any more than barely this, that before a Canon can be enacted, promulg'd, or executed, the King's Concurrence must be had? And is not that had unless it be given before-hand, and afterwards too? They must have the King's Licence to enact, promulge, and execute; that is, (to put a *Latin* Word into *English*) they must have his Leave; and have they not his Leave, amply and effectually, when he joins his Authority to theirs, to make those, to all Intents and Purposes, Canons, which before were not so, and could never have been so, unless he had agreed to them. A Leave in general to make Canons, is given them by their very Writ of Summons, and a Leave in particular to make this or that Canon, is given them when the King assents to this or that particular Canon; and what other Leave beside these, can there be imagin'd or desir'd? If all they do, towards making a Canon, before the Royal Assent, comes far short of enacting, promulging, and executing, then it is certain, that they can want no particular Licence for it; for they are forbid only to enact, promulge, and execute, without Licence, and therefore they can do any Thing which comes not under any of these restrictive Words, though they should have no Leave for it: But now, that to prepare the Draught of a Canon, in order to the King's giving his Assent, is neither to enact, promulge, nor execute it, I hope there need not many Words to prove: It is not to promulge or execute it, that's plain; and it will be as plain, that it is not to enact it neither, when the Force of that Word is duly consider'd. To enact, is to give the authoritative *Fiat* to a Law, by which

it becomes obligatory ; in this Sense the Word is constantly taken in our Acts of Parliament : But does the Convocation do any Thing of this kind, when they prepare a Canon for the Assent Royal ? Do they pretend (or can they be construed to pretend) by any thing of theirs, that goes before that Assent, to make a Canon, which shall be a Law of the Realm, and binding ? No-body will say it : And therefore, if all they do before they offer a Canon to the King, in order to his Assent, rise not up to enacting, 'tis plain, that they want no Licence for it.

I am ashamed to have dwelt so long on so plain a Point ; but 'tis the only Presence of Law that our Adversaries have on their Side ; and therefore I was willing to give it a nice and particular Examination.

I shall add only to what has been offered in this Case one Argument, which *Coke* himself has (against his Will) furnished me with. He says (in the fourth of his *Institutes*, 323.) that the King did often appoint Commissioners to sit in Convocation, and take Notice of such Things as they meant to establish, that nothing might be done in prejudice to the Crown. *Quo Jure* this was done, doth not appear : But however it proves, that they had Liberty of conferring and debating ; for if nothing could be discussed, but what they had express Licence for, there could have been no Occasion for such a Practice. And if this were so at Common Law, before the Statute of *Henry VIII.* it must continue so still ; for the Statute, as we have seen, has left their Liberty of Debate and Conference just as it found it.

But, Sir, whatever Restraints may be pretended to be laid upon them, by this Act, with regard to the making of Laws and Constitutions, yet the Exercise of their Jurisdiction, as they are a Court properly so called, is certainly left free and entire to them. Their Power of proceeding against any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, for Heresy, or Schism, or any other Spiritual Offence, is not in the least restrained or touched by this Act, or by any other Act of Parliament whatsoever.

And now, Sir, though I have, I think, sufficiently answered your second Question, and shewn what Right a Convocation has to meet, sit, and act, by the Laws of this Realm ; yet I shall, *ex abundanti*, throw you in a Reflection or two, to the same Purpose, from *Magna Charta*, and the Coronation-Oath, two Oracles, which, in Claims of Right, should by no Means be left unconsulted.

Let us consider *Magna Charta*, for which the People of *England* have so often contended, even to Blood ; and which has been forty Times confirmed by Parliament ; and it is owned by every *Englishman* to be only a Royal Publication of the Common Law : It pronounces *quod Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit*, that the Church of *England* shall be free. Now this surely, in the strictest Meaning of the Word, implies a Liberty of doing all that is requisite for a Church to do, and of using all its necessary Powers and Jurisdiction. 'Tis said *Ecclesia Anglicana*, which imports a national Church ; and to a national Church it is certainly incident to have national Synods, or Convocations ; and in like manner, to those Synods to have Freedom of Speech and Debate, about Matters proper
for

for their Cognifance, relating to the Being, or Well-being of the Body, as a Church.

Thus to be allowed to act and do, is to be a free Church ; and therefore this Privilege must be included in the Words of *Magna Charta*, or else they signify nothing ; especially, if we take in the explanatory Words, that immediately follow there, *Et habeat omnia Jura sua Integra, & Libertates illæfas ;* i. e. *and shall have all her Rights intire, and her Liberties untouched.* And I think, if the Church of *England* has any Rights, Privileges, or Liberties, as a Church, this we contend for is one, and the first of them.

That it is so, you, Sir, can argue better than I from the very Form and Being of a Church : I confine myself purely to an Account of what the Law says in the Case : And as to that, if you want farther Satisfaction, I refer you to *Coke's Institutes*, *Lynwood*, and *Prydeaux's Synopsis of Councils* ; look there, and you will find Evidence abundantly enough to convince you, that the Law takes Notice of this as one of the chief and undoubted Privileges of the Church of *England*. I would recommend to your Perusal too *Cotton's Abridgment of Records*, where you will find the concurrent Sitting of a Convocation with that of a Parliament plainly proved : I have not Time to instance in Particulars, nor is this a Place proper for it.

But the *Coronation-Oath* must not be forgotten. It was framed and established by the *Convention-Parliament*, 1688. In it the *Archbishop*, or *Bishop* says, *Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern this People of England, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, according to the Statutes that Parliament agreed on, and the Laws and Customs of the same?* The King answers, *I do solemnly promise so to do.* It is then further said by the Bishop ; *Will you, to the utmost of your Power, maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed Religion established by Law ? And will you preserve to the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do, or shall appertain to them, or any of them ?* The King's Answer was, *All this I promise to do.* And then, laying his Hands on the Holy Gospels, he said, *The Things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep ; so help me God.* And then he kissed the Book. Now these Words are plain and certain, and can have no doubtful Meaning : The People of *England* are to be governed according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm ; and those are known : The Protestant reformed Religion established by Law, is to be maintained : And that is, as professed in the Church of *England* ; for no other was then indulged, much less established. The Bishops and Clergy of the Realm are to have all their Rights and Privileges preserved : This too, for the same Reason, is to be understood of the Church of *England*, and of her Bishops and Clergy ; and answers exactly to that Passage in *Magna Charta* just now produced, concerning the *Jura & Libertates Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* ; which, in this Clause of this Coronation Oath, is directly *englisbed* : And therefore what I said in that Case, I say again in this, that if the Church of *England* have any Rights, or Privileges,

this of assembling, debating, and conferring, is certainly one and the chief of them.

It would be needless, after this Account of the Coronation-Oath, which obliges his Majesty, as King, to produce the Declaration he made while Prince of *Orange*; or the unanimous Opinion of the great Men and Commonalty of the Realm, who first declared for him; both this and that were plainly directed at the Preservation of this Church, and her Rights; of these Bishops, and their Clergy; and the several Privileges belonging, in common, or in particular to them.

You may make what Inferences you please from hence, as to the Disuse of Convocations under the last Archbishop; we are sure his most sacred Majesty did ever oppose their sitting and acting.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion at large concerning the second Point propos'd; and now that is done, the third will give us no Trouble. For to your last Question, *Of what Force and Validity Canons framed by the King and Convocation are?* I answer, in a Word, that they need no Confirmation of, or by the Parliament, provided they do not impugn Common Law, Statutes, Customs, or Prerogative. *Smyth* and *Bird's* Case, in Sir *Francis Moor's* Reports, is plain and full to this Purpose; where the then Lord Chancellor, *Popham* Chief Justice, and Chief Justice *Cook*, (no great Bigot for Religion, or the Power of the Church) and *Fleming* Chief Baron, magnify the Usefulness and Necessity of the Ecclesiastical Laws; and, in the third Place, have resolved, that the Canons of the Church, made by the Convocation and the King, without Parliament, shall bind in all Matters Ecclesiastical as well as an Act of Parliament. They allow, that the Convocation of the Clergy was once a Member of the Parliament of this Realm, but afterwards, for its Ease, severed; and yet carried its peculiar Function within to the Convocation-House. And *Coke* says, that it was resolved, 21 *Henry VIII.* by both Houses, upon Conference together, that, when the Convocation makes Canons, appertaining to them, and the King confirms them, they shall bind all the Realm, *Moor* 782, 783. And according to this is a little Report, which goes under the Name of *Noy. 100. Hill. 2. Jac. I.* where, before many Noblemen, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the Justices, and Barons of the Exchequer, it was held and agreed, that the King, without Parliament, (and by that they must mean in Convocation) may make Constitutions for the Government of the Clergy. And the Books quoted against our Notion, as 21 *Edward IV.* 45. and 20 *Henry VI.* 13. acknowledge, that they bind the Clergy, though not the Laity, without Parliament. Whatever those Books say, I, for my Part, can see no Reason, why in Things of a spiritual Nature, the Rules of a Convocation should not oblige us, as our Acts of Parliament, in Things of a temporal Nature, oblige them. 'Tis not my Province to argue how far they oblige us in *Foro Conscientiæ*: Only this I may say, that though the Common-Law, Religion, which was *Paganism*, knows nothing of the Validity of such Canons, made by our Ecclesiastical Rulers under a Religious Prince, yet the Christian Common Lawyer, who owns himself a Member of

of the Church of *England*, according to the Laws of his Country, must and will reverence them as obligatory.

The Canons of an *English* Convocation would, I am sure, claim a particular Regard from us now, upon the Account of those Persons who chuse and compose it. They are, at this Day, I am perswaded, the best, for their Number, of any Clergy in this, or any other Kingdom in the whole Christian World; 'tis a bold Word, but a true one, considering either their Parts, Learning, Virtue, or Piety. I pretend not to justify every particular Person, but desire any Man to shew me a Number like them, in any Profession or Science whatsoever, which so much have answered the Ends of their Institution, and are so great an Honour to their Calling. So that, in Truth, we of this Age have no Reason to decry that Gown: 'Tis venerable in itself; and the Men who now wear it, do in a very particular Manner deserve our Respect, either as we are *Englishmen* or Christians: 'Tis both our Interest and our Duty to support their Honour, unless we resolve to turn all Religion out of the Kingdom: And this is a Truth, which the most considering of their Enemies must see and acknowledge.

To their eternal Honour, it must be owned, that in the last Reign they stood up in the Defence of the Laws and Liberties of their Country, resolutely and bravely: And 'tis Pity, methinks, but that those Laws, which they so well defended, should now protect and defend them also in their Turn. They should have their Share, at least, in those Liberties, which they then did more than their Share to preserve: They ought certainly to enjoy to the full all the Privileges they formerly had, if we think not fit to give them new ones: This they may honestly expect at our Hands, upon the Score of past Services.

My Lords the Bishops, indeed, by reason of their high Station in the House of Peers, and the great Business, which on that Account their Hands are full of, may not miss their Seat in a Convocation-House: But the inferior Clergy, the Priests, who are in no other Capacity of serving the Church and Kingdom, to purpose, but as assembled in Synod, are at leisure to reflect often on the Neglect with which they are used, and the Methods that are taking of making them useless. They are, though under the Bishops, a considerable Member of the Ecclesiastical State. No Canon can be made without their Assent; and if the Canons are not observed as they should be, they have a Right to complain of the Default, and to move for a Redress; and not to be suffered to do this, at a Time when there is so much Need of it; and when the Rights of all other Bodies are so tenderly preserved, they think to be a very great and designed Hardship upon them.

There was a Time, indeed, when the Clergy was deemed publick Enemies, and used as such; viz. in the Reign of *Edward I.* but it was upon a very honourable Account, because they asserted the Laws of the Realm. The King at that Time did, by Commission, against the ancient Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, pretend to collect Money without the Assent of Parliament, not from the Clergy only, but from the Earls, Barons, and Commonalty of the Realm.

Realm. The latter did too many of them submit, the Clergy stoutly resisted it: So that Sir *Robert Brabazon*, the King's Chief Justice, pronounced openly in the King's Bench, (*in terrorem*) that from thenceforth no Justice should be done at their Suit; and that Justice should be done against them in the King's Courts at any Man's Suit. This Passage I marked when I first read the *Institutes*, as a very extraordinary one ('tis Page 529. 2. *Inst.*) I suppose you will think it so too, and that *England* was then blessed with a righteous Chief Justice!

The Place, God be thanked, is now a little better filled with one, whose Justice the Clergy may certainly depend upon, if not upon his Favour. While he presides in that Court, they are safe: And it is to be hoped, that the same good Providence that brought him thither, will (upon his Removal, whenever it shall happen) prevent any *Brabazon*, or Enemy of our Religion and Church, from succeeding him.

Thus, Sir, I have given your three Questions the Answer I promised: I am sensible, upon a Review of this Letter, that 'tis a little of the longest either for your or a more publick Use; but you know I have a Right to Monsieur *Paschal*'s Excuse in the Case; and may truly say as he did, that I have not Time to make it shorter.

I am, S I R,

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant.

An Account of Queen Mary's Methods for introducing POPERY, and procuring a Parliament to confirm it: Seasonable to be publish'd in this Time of imminent Danger; and dedicated to the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftsbury.

To the Right Honourable ANTHONY Earl of Shaftsbury, &c.

MY LORD,

I T is (I confess) a great Presumption to prefix your Lordship's Name to so small a Treatise; but since the Design of it is to inform all true Englishmen, of what Ways the Papists used in endeavouring to bring their Religion into England, that they may be prevented in all their Designs; I hope your Lordship will pardon this Boldness in me. And, my Lord, I believe the English Nation have
so

So great a Reverence for your Lordship, that they will the better esteem this Piece for your Lordship's Name being set before it, because they will imagine, that none durst have presumed to have laid it at your Feet, unless it were agreeable to your Sentiments.

My Lord, I think nothing of this kind was ever yet printed, which was a great Motive to me to publish it, who am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant,

T. S.

SEveral Persons of great Worth and Learning have already given Account of the great Cruelties that have been exercised by Papists on Protestants, and some, particularly, have wrote of the dismal Condition of the reformed Christians in *Queen Mary's Days*; but none have yet, as I remember, acquainted the World with the Methods *Queen Mary* used to introduce Popery, which was, at her coming to the Crown, in a fair Way of being extirpated. And considering that the discovering of a Rock, on which some have formerly split, may be of great Use for others to avoid it, I have undertaken to give you this following Account.

Henry the Eighth, King of England, having left the Kingdom of *England* in great Peace, and in a fair Way to shake off the burthensome Yoke of *Rome*, *Edward the 6th*, his Son, succeeded him, a Prince so hopeful, that in six Years Time he had almost perfected the good Work begun by his Father *King Henry*, but unkind Death snatch'd him away on the 6th of *July*, 1553, in the 16th Year of his Age, whose Death was much lamented throughout the Nation; most People prophetically presaging the Misfortunes which were coming on them. After which the Duke of *Northumberland* caused his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, to be proclaimed Queen, but her Reign lasted only ten Days; for the Council, turning to the Lady *Mary* in the latter End of *July*, 1553, caused her to be proclaimed Queen of *England* in *London*, and other Parts of the Realm; upon which she removed from her Castle of *Framlingham* towards *London*, and being come to *Wansted* in *Essex*, on the 30th of *July* the Lady *Elizabeth*, her Sister, with a Train of a thousand Horse, went from her Palace in the *Strand*, to meet her. On the 3d of *August* the Queen rode thro' *London* to the *Tower*, where she set free *Stephen Gardiner*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, and restored him to his Bishoprick. On the Fifth of *August*, *Edmund Bonner*, late Bishop of *London*, Prisoner in the *Marshalsea*, and *Cuthbert Tunstall*, the old Bishop of *Durham*, Prisoner in the *King's-Bench*, had their Pardons, and were restored to their Sees.

On the 12th of *August* the Queen made an open Declaration in Council, "That tho' her Conscience was staid in Matters of Religion, yet she would
" not

“ not restrain or compel others, otherwise than as God should put into their
 “ Hearts to embrace that Religion she was in ; which she hoped would be
 “ done by putting of godly and virtuous Men into Livings to preach the
 “ Words of God.”

Upon this, all Parties hoped for a Toleration to worship God their own Way, but the Papists presuming upon the Queen's being of their Religion, openly commended their own Religion, and reproached the Reformed ; so that on the 13th, one *Bourn*, Canon of *Paul's*, preaching at *Paul's-Cross*, not only pray'd for the Dead, but declar'd, that Dr. *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, (late restored, and then in Presence) for a Sermon by him made four Years before on the same Text, and in the same Place, had been unjustly cast into the *Marshalsea* ; which Speech so offended the People, who had a great Veneration for the good King *Edward*, that a great Disturbance arose, and a Dagger was thrown at him, but he, with much Difficulty, was conveyed into *Paul's* School by Mr. *Rogers*, whilst Mr. *Bradford* stepped into the Pulpit, and appeased the People. This being repeated to the Queen, she makes another Declaration, “ That she would have all her Subjects live in Amity, and
 “ charged them not to use the Words *Papist* or *Heretick*.”

Shortly after, all the Bishops which had been deprived in the Time of King *Edward* the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed ; also all beneficed Men, that were married, and would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and others, of a contrary Opinion, were put into their room.

These Men, when restored, urge the Queen to re-establish Popery ; whom she answers, “ That she designs nothing more, yet must act with so much
 “ Caution as not to inflame her reformed Subjects.” In the mean Time private Cabals were held by the Queen, and some of the most vigorous Papists, and after several Consultations, it was fully resolved, that Popery should be suddenly restored.

On the 19th of *August*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland* (who professed himself a Protestant in King *Edward's* Time, and persuaded the King to declare his Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, his Successor) was tried and condemned for High-Treason, and on the 22d executed, and at his Death declared himself a Papist, and to have been so always ; by which you may note what Temporizers Papists are, who can seem to be any Thing for Interest.

Now Things seeming to be a little settled, the Queen thinks it convenient to make another Step towards Popery, which is by a Proclamation to prohibit preaching ; it being certain, that when a Man is ignorant, he is ready to embrace any Novelty, not being capable of considering whether it be Good or Evil. Many Censures passed upon this Proclamation, but none durst openly testify their Resentment, for fear of being clapped up ; and though the Queen seem'd to carry all Things fair, yet some of the wisest of the Reformed (being sensible that Persecution was coming on them) held several Consultations, but their Consciences will not let them rebel against their Sovereign ; yet, on the 15th of *September*, Arch-bishop *Cranmer* courageously declares against the
 Mass,

Mafs, of which *Bonner* makes use to enflame the Queen againſt him, and within two or three Days *Cranmer* and *Latimer* are ſent to the Tower; upon which ſeveral reformed Chriſtians fly beyond Sea.

The Queen, who had all this while contented herſelf with being Queen by Proclamation, ſeeing Things ſomething ſettled, proceeds to her Coronation, which was accordingly ſplendidly performed on the laſt of *September*. After which ſhe diſcharges a Tax, publiſhed a general Pardon, but interlaced with ſo many Exceptions of Matters and Perſons, that very few took Benefit of it; and thoſe that did, were, by the Commiſſioners aſſigned to compound with them, deſpoiled of Offices and Eſtates.

Soon after this, Juſtice *Hales* was imprifoned, for that, at a Quarter-Sessions in *Kent*, he gave Charge upon the Statutes of *Henry* the Eighth and *Edward* the Sixth, in Derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, which was a high Ingratitude in the Queen, he having, in King *Edward's* Time, refuſed to ſign a Warrant for diſinheriting the Lady *Mary* and Lady *Elizabeth*.

On the 10th of *October*, the Queen ſummons a Parliament, and Members are choſe by Force and Threats in ſome Places, and in others, thoſe employ'd by the Court, did by Violence hinder the People from coming in to chuſe; in many Places falſe Returns were made, and when the Parliament met, ſome were violently turned out of the Houſe; ſeveral Biſhops were thruſt out of the Houſe of Lords for not worſhipping the Maſs, and ſoon after-imprifoned.

On the third of *November*, *Cranmer* was arraigned in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and found guilty of High-Treaſon, which, by the Way, note, was only for not worſhipping Maſs, though other Things were alledged againſt him, and was condemned to die.

After which, an Act was made for repealing the Laws made by King *Edward* touching Religion, (ſee what a Parliament can do, when one is pickt out for the Purpoſe) then they paſſed another Act for preventing Affronts to Popiſh Priests, who then began mightily to appear. Then another Act was paſſed for preventing unlawful Aſſemblies, which was meant the Meeting of the reformed Proteſtants.

The Queen, having brought Things to this Point, begins to ſhew herſelf more openly, and publickly declares her Reſolution of being reconciled to the See of *Rome*, and accordingly ſends Cardinal *Pool* to the Pope for his Bleſſing and Directions; but he was ſtopt by the Emperor as he was on his Journey, but the Queen ſending to the Emperor to deſire him not to hinder, Cardinal *Pool* went on his Journey.

In the mean while, *Gardiner* at Home propoſes to the Queen the ſeveral Methods for rooting out the reformed Religion, which are accepted of, but not put in Execution, till other Neceſſaries are diſpatched; viz. the Match with Prince *Philip* of *Spain*, which Match the Houſe of Commons diſliked; alledging that it would bring *England* under a foreign Yoke; and ſince the Commons cannot be perſuaded to conſent to it, the Parliament is diſſolved; the conſtant Practice, when they would not do what they thought destructive to the Nation) and a new one pickt out by the former Methods, to agree to

the Match ; they were such Men as could be bribed to do any thing the Queen would have them ; for there were 1200,000 Crowns sent from *Spain* to corrupt them. They confirm the Marriage, set up the Mass, and concur with the Queen in all Acts for persecuting the Protestants ; but Thanks be to God ! we are not now in Danger of such Parliaments, Peoples Understandings being every where enlightened, and the whole Nation sensible of what will be the Consequence of such Parliaments, who shall concur with a Popish King, for destroying the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of those that are of the Protestant Religion. A Religion which authorizes not Murders and Rapines, that teacheth the Way to Heaven, by Meekness and Humility, by Loyalty and Faithfulness to their Prince, and Love to one another. But on the contrary, the popish Religion pretends to convert People by Jails, Fire, and Faggot. The first Instance of which in this Queen's Reign is *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, three reformed Bishops, being adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to die. After which follows the burning of *Rogers*, a Minister, *Hooper*, and *Farrar*, two Bishops, and *Bradford* another Minister.

On the twenty-fifth of *July*, 1554, Prince *Philip* comes to *Winchester*, attended by several Nobles, who were sent to *Spain* to fetch him ; and on the twenty-fifth the Marriage was solemnized there. An infinite Number of Papists of all Countries came over with him. The King and Queen send for Cardinal *Pool* from *Rome*, who being come, his Attainder was taken off, and he makes a Speech to the Parliament, exhorting them wholly to the Mother Church ; upon which they desire Pardon, and repent of their former Errors, and profess themselves ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome* ; upon which, he gives them and the whole Nation Absolution. In *March* the Queen delivers up all the Abby Lands, and leaves them to the Disposal of the Pope and his Legate ; so that by this Gentlemen may see what they are to expect from a Popish Prince, viz. to have all their Estates taken away, their Families ruined, and even suffer the Loss of their Lives at his Pleasure.——

Soon after this, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and *Cranmer*, are burnt, with Thousands all over *England*, the Repetition of who they were, and where executed, I shall not trouble you, since published at large in *Fox* ; I shall only beg every honest *Englishman* who is willing to serve his God in Peace, and enjoy the Privileges which God and the Laws hath given him, to consider how sad the Change of the present Religion and Government would be, when it shall lie in the Power of the Pope to order the Destruction of Protestants, and a Popish Prince think himself obliged to execute such his Holiness's Orders ; when we who are free-born *Englishmen*, should be Priest-ridden, when those that will not rack their Consciences to save their Estates and Lives, shall be murdered. For such, and much worse, will be certainly the Consequence of Popery, since all their learned Authors do publish, that every Man is obliged to convert, or confound Hereticks ; and 'tis by that Name they stile us. Let us reflect a little upon the late Designs of the Papists. Was not the Scene of converting *England* to be laid in Blood, of even the King himself, who hath been so favourable to them,

them, as well as of all the Protestants of *England*? Nay, they intended to have cut off even the Duke himself, upon whom they built all their Hopes, if he should not absolutely hold his Crown from the Pope? What Care ought then to be taken for preventing the Designs of such Men? How diligent ought we to be in counterplotting? How industrious ought we to be in chusing good Members for Parliament, who if bad, can make such a Figure in altering the Government, and bringing the Country to Destruction? How ought we to amend our Lives, and live answerable to God's great Mercies here bestowed upon us, and send up our hearty Prayers, that God would continue his Majesty's Life to us, and destroy and confound all his and the Nation's Enemies, and give a Blessing to the Endeavours of the approaching Parliament, that the Fears of the People may be quieted, and a hearty Union between his Majesty and the Nation may be fully compleated?

Some short Remarks upon Mr. LOCKE's Book, in Answer to Mr. LOUNDS, and several other Books and Pamphlets concerning COIN. By Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Knight of the Bath, and Baronet. 1696.

ALthough Mr. *Locke*, by all his Writings, hath justly acquired the Character of a very ingenious Person, yet, without detracting from his Merit, in this late Discourse of his, he hath fallen into the Error which often attends those who write upon Subjects of which they have no practical Knowledge or Experience, to frame Notions, and lay down Suppositions, which are either false or fallacious, of which my present Design is only to give a short Specimen, having not the Leisure, as yet, to pursue so large a Discourse.

First, That an Ounce of Silver is of equal Value to an Ounce of Silver of the same Weight and Fineness, admits of no Dispute; but that an Ounce of Silver will buy an Ounce of Silver of the like Fineness, is an absurd Proposition, since there is no Occasion for any Barter or Exchange.

Secondly, That the intrinsic Value of Silver is the true Instrument and Measure of Commerce, is partly true, and partly false; for the Money of every Country, and not the Ounce of Silver, or the intrinsic Value, is the Instrument and Measure of Commerce there, according to its Denomination, and the Standard of the Coin of each Nation is very different, and does often vary, according to Time, Place, and Circumstances: Nor are the Commodities of any Country bought by foreign Coin or Bullion, of the Makers, or first Venders, but by the Coin of the Country, and is therefore bought by Commodities; they are first invested into the Money of the Country; or if by foreign Coin or Bullion, it must be also converted into the Coin of the Place, before it can be useful for Barter; and the Merchant or Goldsmith will gain something

to reduce it to the Coin of the Country, unless the Matter be transacted by Bills of Exchange, in which they endeavour, as much as may be, to make a Par between the Money of each Country, according to the intrinsic Value; and hence comes the Necessity and Use of Exchange. Nevertheless, that intrinsic Value is govern'd by the Value of Bullion in each Country at that Time, which varies, as other Commodities do, and other Circumstances.

Thirdly, Bullion is a Commodity, and has no certain universal stated Price or Value agreed upon by Mankind, as he supposes, but varies in every Age or Nation, according to the Scarcity, Plenty, or Use of it: Notwithstanding it must be allow'd, that the Silver coming wholly from the *West-Indies*, the Price of it does govern the Value in all *Europe*; nor does it vary so much as other Commodities do, unless there be some extraordinary Accident of interrupting the Trade to those Parts, by reason of War, &c. or by the Encrease of the Demand of it in *Europe*, or in some particular Nations thereof, and therefore is the fittest to be the Material for the Instrument and Measure of Commerce, *viz.* Money.

Fourthly, Against his Assertion, that advancing the Denomination, or lessening the Weight or Fineness of our Coin, would be a Loss of so much to the landed Men in their Rents, and the Creditors in their Debts, at least as to all Bargains already made; I offer to Consideration, That nothing is more evident, than that such a Change can have no such Effect or Consequence upon any thing at Home, but only Exchange and Commerce Abroad; for Proof whereof, I shall appeal to the historical Part of Mr. *Lounds's* Book, as to the frequent Alteration of the Standard in Weight, Fineness, and Denomination here; which is yet much more practised in other neighbouring Nations, as I could easily demonstrate, the Standard of whose Coin is much below ours, and who have also great Quantities of Coin of base Alloy current among them, which they have never thought fit to change, even in the Times of the greatest Wealth or Plenty among them, for the Ease of Commerce at Home, and augmenting the Species of Money.

Fifthly, In the next Place, it is as evident, that whatever the Value of the Coin be, more or less, it will have the same Effect according to the Price Current of it, as to our Home Commerce; for Instance, if our Shilling be above the Standard of all other Nations, and worth thirteen Pence Abroad, as it has been for many Years, yet without melting or exporting, or by way of Exchange, it will purchase no more than a clipped Shilling, or twelve Pence in Halfpence or Farthings; and while our clipped Money passed, and no Discountenance put upon it, we found no such Rise of Commodities, or Fall of our Rents, or Damage to the Subject in taking it; nor has it the same Influence now, as to any Commodities that are not for foreign Consumption; since Corn, Flesh, &c. have risen or fallen according to the Scarcity, Plenty, or Vent, and not according to the Value, but Denomination of Money, for these three Years last past, before the Project of Re-coining our Money was set on Foot, which possibly hath of late made some Alteration in these Commodities also. This indeed must be allowed, that when the Standard of Coin was by publick

publick Authority, for Perpetuity, altered from twenty Pence, to sixty-two in Point of Denomination, but not in Weight or Fineness. Between the Time of *Edward III.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, by Degrees the Price of Commodities and Rents did advance; but the Ounce of Silver being generally raised through all the World accordingly, and rather more Abroad, by Reason of the frequent Wars upon the Continent; as also, that of their being then the principal Seats of Trade and Manufacture, which required greater Supplies of Silver; there was no Loss as to the old Rent.

Sixthly, To keep up an old Standard under an old Denomination, below the Value of Bullion, is the greatest Folly imaginable, and what is not practised in any other Nation, for which we have paid dear, and yet are not grown wiser; for it first carried away all our Gold, which was very plentiful here, in the Time of *King Charles I.* then all our old and broad Money, and lastly, all our milled Money, which was as plentiful in *King Charles II's* Time; notwithstanding the Balance of Trade was much on our Side, and has put an absolute Stop to our Mint, as to Silver, for many Years past, and brought such a Want of the Species, that our Money was clipped down to above half, and yet not sufficient to keep out a vast Quantity of false Money to supply the Defect. And whereas it has been alledged, that the Rise of Guineas to thirty Shillings hath been by a Trick of the *Goldsmiths*, their Rise has been naturally necessary, and would have produced no ill Effect, could foreign have Guineas been kept out; for at highest they were advanced not to a full Third, and our other Coin, by Reason of its Clipping, was not indeed worth a Moiety in its intrinsic Value, and the counterfeit Part much less, taken together.

Lastly, Altho' it were desirable, were we in better Circumstances as to the Balance of our Trade, that our Silver Money should be kept up in Weight and Fineness, near the intrinsic Value of Bullion, or at least the Standard of our Neighbours Coin; yet it ought always to be low, rather than above it, to prevent the Exportation of Money, instead of Commodities, and to bring Bullion into the Mint; especially since the Plenty of the Species of Money is the only Thing that can advance Trade, and the Value of Lands; but as our present Circumstances are, there is an absolute Necessity that we raise the Denomination of our Silver, both in respect of Gold, and the Over-balance of our Dealings Abroad, if you will have any Money at Home to support Commerce; nor can such an Advance hurt us in the least, since at worst Abroad they will only take their Measures according to the intrinsic Value, or rather the Standard of their own Coin; and if they raise their Commodities proportionably, it will bring us a double Benefit, to discourage the Consumption (whereof we are too prodigal) and encourage the Advance and Consumption of our own Commodities, and keep our Money at Home, which will be the least Thing carried out, when it will pass for more here than there.

As for Guineas, the Fall of them was not only unnecessary, but highly prejudicial to the Kingdom; first, because Guineas have bought up all the Silver Money that was left in the Country, and consequently left us no other Coin to carry on Trade and Subsistence; and after the raising of seven Millions will be
a Tax

a Tax of eight Shillings and Six-pence upon the Subjects, and the Plenty of Silver Money is the only Thing that will reduce them gradually.

To conclude, as to our foreign Commerce, the Price of our Commodities were raised accordingly, and therefore could not hurt us; now if Guineas fall, all Commodities must fall, and the Want of fixing them at a certain Price will cause a mighty Loss, and Interruption in our Traffick; and this is certain, that nothing but Care of our Trade at Home, and lessening the Expence of our Army Abroad, by having a free Port, altering the Quota's of our Allies, or capitulating with the *Dutch* for the Payment of the Subsistence of our Forces in *Flanders*, can possibly enable us to carry on our War, Trade, and Home Commerce.

An Instance of the Church of England's LOYALTY, 1687.

THE Loyalty of the Church of *England* has been the Subject of some late Papers, and is now of this Discourse. The Gentleman of that Communion, especially those who call themselves their Clergy, and some others, affectionately addicted to their Interests, are amazed to find themselves arraigned for Want of Loyalty, which they have vaunted of to that Degree, as to glory in being the only Pattern of a Christian Church, that has yielded an un-interrupted Obedience to their Princes, without the least Blemish to their Loyalty, ever since their first Establishment. 'Tis confessed, that they have acknowledged the Divine Right of Monarchy, by their Canons, their Writings, and their Sermons; ^d that they have consequentially invested their Princes with a Power, as precedent and superior to, so not capable of being limited and restrained by any Human Laws; and by the Ecclesiastical Supremacy, which they have lodged in the Crown, they have made their Monarchs as great in Spirituals, as the Laws of God or of the Realm have made them in Temporals. They have built this Power upon the Hypothesis of a Paternal Right, and have guarded it with the impregnable Bulwarks of passive Obedience, and Non Resistance.

This Doctrine, as we allow it to be true, so we agree it to be the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, though we do not find it in any of their public Sanctions, (save what is contained in the *Canons of 1640*, which are not in Force.) For since they themselves neither obey their *Canons*, nor think themselves obliged to believe their Articles, though they subscribe them; but alledge, that they subscribe them only as Articles of Peace, which they are not to preach against, nor separate Communion for; we must allow that to be the Doctrine of their Church, which their several Divines tell us is so.

And, as we allow this to be their Doctrine; so, if their Practice has been accordingly, we will readily allow their Claim, of being the best Subjects in the World. But, as good Works, whether meritorious of Salvation, or not, are yet necessary, at least as Demonstrations of Faith, from which they necessarily flow; so they must excuse us, if we suspend our Belief of their singular Loyalty, notwithstanding their own specious Pretences, till we have examined at least some of their Practices, by the Rules which themselves have furnished us with; according to the Rule, *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*.

They have been happy in meeting with few Occasions of having their Loyalty tried; for ever since their Establishment, till of late Years, the Prince Regnant has been of their Communion, and consequently favoured their Interest. And, as they been told already, their adhering to his Majesty's Father in the Time of the late unhappy Re-

^d *Can. Ann. 1640.*

bellion, was no such Work of Supererogation, the Quarrel being theirs; and the Restraint, which they endeavoured to bring all others under, and which Archbishop *Laud* left no Stone unturned to prosecute, having been the Cause of that unfortunate War.

Nor was their Carriage more meritorious upon the Occasion of the late unrighteous Bill of Exclusion; themselves hatched it, a great Part of their Body promoted it; and we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, from the following Instance, that the Reason why the greater Part of their Clergy appeared with so much Concern and Indignation against it, was more out of Self-interest, than either Affection to the Royal Family, or a Sense of their Duty. For they could not but see, that the Sticklers for that Bill levelled at Monarchy, more than Popery; and they knew, that no other Form of Government would be consistent with their Hierarchy.

The Instance which I shall insist on, shall be their Carriage in the Business, of *Mary Queen of Scots*, his present Majesty's Great-Grandmother; which has been objected to them already, but perhaps not urged with so much Advantage as it is capable of.

But before I give an Account of her History, I think it necessary to take notice, that the Church of *England* asserts the Divine Right of Succession in Hereditary Monarchies. Indeed, it is a natural Consequent upon the Divine Right of Monarchy, and upon the Hypothesis of the Paternal Right: But yet, because I am about to give a notorious Instance of their receding from this Principle, when the Practice of it thwarted their Interest; it will not be amiss to observe, that they have acknowledged in their several Addresses to his present Majesty, upon his Accession to the Crown, "The unalterable and inherent Right of Succession, which cannot be taken away by the specious Formality of a Law; that the Law of Heaven is not to be violated by an excluding Bill upon Earth: In others, they own an undoubted Right of Succession by the Laws of Nature, the unalterable Right of Proximity of Blood: These they call the Right Notions of Loyalty, and the opposite Opinion Antimonarchical and Republican".

Pursuant to these Principles they acknowledge, whatever Act of Parliament hath been, or may be made, to alter the Stream of the Succession in the Right Line, to be null and void. The worthy Persons that spoke in the House of Commons against the Bill of Exclusion, insisted, as one main Argument against it, that it was against the Principles of their Religion, and would be void, if it were enacted. And in the *Oxford-Decrees*, July 21, 1683, it is declared to be a false, seditious, and impious Position, to assert it lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right and Succession to the Crown.

The next Thing is to relate the Story of *Mary Queen of Scots*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The former was Daughter and Heir of *James V.* King of *Scotland*, who was Son and Heir of Queen *Margaret*, Wife to King *James IV.* and the eldest Daughter of King *Henry VII.* so that upon the Death of King *Henry VIII.* without Issue of his Body, the Right of the Crown devolved upon the Posterity of that Queen, whose undoubted Heir was the aforesaid *Mary Queen of Scots*. Now, after the Death of *Mary Queen of England*, Queen *Elizabeth* was set up here, the only surviving Child of King *Henry VIII.* and the only Person in the World that had any Pretence to interpose between the Queen of *Scots*, and the Crown of *England*. What her Pretence was, and whether it was such as will excuse the Church of *England*, according to this Principal of the Succession being *Jure divino*, in adhering to her in Opposition to the Title of the Queen of *Scots*, &c. is now to be enquired.

Queen *Elizabeth* was the Daughter of *Anne Bolen*, King *Henry VIII.*'s. second Wife; the King indeed was married to her, and their Daughter *Elizabeth* was born before the Death of Queen *Catharine*, his first Wife. But since the Church of *England* maintain the Lawfulness of Queen *Catharine's* Divorce, and my Design in this Paper is only to argue from their own Principles; I shall wave whatever relates to Queen *Catharine*, and will suppose the Marriage of *Anne Bolen* to have been as valid, as it would have been, if Queen *Catharine* had actually been dead. The Illegitimacy then of Queen *Elizabeth* is apparent upon another Account: For King *Henry* was solemnly divorced from her Mother at *Lambeth* by

by *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for a Precontract, which herself confessed, as may be read in *Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation*.

Now it is well known, that a Precontract is a good Cause of Divorce à Vincul, by the Law of God, and of this Realm. That Sentence was confirmed by Act of Parliament Anno 28. *Henry VIII.* Which Act, so far forth as it concerns Queen *Elizabeth*, was never expressly repealed; so that nothing can be more evident than her Illegitimacy, and consequently, that she had no Right to the Crown by inherent Birth-right.

But what Pretence of Title had she? Why, in the 35th Year of King *Henry VIII.* the King, being then about to go beyond Sea, caused an Act to be passed for establishing the Succession. By which it was enacted, *that in Case it should happen the King's Majesty and Prince Edward his Son to decease without Issue of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, Male or Female, that then the Crown should be to the Lady Mary, the King's eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body, and for Default of such Issue, to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Heirs of her Body.*

This Act of Parliament was her Title; all the Title she had, and all that she pretended to. Nay, and by the Statute of 1 *Eliz. cap. 3.* it is enacted, *That the Limitations of the Crown contained in that Statute of 35 Henry VIII. shall stand, remain, and be the Law of the Realm for ever;* which Statute did not limit the Crown to her, but after the Death of King *Henry* without Issue of his Body, Male or Female: So that her Illegitimacy is tacitly confessed by an Act in her own Reign. And so conscious was she that her Title to the Crown depended upon an Act of Parliament only, that in the 13th Year of her Reign, it was made High Treason to say, that the Succession to the Crown could not be altered by Act of Parliament.

Now, under this Act of Parliament Queen, what Treasons did not the Church of *England* practise against their natural Sovereign? They granted Subsidies to assist her *Scottish* Subjects against her; they entered into Associations here at Home against her; they erected a High Court of Justice, by Act of Parliament, on Purpose to take her off. That Court sentenced her to Death. After her Condemnation, the Parliament petitioned for her Execution, each House apart; and the Bishops gave their Reasons why it ought to be. And then the fatal Blow was given.

I shall observe by the Way, that before this Queen was taken off, and so the Succession pretty well secured against Popery, the Church of *England* never persecuted any of her Protestant Dissenters; but as soon as that Work was done, and the Court likely to continue on their Side, then out flies the 35 *Eliz. cap. 2.* against Sectaries; but this obiter.

To conclude: If a Precontract be a good Cause of Divorce à Vinculo, by the Law of God, which they acknowledge that it is; and if the Marriages of Princes lie open to these Nullities, as well as those of other Persons, which will not be denied: If no Person can have a Right by inherent Birth-right, either to a Crown, or a private Inheritance, that is not born or begotten in lawful Wedlock; then was Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate, and consequently, had no Right to the Crown by inherent Birth-right, nor could the Act of 35 *Henry VIII.* give her any, in prejudice of the lawful Heir in Succession; because the Law of God must be obeyed, rather than the Law of Man; and consequently, *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was their Liege Princess. But she was the Heir, and they killed her, that the Inheritance might be theirs.

It follows from the Premises, that the Reformation of the Church of *England* was not so regular as is pretended, but is liable to the same Imputation of Treason and Rebellion, wherewith they brand the Reformations Abroad.

The

The Church of *England's* Complaint, in Vindication of
her Loyalty.

IF ever Mother had just Reason to complain of her Children, and expostulate the Case with them, certainly it is I. If ever Children did dishonour their Parent, or at any Time blast her Reputation, they are now mine. I, who formerly gloried in my stedfast and unshaken Loyalty ; I, who by many Canons and ecclesiastical Constitutions established the regal Authority against all papal and popular, foreign and domestic Power ; I, who so often declared it unlawful for any Subject, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up either offensive or defensive Arms against their Sovereign ; I, who contemned my Sister Churches, as teaching Doctrines and Positions lessening that towering Loyalty which I professed, and particularly her of *Rome*, for maintaining a foreign ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though only in mere spiritual Matters, now find my Reputation tainted, my Loyalty brought in question, and my constant Adherence to my own Canons and Constitutions, not only doubted of but denied ; whilst the Malice of some of my Children bring in a foreign Power to invade my Sovereign's Rights, under a mere Pretence of supporting my Grandeur, and raise popular Tumults for the establishing my Peace, whilst the irregular Zeal of others, makes them draw their Swords against their and my Head and Sovereign in the most unnatural Quarrel ; and others who should have stood up to support my Honour, not only look on with an affected Silence, but by covert Ways abet Rebellion.

He who spares the Rod, says Solomon, spoils the Child ; and this I fear has been my Case. The Evil seems, by my Neglect, to have taken Root, and spread its Branches to a large Extent ; and should I, in this Juncture of Affairs, make use of my maternal Power, or ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and publicly disinherit, or denounce them to be no Members of my Body, who have broken my Canons and Constitutions, to which an Excommunication, *ipso facto*, is annexed, I might fear to exasperate rather than recal my Children to a due Obedience ; nay, I might justly apprehend a vast Diminution in my Numbers ; and they who have given this Wound to their Mother's Honour, by calling in, or abetting a foreign Power against her Head, would also condemn my Censures, and never sue for Absolution.

But *Losers*, they say, *have Leave to speak*. I hope then it may be allowed me, even at this Time, to speak my Mind freely, and read a Lecture of Duty and Obedience to my Children.

And to whom shall I address myself, but to them whose ecclesiastical Dignity has given them not only Authority to teach my Children their Duty, but to compel them also by Censures to it ; and particularly to you, my *seven Sons*, who of late gained so vast a Reputation by opposing Majesty, that no Emblem but the *seven golden Candlesticks* was thought sufficient to express your Glory : And this so much the rather, because it is surmised, that Occasion has been taken, from your Examples, to advance too far, and pass over the

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Bulwarks of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance into the open Campaigns of Rebellion.

You know what Articles, Canons and Constitutions have been established by me in your Predecessors Times; and what Obligations all my Children have lain under by them: But you know also how little they have been put in Execution.

You know, that from my first Establishment, I declared in my thirty seventh Article, *That the King's Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought not to be subject to any foreign Jurisdiction; and this without any Limitation.*

You know also, that in the Canons and Constitutions set forth in the first Year of King James I. * *not only the inferior Clergy, but the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, is obliged to keep and observe faithfully, and (as much as in them lies) see that others keep and observe all and every the Statutes and Laws confirming the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England; and that all who have Cure of Souls, Preachers, &c. shall teach that all foreign and usurped Power has, for just Causes, been taken away and abolished; and therefore no Obedience or Subjection is in any Manner due, in these his Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions, to any foreign Power whatsoever; but that the Regal Authority is the first and supreme next under God, to which all Persons are obliged, by the Law of God, to pay all Fidelity and Obedience, above any other Power upon Earth.*

That in the second of those Canons, *they are to be excommunicated ipso facto, who shall presume in any Manner to hurt or lessen the said Regal Primacy established by the Laws of the Kingdom: And that this Excommunication shall not be taken off but by the Archbishop, and that not till they repent, and publickly recal those impious Errors.*

From whence it naturally follows, that to bring in or abet any foreign Jurisdiction (without Exception) against our lawful Sovereign, upon any Pretence whatsoever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, is to go directly against my Doctrine delivered in my Thirty-nine Articles, against the established Laws of this Nation, against my Canons and Constitutions, and such a Crime as is justly called *impious*, and incurs an Excommunication *ipso facto*.

You know, moreover, that in my latter Canons and Constitutions, published in the Year 1640 (to prevent those intestine Broils which threatened the Nation, and brought it presently after to Ruin †) several Explanations of the Regal Power were commanded to be read by every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, upon some one Sunday in every Quarter of the Year, at Morning Prayer; which Explanations declared at large,

1. *That the most high and sacred Order of Kings is of divine Right, and that God has given them a supreme Power to rule and command in their several Dominions, all Persons of what Rank or Estate soever, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, and to restrain and punish with the temporal Sword all stubborn and wicked Doers.*

* Sparrow's Canons, p. 271.

† Ibid. 345.

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2. *That the Care of God's Church is committed to Kings, who are commended by God when the Church keeps the right Way, and taxed by him in holy Scriptures when it runs amiss. But it is no where said, that either a foreign or domestic Power may compel him to do, or punish him for not performing, his Duty.*

3. *That the Power to call and dissolve Councils, both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian Kings, within their own Realms and Territories: And when, in the first Times of Christ's Church, Prelates used this Power, it was therefore only because in those Days they had no Christian Kings: And it was then so only used as in Times of Persecution, that is, with Supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their Lives unto the very Laws and Commands, even of those Pagan Princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their Civil Government, which Christ came to confirm, but by no Means to undermine.*

From whence it follows, that the Doctrine of *Non resistance* and *Passive Obedience*, is what was taught in the Primitive Church, as necessary to be practised even towards Heathens, and their Laws, much more ought it now to be towards Christian Princes.

4. *That for any Person or Persons to set up, maintain, or avow, in any their Realms or Territories respectively, any independent co-active Power, either papal or popular (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their great Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred Ordinance, which God himself hath established, and so is treasonable against God, as well as against the King.*

And certainly, if it was then my Duty to cry out against any independent co-active Power, either papal or popular, it is no less my Duty now, to disavow any foreign or domestic Power, though Protestant.

5. *That for Subjects to bear Arms against their Kings, Offensive or Defensive, upon any Pretence whatsoever [whether for Religion or Property it matters not] is at least to resist the Powers which are ordained of God: And though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, they shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

6. *They declare, That though Tribute, and Custom, and Aid, and Subsidy, and all Manner of necessary Support and Supply be respectively due to Kings from their Subjects, by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations, for the public Defence, Care and Protection of them; yet nevertheless, Subjects have not only Possession of, but a true and just Title to and in, all their Goods and Estates, and ought to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and comfortable Support of both. For as it is the Duty of the Subjects to supply their King, so is it Part of the kingly Office, to support his Subjects in the Property and Freedom of their Estates.*

7. *They decreed, That if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, shall voluntarily or carelessly neglect his Duty in publishing the said Explications and Conclusions, according to the Order above described, he shall be suspended by his Ordinary, till such Time as, upon his Penitence, he shall give sufficient Assurance or Evidence of his Amendment, &c.*

8. *They do also thereby require Archbishops, Bishops, and all other inferior Priests and Ministers, that they preach, teach, and exhort their People to obey, honour,*

honour, and serve their King; and that they presume not to speak of his Majesty's Power in any other Way than in this Canon is expressed.

9. And lastly, if any Parson, Vicar, Curate, Preacher, or any other Ecclesiastical Person whatsoever, shall, in any Sermon, Lecture, Common Place, Determination or Disputation, either by Word or Writing, publicly maintain, or abet any Position or Conclusion, in Opposition or Impeachment of the aforesaid Explinations, or any Part or Article of them, he shall forthwith, by the Power of his Majesty's Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, be excommunicated (till he repent) and suspended two Years from all the Profits of his Benefice, or other Ecclesiastical, Academical, or Scholastical Preferments, &c.

You know also, that these Canons and Constitutions do bind you no less now in 1688, than they did your Predecessors in 1641, it having been decreed *, *That whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that a most holy Synod of this Nation is not representatively the true Church of England; or that no Persons, whether of the Clergy or Laity †, are any ways obliged by the said Decrees touching Ecclesiastical Matters, who were not personally present in the same holy Synod, as not having given their Votes or Consent, shall be excommunicated §, and by no means to be absolved till he have repented, and publicly recalled this wicked Error.*

I must desire you also to call to Mind the Oaths you and all my other Children of the Clergy took, when you entered into that sacred Function, as also the Declarations you subscribed when you became Incumbents.

The first at your Ordination was in these Words ||.

I A B. do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience, that the King's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Highness's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness, his Heirs and lawful Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Pre-eminencies and Authorities, granted or belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

The second Oath or Declaration is before their Admission to be Incumbents, in these Words **.

I A. B. declare, That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King; and that I abhor that traiterous Position of taking Arms, by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, &c.

These are my Articles, Canons, Constitutions, and Declarations, loyal indeed in their Expressions, and such as religiously maintain my known Doctrine of Non-resistance, upon any Account whatsoever, and Passive Obedience, where Conscience will not permit an Active; these are the Oaths you yourselves have

* Sparrow's Can. p. 333.

† Can. 139.

§ Can. 140.

|| Ib. p. 145.

** Act of Uniformity, 14 Car. II.

taken, and the Declarations you have subscribed. The Censures are high, even those of Excommunication *ipso facto*; and the Laws are made equally against any foreign or domestic Power, Papal or Popular; Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate.

But what does it avail me to make Laws and Canons for my Children, if they will not pay Obedience? I can see my Sister Churches religiously obeyed, and all their Children look upon themselves, as bound under a mortal Sin to obey their Parent, though no Excommunications were annexed: But, alas! all my Commands are slighted, even from the Observation of my Feasts and Fasts, to my Allegiance to my Sovereign: And you who should stand by me, and by your Censures, as well as your Examples, vindicate my Power, and maintain my Honour, take no Care to put my Canons in Execution; nay, which is yet more, join with the Multitude of my rebellious Children, and by a criminal Silence in this Case, equally blast my Reputation.

Consider, I pray, my Lords, your Station and your Duty. You are my principal Children, who ought to stand as Bulworks to defend my Faith and Doctrine, and not only by your *Discourses*, *Sermons*, and *Examples*, teach my inferior Children their Duties, but by Ecclesiastical Censures and Excommunications compel them to it. But, alas! how faintly do you comply with this Obligation?

You see a foreign Power is entred into this Nation in an hostile manner, pretending to give Laws to mine and your Liege Sovereign: You see Persons of all Conditions join themselves with this Invader, and take up Arms against my King, contrary to their sworn Allegiance, and in Opposition to my Doctrine of *Non-resistance*: And what Canon, Constitution, or Ecclesiastical Censure have you published against them? Have you pronounced this Invasion unlawful, and all the Subjects of the King of *England*, who join with the Invader, Traitors both to their King and to their God; and such as resist the Powers that are of God, and shall receive to themselves Damnation? Have you issued out your Commands to the inferior Clergy to read the several Explanations of the Regal Power, and preach up that Obedience which is due, and the necessary Resistance which every Subject ought to make against the Invaders of their Country? Have you excommunicated a *Burnet*, though liable to an Ecclesiastical Censure? Has any of you opened your Mouths against the most perfidious Treachery of a C—— who calls me still his Mother? In a Word, what is it you have done to maintain my Doctrines, or secure me from the Reproaches that are daily cast upon me?

Is not all the World ready to say at present, what a noble Peer said some time ago to King *Charles* the Second, *The Church of England is we see like other Christian Churches, obedient as long as it consists with her Interest to obey, and for a King as long as a King is for her: But setting aside those Cases, she can dispense with Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, as well as any of her Puritan Neighbours*: And have you done any thing to remove the Obloquy?

Nay, let me come a little closer to the Point: Have not some of your Order been accused of calling this Invader into your Country? Has not the Prince himself declared as much? Does not this reflect upon my Honour as well as yours?

yours? And have you vindicated either yourselves, or me? What could there have been more easy, or more seasonable for the Vindication of both our Reputations, than to have denied the Fact, and published an Abhorrence of such a treacherous and unparalleled Invasion? And yet we see nothing but a profound Silence; which some say is the certain Sign of Guilt.

A Silence, I say, unless you will call your last Petition your Defence, whilst others look upon it as a public Acknowledgment of your being guilty. A Petition, which besides the Unpracticableness of what is desired in it, a *free Parliament*, at a Juncture, when neither the King, Lords, nor Commons can be *free*; being published at this time, and without his Majesty's most gracious Answer, is looked upon by most moderate Men, as an open abetting of the Prince of *Orange's* Design by this Invasion, and a siding with him.

Let me a little expostulate the Case with you. Pray, tell me, is not the Prince of *Orange* a foreign Enemy? Are not many of those who join with him Subjects of the King of *England*? Has not he and they entered the Kingdom in a hostile manner? Does he not now seize upon the King's Revenues? Has he not stripped his Soldiers who would not join in the most treacherous Action that ever saw the Light? Has he not erected a formal Treasury? Does he not pretend to settle the Nation, redress Grievances, and force, or fright the King to a Compliance? Has he not forbid the public Prayers for our dread Sovereign, and ordered them to be offered for himself? All this you cannot deny. Pray then tell me further; What Law, Canon, or Constitution, has given him this Power, Superiority, or Dominion, over our King or Kingdom? What Case of Conscience has absolved the King's Subjects from their Allegiance? Who is it that has dispensed with all the Oaths you or they have taken; or, can they be dispensed with? What is there can make the most unnatural Invasion lawful; and Rebellion, which is as the Sin of Witchcraft, become a Virtue? If no Man must resist, or take up Arms in any Case against the King, what colourable Pretence can any one produce to vindicate these Actions? Is the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* and *Passive Obedience* mine, or is it not? If you cannot answer categorically to these Questions, but you must necessarily condemn this Invasion and Rebellion, and all the Adherents or Abettors of it: Pray tell me, whether a Silence in those that are obliged to speak, have their Liberty, and may hope to prevail by speaking, be not in the highest Nature criminal?

You know what Esteem you have gained in the Minds of the People, by opposing the King, and not publishing his Declaration for Liberty of other Persons Consciences, which Liberty you thought was inconsistent with your own; so that what you now say to them, will be looked upon almost as sacred. But if you be not now as stout in opposing a foreign Power, and suppressing domestic Broils, will it not be inferred, either that you approve of the Invasion, or have lost your Courage, or acted then more by Passion than Reason or Religion? I must needs tell you, that some are not afraid to whisper, nay, to speak it out, *That you had not been then so courageous, if you had not foreseen this Invasion; and that the seven Trumpets now appears to have been a fitter Emblem than the seven Candlesticks*: And thus that Glory which you then gained

gained begins to tarnish, and the Garland withers upon your Temple, by your being silent, and you still affect it.

But you will perhaps still say with the *Mobile*, The Prince comes not to hurt us, but to protect us and our Religion. You will also, it may be, say, that those Laws, Canons, and Constitutions which were made against a foreign Power, were only meant against the Pope and Popery, but not against a Protestant Prince, who comes only to secure us against the Designs of Papists.

But if you say this, speak softly, lest you intirely ruin my Reputation; and instead of repelling the Calumny, clench it by such Distinctions. Is not King *James II.* my lawful Sovereign, against whom this foreign Invader comes? Are not you and all his Liege Subjects bound by all the Ties of God, of Nature, and of Nations, to defend him against any Power whatever, Papal or Popular, Foreign or Domestic? Suppose he had gone about to persecute my Children, or pull me down (though I must needs say, the Promises he made me, and the Methods he was taking to secure my Right, would have been the most solid Establishment for me, even to Envy in future Ages) is not *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* my known Doctrine? What Pretence then can you, or any of my Children, have to join with such a foreign Power, abet Rebellion, or stand with folded Arms, without pronouncing Sentence against such Rebels.

Have you such a Charm as can turn what would be Treason, Treachery and Rebellion in a Papist, into Protestant Virtues? I dare say, if the Bishop of *Rome*, or any Roman Catholic King, Prince, or Potentate, had in the Beginning of the Protestant Reformation, entred into this Kingdom in such a hostile Manner, for the Defence of the antient Liberties and Religion of the Nation, as then by Law established, you would have proclaimed them unjust Invaders, and all the Subjects of these Kingdoms, that would not join in the repelling of them, *Traytors*. And is the Case now changed, because the Prince of *Orange* is a Protestant, and our gracious King a Roman Catholic? Is that a Virtue in a Protestant Prince, which would be the highest Crime in a Roman Catholic King? Was the intended Invasion in 1588, looked upon by me as a most wicked Undertaking, and justly punished by an avenging Fire, and shall not that of 1688 be as much condemned, because this is a Protestant Invasion, and that a Roman Catholic? Have you so frequently condemned the Roman Catholic Religion, and instilled an Aversion into the People's Minds, by laying bloody Principles to their Charge; and will you now assert, that it is lawful for Protestants to defend their Religion against their Sovereign by Invasions, Rebellions, Tumults, Rapines, Seditions, Massacres, Blood-shed, and all the dire Effects of War?

Tell not things in Gath, publish them not in the Streets of Askelon, lest the Daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the Daughters of the Uncircumcised triumph. Tell them not, I say, lest not only our Brethren of other Nations, but even Heathens themselves, should scoff at our Morality.

I have heard of several Roman Catholics, who being interrogated by public Authority, Whether if the Bishop of *Rome* should come into *England*, they would stand for the Pope or for the King, made answer, *If the Pope come in with his*

his Books and Beads, we will be for him; but if he come in with Sword and Pistol, we will fight against him. And, shall they whose Principles we censure exceed us in the Degrees of Loyalty? What Shame, what Confusion will this be to us in after Ages; when God, who will vindicate the Right of Kings, shall again establish our Sovereign's Throne in Peace? This will be a Blot to be hit by every Polemic Writer: My Reputation thus lost, will never be regained, and I shall be always put in Mind of the wise Man's Advice, *Fear God, Honour the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change.*

Let me beg of you then, my beloved Children, to consider your Mother's Honour and Reputation, if you will not reflect upon your own. Let not my Doctrines and Principles be laid aside, and those that are contrary to them embraced by you. Let it not be objected, that I have changed my Faith; and instead of even *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance*, now go about to preserve my Rights and Privileges by an Invader's Sword and Rebel's Arms. But on the contrary labour to regain your own Reputations, and repair my blasted Honour by an unshaken Stedfastness to your Sovereign.

Publish boldly the Abhorrence of this treacherous Invasion, which is the only way to clear your Innocence, and confute the Invader's Accusation. Move your Brethren to send forth your joint Injunctions to all the inferior Clergy, commanding them to preach *Obedience* and *Non-resistance* to the People, and by that Means quell the Fury of the Rabble. Declare all those to be excommunicated Persons, whom the King declares to be Traitors, pronouncing Rebellion to be as the Sin of Witchcraft, and that they who *curse the King in their Thoughts, shall have a Bird of the Air carry the Voice*, and an avenging God to punish the Offence. Stand up now, before it be too late, for my Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, and then you need not fear the being exercised in that of *Passive Obedience*. For when our gracious Sovereign shall by that means see your Loyalty in Practice, as well as Doctrine, he will be as constant to his Promises, as you can be to your Principles; and if I maintain the Right of Kings, he will maintain me as by Law established.

The True Character of a CHURCHMAN, shewing the false Pretences to that Name.

By Dr. RICHARD WEST.

IT is commonly observed, and we have too often felt, what the Power and Mischief of Party-names is. Were it no more, than that they serve to form and distinguish Parties, *that* makes them as mischievous to Government, as divided Parties. Nothing is so apt to deceive us into very false Opinions of Men, as when such Names are either ignorantly or designedly applied to wrong Persons; which not only disturbs human Conversation, and many times deprives us of the most useful and desirable Friendships, but imposes
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upon the Government too, in the Advancement of unfit Persons to public Trusts, and excluding such as are best qualified to serve God, their King, and their Country, both in Church and State. This is visible in all public Elections. Names give Characters, and form a Party; and Choices are made according as Names are given at all Adventures.

I shall not take notice now of such Names as signify arbitrarily, and which the different Parties give each other as Terms of Reproach; but there is one very good Name, which is very much abused, and does the greater Mischief, when misapplied, by being so very good; I mean the Name *Churchman*, or *Church of Englandman*, which some appropriate to themselves, who have little Right to it, and deny it those who best answer, and most honour that Name. And that the World may not be imposed on by such Persons, I shall briefly represent the true Character of a Churchman, that we may the better judge to whom this Name belongs, and who they are that unjustly usurp it.

I. Now in the first Place, I take it for granted, that a Churchman ought to be a Christian; for it is the Christian Church we speak of, and therefore such Men must believe in God, and in Jesus Christ. Atheists and Infidels belong to no Church, but the Synagogue of Satan; and yet it is too evident, that many who would be thought great Church of *Englandmen*, are no great Believers; Men, who are sufficiently known, in their private Conversation, and sometimes too publickly, to ridicule all Religion and the Holy Scriptures, and little less than blaspheme God and our Saviour Christ. God deliver us from such Churchmen, and the Church from the Scandal of such Pretenders.

II. A *Church of Englandman* is one who lives in Communion with the Church of *England*; that is, who communicates in religious Offices, in the Prayers and Sacraments of the Church. Some think it Title enough to the Name of *Churchman*, that they communicate with no Dissenters, as if to dissent from all Religion, were the Character of a Churchman. Certainly a Man of any Religion is nearer the Church of *England*, than he that hath none; for they agree in worshipping God, though they differ in the Modes of Worship. And there is too great a Party of these Churchmen, who seldom see the Inside of a Church, and as seldom shew any Signs of Devotion when they are there. Their Neighbours must know them; and I hope, for the Honour of Religion, will never call them Churchmen.

III. A Churchman is one who has a Right to Church-Communion, who lives so regular a Life, that he is qualified to communicate in Prayers and Sacraments. This, no notorious wicked *Persons* are, whatever their Profession be; such as common Drunkards, and Swearers, Adulterers, Fornicators, &c. who by the Discipline of the Primitive Church, would not have been admitted so much as to the Communion of Prayers. Ecclesiastical Authority indeed is under such Restraints, that Church Censures cannot be always duly executed; but though such Men are not actually shut out of the Church, they have hardly any good Claim to it; and, what kind of Churchmen are those, who have so far unqualified themselves even to enter the Church? and who would as much avoid the Name, as they do the Place, and both for the

same Reason, viz. the Relation they bear to God's Religion, if they did not want a Cloak for their Impieties and Immoralities, and hope that a pretended Zeal for the Church, would atone for their real Enmity to Religion. But whatever Protection or Advantage the Name of the Church may, by the Unwariness or Design of others, gain these Men, I am sure it receives nothing from them but Scandal and Reproach. Never let a sacred Name be thus prostituted, to countenance Wickedness, or to take off any Part of the Shame and Infamy that belongs to it.

IV. A *Church of Englandman* is one who is true to the Interest both of Church and State, as by Law established. I say both Church and State; for it hath always been, and I hope always will be, the Glory of the Church of *England*, that all her true Sons are very loyal Subjects. This has been, and is at this Day, made an Accusation of the Church of *England*, that this Point of Obedience and Subjection has been pressed too far; even so far, if we believe some, as to set up Arbitrary Power and the Will of the Prince, above Law. But this is a Misrepresentation of the true Doctrine of Obedience taught in our Church; which was opposed to Faction and Sedition, not to a legal Government: For Obedience is a Duty owing to settled Governments, administered by legal Methods; though there may be, as in all Governments, in the imperfect State of this World, there ever have and will be, several Faults and Miscarriages in the Administration; but does not extend, nor was ever so intended, to the Subversion of Laws, and our Civil and Religious Rights, at the Will of the Prince. But the Church of *England* is a professed Enemy to all the Arts of Sedition and Faction and embroiling Governments; and would not be a true Christian Church, if it were not; and therefore these Men must not pass for Churchmen, who are seditious and factious, and uneasy to Government, without Regard to the Person or Authority of the Prince, any longer than they are courted or bribed; and without allowing a common Respect, either in their Conversation or Writings, to such of their spiritual Fathers as happen not, upon all Accounts, to fall in with their Humour and Fancy. The Church of *England* teaches her Sons, when they observe any Defects in their Governors, Ecclesiastical or Civil, to conceal, lament, and excuse them, and all out of a dutiful Regard to the Character they bear. But to expose Failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, God be thanked, was never any Part of the Spirit of our Church: It always instilled more loyal and religious Lessons. But our Superiors in Church and State have the less Reason to be surpris'd at this Treatment, because a boundless Liberty of Railing, both public and private, against all who were not perfectly of their own Mind, has been all along the great Characteristic of that Sort of Churchmen, and, in many Instances, all the Title they could pretend to the Name.

V. A *Church of Englandman* is one, who takes the Measures of his Behaviour as a Son of the Church, from the Rule that our Church herself has laid down for his Direction, in her Liturgy and Rubric, her Articles, Homilies, and Canons. This, as grounded in Scripture, our great Rule, is the Path that our Constitution has marked out; and as they who walk in it (that is, who

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worship God, and obey their Superiors in such a Manner as they prescribe) are truly Churchmen; so the rest who deviate from the Rule on either Side, have no Title to the Name. They that will not come up to it, are Dissenters on the one Side; and if any go beyond it, they are Dissenters on the other, *i. e.* both of them dissent and differ, in their Principles and Practices, from the established Rules of the Church. Of the latter Sort are they who value themselves at this Day upon the Name of *High Churchmen*; and as for others, who keep strictly to the Rules of Church Communion and Worship, and think it a Breach of that Rule to go higher than the Church itself has directed, all these they despise, as Men of a lower Church; who yet are really the true and only Churchmen, while the other exalted Pretences are no less a Deviation from the true Church than Superstition is from the true Religion.

VI. A Churchman is one who governs himself by Principle, and not by the uncertain Turns of Humour or Interest. He will not be zealous for Monarchy and Episcopacy at one Time, and at another fall in with Measures for diminishing the just Prerogative, and depressing his ecclesiastical Superiors. Nor will he turn Advocate for the popular Election of Bishops, when he finds his Aims not so likely to succeed at Court: A Scheme that has been mentioned with Approbation by a certain Party in this Reign, who, in another, would have called it a Republican Device to lessen the Royal Prerogative, and a Fanatical Contrivance to maintain perpetual Factions and Parties among the Clergy of every Diocese. In short, a Churchman is uniform under all Governments, and is not to be drawn by private Animosities and Resentments, from pursuing Methods that really are, and himself has all along declared to be, the Supports of our Constitution, and the Foundations of Peace and Order in Church and State.

But yet such Men, who have neither the Faith nor Worship, nor Morals, nor Loyalty, nor Steadiness, which the Church of *England* teaches her Children, would be thought very good Churchmen, because they profess a great Zeal to preserve the present Constitution of the Church as by Law established: And I must own this a very good Reason (especially could we have any Security of them) to prefer them before the professed Enemies of our Constitution. For it is very happy (and we ought to thank God for it) when they do any Thing this Way, but not to own them Churchmen, for Reasons I shall soon give. For, I beseech you, what Security can we have of those Men, who have no Reverence for God, nor for their Prince? How should they have any Value for the Church, who have no Value for Religion? We ought to be thankful to God, when he so wisely orders Things by his Providence, as to make it the Interest of bad Men to favour and protect his Church; but we have no Reason to depend upon Men of no Principles and no Religion: While their Interest and the Church are on a Side, we may expect them our Friends; but Interest will not lie. If the Church and Interest part, farewell the Church.

But to pass over this: A Churchman must signify one who is for preserving the essential Constitution of the Church. Now, the Constitution of the Church of *England* is the same that has been the Constitution of the Catholic Church,

ever since the Apostolic Age, or as long as we have any authentic Records of the Church; that is the Government of the Church is in Bishops, with Presbyters and Deacons under them. Ours is a National Church, and divided into two Provinces; each Province hath a Metropolitan, with a superior Jurisdiction over all the Bishops and Clergy of his Province; which some think an Apostolical, but it is certain is a very ancient Constitution of the Catholic Church.

Now, whatever Pretences may be made, I cannot think nor call these Churchmen, who endeavour to overthrow this ancient Constitution of the Catholic Church, to which the Church of *England* is so exactly conformed, as we know has by some been lately attempted. For to deny the Metropolitan any Sort of Authority of convening and presiding in Synods (which necessarily carries with it the Authority of Continuations or Prorogations) any otherwise than as the King's Minister (which is a Civil, not an Ecclesiastical and Metropolitcal Authority) and to make a Synod of Presbyters an independent House and co-ordinate Power with their Bishops, when they themselves do and must own, that there never was a distinct Synod of Presbyters, much less a co-ordinate House of mere Presbyters in any other Episcopal Church in the World, and can never shew, when the Church of *England* broke off from the Catholic Church, and renounced the Metropolitcal and Episcopal Authority; this is to oppose the essential Constitution of an Episcopal Church, as the Church of *England* is. While some who call themselves great Churchmen, are declaiming against the Usurpations of Civil Power upon the Church, they have taken great Pains to expound the *Act of Submission*, and the King's Supremacy to such a Sense as neither our Princes nor Lawyers ever thought on; to make all Church Authority a perfect Creature of the State, that Presbyters may challenge a co-ordinate Power with their Bishops.

But this is too long a Dispute to enter upon at present, and may deserve a particular Consideration; for it seems a mere Jest, for Men to pretend a mighty Zeal for the Rights and Liberties of the Church, and upbraid their Superiors with betraying the Rights of the Church, while they themselves are overthrowing the ancient Constitution of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of *England* with it: And how fit such Men are to lead them, I hope all honest Episcopal Clergymen will consider.

And now, all I have to add is, a Caution against being imposed on by the Name *Churchman*. If any have a Mind, for other Reasons, to choose atheistical Men, or profligate Sinners, and seditious, factious violent Spirits to represent them; let them not do it under the Character of Churchmen: For this is a mighty Scandal upon the Church of *England*, to own those for Churchmen who are known to have no Religion: This hath, and does, to this Day, give great Scandal to Dissenters, that many atheistical, lewd profligate People, who manifestly have no Religion, pretend to be of the Church of *England*. This cannot be avoided indeed, unless the Discipline of the Church could be effectually revived. For Men of no Religion, if they must profess any, will pretend to the legally established Church and Religion; but if we cannot always sling them out of the Church, yet I think we ought not to own them;
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for that would be to fix a very ill Character upon our Church, our Religion, and ourselves.

And besides this, had we to deal with any Prince of less Prudence and Temper, and Insight into Men, than his present gracious Majesty, whom God long preserve, what an Opinion would this give him of the Church of *England*, when he should find many (inconsiderately owned to be Patrons of it) to have no Religion, no Morals; and to be troublesome, and factious, and great Disturbers of his Government, and of all that he designs well for the public Good?

High Church Miracles, or Modern Inconsistencies.

Printed in the Year 1710.

THAT High Church have a Right Divine from *Jove*,
By Signs and Wonders, they pretend to prove.

- (a) They can a mortal Soul immortal make :
(b) They can by Pray'rs our Constitution shake.
Virtue and Wit, at their Command, agree ;
And Truth can well consist with Perjury.
(c) They damn all Right but of th' immediate Heir ;
And reconcile it to the Oaths they swear.
(d) Passive can be, and yet resist the Queen ;
Loyal to her, yet *Perkin* would bring in.

(e) The

(a) This Power Mr. *Dodwel*, the learned Tutor of High Church, teacheth to be in every Priest, and not one of the High Church Faction hath writ against this heretical Doctrine.

(b) They prayed publickly, and printed Prayers for the Doctor, as one under Persecution for Religion, though he was impeached by the Commons, and found guilty by the Lords, of high Crimes and Misdemeanors, in preaching and printing two Sermons, *With a wicked, malicious, and seditious Intention, to undermine and subvert her Majesty's Government, and the Protestant Succession as by Law established; to defame her Majesty's Administration; to asperse the Memory of his late Majesty; to traduce and condemn the late happy Revolution; to contradict and arraign the Resolution of both Houses of Parliament; to create Jealousies and Divisions among her Majesty's Subjects, and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion.*

They prayed also for the Church as in extreme Danger; and their Sermons were suited to their Prayers; whereby they trumpeted up the Mob against her Majesty and the Parlia-

ment; and the latter they omitted praying for during the Trial.

(c) Their *Oxford* Decree, which the Lords have condemned to the Flames, and their other scandalous and treasonable Pamphlets, denied the Legality of precluding the next Heir to the Crown: And on Discourse with them, you'll find they are full of Encomiums on an hereditary Right; and yet the same Persons abjure the Pretender, and his pretended Sister, and the Houses of *Savoy* and *Bourbon*, by swearing to her Majesty and the Protestant Succession, as limited by Acts of Parliament on the House of *Hanover*.

(d) They allow of no Resistance, though the Estates, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation be invaded; though a Tyrant should deprive you of Parliaments, and murder the People for his Pleasure and Diversion; and yet these false Teachers rebel themselves under the mildest Government of her present Majesty, as their late Insurrections do sufficiently witness. And though all their Actions are against her Majesty's Government, yet what solemn Pro-

fessions

414 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

(e) The Sovereign's Supremacy they own ;
 But say, the Pulpit is the higher Throne.
 (f) To Bishops give divine and kingly Pow'r ;
 Yet curse them first, and after would devour.
 (g) Christ they can serve, by Churches pulling down ;
 (h) Advance Prerogative, by Insults on the Crown.
 (i) Popery they hate, yet Abbots would restore ;
 (k) Abjure *Rome's* Pow'r, yet grasp themselves at more.
 God they profess righteous and just to be :
 Yet God, they say, commissions Tyranny.
 (l) Their Mercy, Love, and Charity are shown
 In Massacres, and Persecution.
 (m) Saints they can damn, and Devils quickly make 'em,
 Can Devils absolve, and after consecrate 'em.
 But I defy themselves, and all their Devils,
 To wash the *Æthiop* white, and purge High Church from Evils.

essions of Love and Loyalty do they *Judas*-like, make to her ?

(e) Her Majesty's Supremacy in the Church is confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament ; and though the Canon excommunicates, *ipso facto*, whosoever speaks against it, yet all High Church Authors have the Impudence to deny it in Print. Nay, they prefer the inferior Priests to the greatest Emperors and Kings, as appears by their Books, cited in a small Pamphlet, intitled, *A new Catechism, with Dr. Hicks's Thirty-nine Articles*. But you may observe yourself in Conversation, whenever they say Grace, or toss off a Health, they name the Church (as Superior) before the Queen.

(f) Dr. *Atterbury* and his Friends can testify in what an insolent Manner, the High-flyers have treated the Higher House of Convocation. What Libels and Invectives have they published ? what Indignities have they offered to our moderate and religious Bishops ; especially to his Grace of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the latter of which, though a very great Ornament to our Church, and so esteemed throughout all Christendom, was in Danger of being massacred in the late High Church Insurrection.

(g) They pulled down the Churches of Protestant Dissenters, for being professed Enemies

to the Pope and the Pretender ; but not a Window did they break of either Papist or Jacobite.

(h) If undermining her Majesty's Title, defaming her Government, libelling her Ministry, denying and opposing her Supremacy, tacking of Bills, directing her when to dissolve a Parliament, and acting in Defiance of her Royal Proclamations against Riots, &c. be Methods to advance Prerogative, then High Church have effectually done it. So did they serve their God, by burning his Churches.

(i) Abbey-lands.

(k) This has been fully demonstrated by *The Rights of the Christian Church*, whom the whole Legion of High Church have in vain attempted to answer.

(l) This is set forth in a small Treatise, ironically intitled, *The merciful Judgments of High Church* ; and is confirmed by their late barbarous Behaviour towards the Protestant Dissenters.

(m) This alludes to their pretended Power of damning any Person, though never so holy, by their Excommunications and Anathemas ; and, on the contrary, of absolving, for a Purse of Money, the most profligate Sinner. *But, Physician, first cure thyself.*

The CASE of the two Absolvers that were tried at the King's Bench Bar at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the 2d of *July* 1696, for giving Absolution at the Place of Execution, to Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*.

By JEREMIAH COLLIER, D. D.

Printed in the Year 1696.

I. **F**OR a Minister of the Church of *England* to give Absolution to a dying Penitent, if he humbly and heartily desire it, is a lawful Act, as appears by the Rubric in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick; which is not only confirmed by, but a Part of the Act of Uniformity.

II. There being no particular Office appointed in the Liturgy for Persons to be executed (whose Souls are as precious, and as much to be taken Care of, as the Souls of those who die in their Beds) that for the Visitation of the Sick, which by parity of Reason is fairly applicable to the Case of Persons to be executed, who are to be considered as dying Men must be used, or none at all in their Case, unless the Ministers officiating are left to the Liberty of extemporary Effusions, which rather become a Calvinistical Elder, than a Presbyter of the Church of *England*. And why is it not as justifiable to use the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, in the Case of Persons to be executed, as to use the Prayer in that Office publicly in Churches in Behalf of the Sick, which are appointed by the Rubric to be used in the sick Person's Chamber; for which only Necessity, and a Defect in the Liturgy, is pleaded?

III. The Circumstances of Time and Place and Ceremony being intirely left by the Rubric (where there is neither Command nor Prohibition concerning them) to the Discretion and Choice of the Ministers absolving, and the Penitent to be absolved; how could it be criminal in the Absolvers of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, to give them Absolution with Imposition of Hands at the Place of Execution, which they desired as a comfortable Support under the Terrors of Death, as a *Viaticum* in their Passage to Eternity?

IV. 'Tis intirely left to the absolving Minister to judge of the spiritual State of his Penitent, whether he be duly qualified, or not, to receive Absolution. *Vide Rubric, ut supra.*

V. The Minister absolving is to rest satisfied with an Account of the general Repentance of the Person to be absolved, who is not obliged to make a particular and special Confession of his Sins to the Absolver, unless he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty Matter, as appears by the Rubric, *ut supra.* To affirm the contrary, is to plead for auricular Confession, as it is aught and practised in the Church of *Rome*.

VI. IF

VI. If the Person to be absolved makes a special voluntary Confession of his Sins, the Absolver is bound by the Canon to conceal it, and keep it a Secret from all the World, *Vid. 113 Can.* If it be objected that in Case of a treasonable Conspiracy, which the Penitent confesses, the Absolver is not bound to conceal it, it may be answered, that in the Case of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens*, there was no treasonable Conspiracy so pretended or laid to their Charge, but what was discovered and made public, and which they were convicted of.

VII. Suppose, that after the Death of the absolved Penitent, who dies in his Bed by the Visitation of God, a Paper should be published under his own Hand (which the Absolver knew nothing of) whereby it appears that he was guilty of Heresy in the Church, and Treason in the State, and that he justified both the one and the other, shall this affect the Absolver, and make him a Criminal in giving Absolution? If not, then, with Submission, neither could the Paper left by Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* with the Sheriff, and afterwards published, which the Absolvers were altogether Strangers to, any ways affect the said Absolvers, or render them Criminals in giving them Absolution.

Suppose that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left no Paper with the Sheriff, and none had been published after their Death, 'tis presumed then that the Absolvers would not have been questioned or censured for giving them Absolution.

IX. Nay farther, suppose that Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkens* had left a Paper with the Sheriff, which he had afterwards published, acknowledging their Guilt, and signifying their Repentance as to that particular Crime which they were convicted of; then it is presumed that the Absolver would have been so far from being censured for giving them Absolution, that it would have been generally agreed to be a charitable, regular, and lawful Act. And if it was, in itself, a lawful Act at the Time of the Performance of it, no subsequent Act or Circumstance whatsoever, which the Absolvers were Strangers to, would make it unlawful. Nothing could make it unlawful *à parte post*, which was a lawful Act *à parte ante*. But if it was in itself an unlawful Act at the Time of the Performance of it, no subsequent Act or Circumstance whatsoever, how grateful soever to the Government, as in the before mentioned Instance, could make it lawful.

Whether the Preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive unto, or the End that was designed in, the late Revolution ?

In a LETTER to a Country Gentleman, as an Answer to his first Query.

S I R,

I Can give you no better Proof of the Authority you have over me, than that I am ready to obey you in replying to your Questions ; though I foresee that I shall thereby not only hazard my Safety, but be judged by many to depart from the common Measures of Discretion : Seeing, as I shall be sure to provoke the Gentleman whom we have had the Folly, as well as Disloyalty, to set over us, and to furnish with Legions ; and also to exasperate his Partizans, who being his Copartners in Guilt, are likewise Sharers with him in the common Robbery : So I can hardly escape displeasing others, by endeavouring both to undeceive them in Matters wherein they have been misled, and to give them a View and Sense of their Slavery, while they continue fond of their Delusions, and proud of their Fetters and Chains. So that under all the Prospect which I am, both of Censure and of personal Danger, by this Undertaking, I have but very little Hope of awaking and prevailing upon a cheated, impoverished, and enslaved Kingdom, to recover its Wits, reassume its Loyalty, and to vindicate its Liberty and Rights. For who can make them see that wilfully shut their Eyes, and who take Pleasure in being hood-winked, that they may be led about blind ? Or who can rouse those to value and look after Freedom, that place their Contentment in having their Ears bored and nailed to *Kensington* Gates ? It is the greatest Prodigy of this Age, though it hath been fertile of Wonders enough, that they who boasted of taking Lions by the Beard, can submit to be gnawn by Mice and Rats ; and that they who could refuse Reverence to Princes whom God had set over them, clothed with his own Stile, and with his divine Sanction upon their Authority, can dwindle into the Meanness, as well as degenerate into the Irreligion, of adoring Crocodiles and worshipping Wolves, which have nothing to make them respected and cringed unto, but that they are brutal and rapacious. Yet how little Probability is there of recovering the Nation, either to reverence themselves, or him whom they ought ? when not only those of *St. Stephen's* Chapel, who should be the Conservators of our Property, Freedom and Rights, do value themselves upon being the Instruments of the Subjects Bondage, and the Tools of the Prince of *Orange's* Tyranny : But when the Men in Gowns of both Professions do, the one make the Law of which they are appointed Guardians, and the other the Gospel, whereof they were intended Dispensers, Means of authorising his Arbitrariness and our Oppression, and of sanctifying the usurped and illegally exerted Power of him whom they have consecrated to rule, and

of hallowing the Servitude and Poverty of the People, over whom they have advanced him : But as I have learned to govern myself, by the Discoveries of Revelation and the Dictates of natural Light, and by the Rules of the civil Constitution and Society under which and where I was born, and do live, and not by other Mens Opinion, or by little and mean Regards to my own Profit and Fame ; so the only, as well as the main, Thing, which I am solicitous about, is, that I may discharge my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, without looking unto, and much less without being uneasy and anxious concerning Issues and Events. And though I should be thankful unto God, and joyful in myself, to see my Countrymen persuaded and gained to relieve themselves, and to save the Kingdom and their Posterity, by returning to their Fealty, and by claiming and asserting the old *English* Constitution in all its Parts and Branches, and to all the useful, honourable, and legitimate Ends and Purposes of it ; yet should I have the Misfortune to see myself disappointed, and to find all my loyal, charitable, and well meant Endeavours frustrated, through the Stupidness of some, and the Bigotry of others, as well as because too many of all Ranks are Copartners with the Usurper in the Spoil and Plunder of the Nation, and in that several have their own Ambitions satisfied by him, whose haughty, boundless, and unnatural Aspirings, they have gratified with a Sceptre and a Crown, though at the Expence of their own Loyalty, Honour, Conscience, and Religion ; yet I shall neither be discouraged, dejected, nor murmur, much less be withdrawn from my Duty, but shall take up with the Peace, Contentment and Pleasure, which the being conscious to my own Integrity will give me, of having done what became an honest Man, and a good Subject.

Now, Sir, though your two Queries came together, and be each of them of that Weight and Importance as to require a serious, solid, and well-digested Answer ; yet you must not expect that I should reply to them both at once ; seeing that would not only too much fatigue me to give, and no less weary you to peruse, but would discourage those who do most need the Instruction and Benefit of Papers of this kind, from consulting them to receive it, by reason that the Bulkiness which such a Discourse must unavoidably grow up unto, would challenge more of their Time, than the complying with their worldly Occasions, and the satisfying their Lusts, will allow them to spare. However, having in a manner prepared Answers to them both before I send you this to the first, you may reckon that the other will be dispatched speedily after it ; and that what concerns the second will be ready to overtake this, and to be laid before you, by that time you have sufficiently entertained yourself with what is now put into your Hands.

That I may immediately therefore address myself to the answering of your first Question, namely, *Whether the preserving the Protestant Religion was the Inducement to the Prince of Orange's coming hither, and the End that was aimed at in the detroning of the King, and driving him out of his Kingdoms?* I must needs say, that the Prince's Tenderness and Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and his compassionate Care to secure it to us and our Posterity, when it was in imminent and immediate Danger of being extirpated, and which there was

no other visible human Means to prevent, was then, and continues still to be made, the Pretence of his invading these Dominions, and of all that afterwards followed, till upon this specious and godly Plea he had obtained to be seated upon the Throne, as well as of all that has succeeded and ensued since, both in the Beginning and in the supporting of this destructive and impoverishing War; by which no Benefit was ever intended to accrue to us, but which was entered upon, and hath been hitherto carried on, that others might be rendered safe and wealthy, at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure. However, Religion hath been all along alledged as the Motive, and made the Argument to justify whatsoever hath been done, and to extenuate and sweeten all that we have lost and suffered. This is the principal Plea which he bears himself upon for his own Vindication; and by which all those seek to warrant themselves, who either invited or attended him hither, or who at first received and joined him at his Landing, and on his March to *London*, or that came in afterwards to co-operate unto, concur with, and approve of what hath been done. This is that by which your Judges do decoy on the People tamely to pay their Taxes, and trapan and wheedle them to persevere in their Rebellion, in their Harangues at Assizes, instead of entertaining them with those obsolete Things relative to Law, Righteousness and Equity, with which their Predecessors used, at those Times, to furnish and adorn the Charges which they gave; witness *Treby's* Oration at *Kingston* the last Circuit, which wholly consisted of romantic Praises of the Prince of *Orange*, for having so christianly and heroically stept in to save our Religion, when at the Brink of being lost; and of Satyr and Invective against King *James*, for having designed to overthrow it; whereof, among other Things, he had the Impudence and Insolency to accuse him, without regard either to Truth or Decency. This is likewise that by which your mercenary and sycophant Divines, who have translated their Pulpits into Stages, and transformed themselves into *Merry Andrews* and Buffoons, would legitimate the Rebellion, and, instead of a Sin, bind it as a Duty upon our Consciences; and cantingly blow us into Triumphs of Thankfulness and Joy, when we lie groveling and starving under Slavery and Poverty. Witness, instead of edifying Sermons to confirm our Faith in the great Articles of Religion, and to promote our Christian Obedience, the many luscious and fulsome Panegyrics which have been preached and printed within these six last Years, and which are at that Distance from Decorum, as well as from Truth, that they would be the Scorn of the Theatre, and hissed at by the Pit. This they reckon so bright a Colour in their limning and drawing the Usurpers, that the dull Man selected to divert the Company at the Interment of the late Princess of *Orange*, and who could dispense with his Conscience in saying several Things of her above the Standard and Proportion of Truth, but had not Wit, nor Elevation of Thought, to say any Thing that was rapturous, decorous, and fine, could not omit the making it one of the main Strokes in her Picture, and that which was to give the lovely and lively Air, and the ornamental Beauty to the whole, namely, *That she was a wise and a good Queen, and an incomparable Wife, and one that had all the Duty in the World for other Relations, which after long and laborious Consideration, she judged consistent with her Obligations*

tions to God and her Country. Which is as much as if Dr. *Tenison* had said, That if it had not been for the preserving the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, which were in danger to have been subverted, she would have been an obedient Daughter to the King, and would not have usurped his Throne, and drove him and the virtuous Queen, with the Royal and innocent Infant her Brother, out of their Dominions, to be as Vagabonds in the World, had it not been for the Generosity of a neighbouring Monarch, who has received, entertained, and succoured them in their Calamity, with a Deference, Respect, and Nobleness, becoming his own Greatness, and which hath carried in it a Recognition of their Grandeur and sovereign Quality. So that I do grant unto you, that the preserving our Religion hath been the great Pretence for all the Injuries have been done his Majesty, and the alledged Motives to all the disloyal, illegal, and immoral Things which have been perpetrated to compass and effect the late Revolution: And I add, that it is still made the Topic and Plea whereby to justify all the Villanies, Crimes and Barbarities which have been practised since; and not only that whereby to palliate all our Losses and Misfortunes, but to be accounted for more than an Equivalent of all the Distresses, Miseries and Mischiefs which have ensued, as the Effects and Consequences of it.

But should it be admitted, that this was not only a pretended, but a real, Motive to the Revolution, and to all that hath resulted from, and attended, it; yet it hath not been hitherto made appear, that according to the Rules of Christianity, the Fundamentals of our Government, and the Statutes of the Realm, it is likewise a lawful and justifiable one; and all that have written either of Ethics or Politics, do tell us, and the Principles of Reason, as well as the Discoveries vouchsafed us by Revelation, do set it in the brightest Light, that neither the Goodness of the Inducement, nor the Piety of the End, will serve to legitimate an Action, unless there be both a proper Authority to license it, and a Goodness either positive or natural in what is to be done, when clothed with all its Circumstances; otherwise, Men might lawfully rob Temples, and plunder Banks and Exchequers, upon the Motive and Design of discharging their Debts, and of paying their Creditors what they owe them: Nay, they may virtuously murder their Parents, deflower Maids, and ravish their Sisters, upon the Inducement, and in order to the End, of getting into Possession of Estates, which they may lavish away upon the Saviour of our Religion and Liberties, and towards the maintaining the sacred War in which he is embarked, and for raising up a new Generation of Soldiers to defend the *Dutch* Barrier against *France*. Nor are there any Villainies named or practised on the Earth, which these late and now common Topics of Argumentation will not serve to sanctify, and to render them Actions highly meritorious. But neither our Statesmen, Lawyers, nor Divines, have thought fit to meddle with this, and much less to take upon them to demonstrate that, by the Laws of God, and by those of the Kingdom, we are allowed to dethrone Princes, drive Kings from their Palaces into Exile, and to involve Nations into Blood, if our established Religion be in danger of being supplanted and overthrown. Though without a clear and uncontrollable Proof of this, all they have said, or can say,

say, about his Majesty's Designs in prejudice of our Religion, were there as much Truth in it as there is Rancour and Falshood, makes not what we have done to be lawful; but only proclaims them to be Sophisters in Logic, Hypocrites in Religion, Debauchers of the Consciences of Men, Panders to Villainy, and the Flatterers of Criminals in their rebellious Wickedness, who have had the Irreligion and Impudence to plead it. For though I can readily grant that most of the Scripture Expressions and Precepts concerning the Duty and Obedience of Subjects to their Rulers, do no further concern us, than as they were either delivered and prescribed unto those that were under civil Constitutions of the like Species and Form with our own; or than as they superadd the divine Sanction to human legislative Authority, thereby to oblige and inforce us in Conscience to yield all that Reverence, Loyalty, and Obedience, to our Sovereigns, which the lawful and just Laws of the Kingdom do impose and exact from us. And therefore and thence it is, that the same Texts of Scripture do bind and oblige some Nations to yield a more universal, unlimited, and unreserved Obedience to their Rulers, than they can be construed and applied to require of those other Countries to perform. For those Places of the holy Bible are designed to influence and operate upon Conscience, in proportion to the different Degrees of Prerogative and Sovereignty vested in Princes, and according to the respective Measures of Liberty preserved unto Subjects, by the Rules and Laws of their several and various Constitutions. The Scripture was not given and designed to teach us Politics, or to prescribe the Forms of Government, and the several Limitations of them, farther than that all Governments were to be for God, and the Good of Mankind, and of Societies. But all relative to civil Government in Scripture, is to require and oblige Subjects, under the Penalty of eternal Wrath, to yield Obedience in proportion to the respective Terms upon which the Government is founded under which they live; and according to the several Laws by which it is to be upheld and exerted. And the same divine and revealed Commands which oblige us in *England* to submit to Monarchy, and be obedient to the King, according to the Municipal and Statute Laws of the Kingdom, bind them at *Venice* to acquiesce in Aristocracy, and be in subjection to that Authority and Power, and to pay Obedience to all the Laws of the Republic, if they be not inconsistent with, and contradictory to, the Laws of God. No Man will say, that the same Things were lawful for the *Persians* or *Babylonians* to do against their Kings, which the *Lacedemonians*, under the Protection and Authority of the *Ephori*, might have done against theirs, or which those of *Arragon* were heretofore impowered to do at the Command, and under the Jurisdiction of a certain Person chosen and appointed to be the *Custos* and Guardian of their Rights and Privileges, and who had Power, by the Law and Constitution, to control and resist their Kings, in case of their invading and going about to overthrow them. Whereupon it is no Sin in the King of *France* to take upon him and assume the whole Legislation, without the Assent and Concurrence of the three Estates; whereas it would be otherwise in a King of *England*, whilst he stands limited, as he doth, by the Laws of the Constitution and Government, and restrained by his Coronation Oath. The *French* Monarch is guilty of no Offence.

fence in exacting Taxes of his Subjects, without a previous Gift and Grant of them by their Representatives : But I cannot say, that according to the present Form of our Government, the King of *Great Britain* would be innocent, in the Sight and Esteem of the supreme Sovereign, should he levy Money of his People without their own antecedent Consent in Parliament. So that I will affirm, with the utmost Confidence, as knowing I do it upon the greatest Certainty, that every Declaration and Intimation in the Bible, relative to the Subjection and Fealty we should pay to sovereign Rulers, are intended to bind and oblige us in Conscience, and out of Fear of divine Wrath, to be obedient to them actively, as far as is enacted and required by the Laws of our Country, if those Laws do command nothing inconsistent with, and repugnant to, the Laws of God ; and to be passive in all Cases, save in those in which the Rules of the Constitution, and the Statutes of the Realms where we live, give us Liberty, Right and Authority, to withstand and oppose them. And I will presume to add, with the fullest Assurance that Law and Reason can give me, that in no Circumstances of Danger into which our Religion and civil Liberties could be brought, nor under any Hazards we could fall into of losing and having them suppressed, were we either permitted or impowered, by the Fundamentals of our Government, the Rules of our Constitution, or by the common or statute Law of the Kingdom, to rebel against the King, or to dethrone or drive him away. Nor did the having the Protestant Religion established and secured unto us by Law ; nor its being incorporated among our Franchises, and made a Part of our Birth-right to possess it peaceably, and practise it openly, authorise us to take Arms against the King, divest him of his Sovereignty, and banish him from his Dominions, though we had been furnished with the most clear and indisputable Evidence, that he was fully resolved to extirpate it. For though the Laws give us a Title to it as our Heritage, and a Right to claim the Exercise of it as our chiefest Blessing, and most valuable Privilege ; yet no Law or Contract, existent in the King's Time, had provided that we might fly to Arms to prevent its being suppressed, or for the securing the Continuance of it to us and our Posterity. Yea, instead of that, there were divers express Statutes then in being, by which it was made and declared to be *Treason to take up Arms against him upon any Pretence whatsoever*. So that, had the preserving the Protestant Religion been the real Motive and End of our raising War, and of dethroning the King, yet it was not a lawful nor a justifiable Inducement and Design for doing it : Nor can it be thought so by any who seriously consider, and look upon the Laws of the Land as the Standard and Measure of the People's Subjection and Obedience ; and that whatsoever the municipal and statute Laws of our Country restrain us from, or confine us unto, provided it interfere not with that which either the Laws of Nature, or those of Revelation, do indispensibly require and exact, that thereunto we stand bound, limited, and obliged, by the Laws of God, and the Doctrines both of the Old and New Testaments ; and this upon no less Penalty than Damnation ; which let no Man, upon the Testimony of a flattering or mercenary Priest, or the Authority and Verdict of a prophane and atheistical Statesman, think he will or can escape, without unfeigned Repentance, evidenced

evidenced in sincere and hearty Endeavours to restore the King. Nor are you to be surprized to hear this Kind of Theology and Politics from me, seeing, that according to Dr. *Sherlock's* Phrase, as no Man is forbid to grow wiser than he was, so I blush not, but glory to confess, and have deeply bewailed it, that I have been heretofore misled by false Notions, and have entertained Hypotheses about Government neither reconcileable to our Laws, nor to the Peace of Communities, but *errando discimus non errare*.

And as the preserving the Protestant Religion could be no lawful and justifiable Motive to the late Revolution, so *there were no just and sufficient Grounds administered by the King, why any should have pretended that it was in Danger of being supplanted, and much less in any Jeopardy of being overthrown*. And every wise Man was then, and is now, much more sensible, that all those noisy and clamorous Suggestions, which were so industriously spread abroad, of Designs laid and carried on for the Extirpation of our Religion, were Fictions of Knaves to impose upon Fools; and which were promoted and given out to blacken the King, and to mislead a credulous and unthinking People; the great End of it being to impose upon the Understandings, infect and pervert the Consciences of the Subjects, thereby to undermine the Throne, and shake the Government, by Slanders and Reproaches thrown upon his Majesty. For he was so far from entertaining a Thought of this Nature and Tendency, that he offered his Protestant Subjects all the legal Security they could desire, besides what they actually had by the then established and existent Laws, for the Preservation of their Religion, and for the Maintenance of the Church of *England* in its lawful Jurisdiction and Authority. Nay, at such a Distance was he in his Intentions from any ill Design against our Religion, that he was willing, even to the Diminution of his own Royalty and Grandeur, both to have granted a Stipulatory Law, which should have had the Force and Virtue of a *Magna Charta*, or *Constitutional Contract*, and to have made it a Fundamental in the Government in all other Reigns. And to give farther Evidence of his Alienation from, and Abhorrency of that, with which he hath been so impudently and maliciously charged, he was ready to have gratified the peevish Humours, as well as to have extinguished and removed the vain Fears and needless Jealousies of his Subjects, by consenting to a Thing not very reconcileable to true Politics, but directly inconsistent with any Design he was capable of harbouring to the Prejudice of our Religion; namely, That the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should have been named and admitted Guarantees of what should have been agreed and enacted for the Preservation of our Religion, on the Bottom and with the Provision only of Liberty of Conscience for Dissenters. And as there was not the least just Ground of suspecting his Majesty guilty of any secret Intentions of subverting our Religion, his open, avowed, and candid Behaviour, as well as his public and royal Declarations, lying in direct Opposition to such a concealed Machination; so had it been possible for him to have so far departed from kingly Wisdom and Justice, and from true *English* Politics, and to have renounced the Veracity, Compassion, and Generosity, which are so natural unto and inseparable from him, as to have inwardly entertained, and latently pursued, a Purpose and Project of that Kind;

yet

Yet it was so impracticable, and physically, as well as morally, impossible to be executed, that instead of serving to awaken Fears in any discreet and sensible Men, it could at most but have administred Matter for Entertainment and Diversion, and provoked us to laugh at the Weakness and ridiculous Bigotry of those that had suggested such Counsels unto him. For surely we will not so scandalously reproach the Protestant Religion, nor so ignominiously detract from the Integrity, Zeal, Industry, and Learning of our Universities, national Clergy, and of many of our Laic Protestants, as to imagine, much less to grant, that those of the *Roman* Communion were able to have disputed our Religion out of the Kingdom, or to have baffled us out of our Belief, and have withdrawn us from the Faith and Worship which we profess and practise, by Arguments from Scripture, Reason, or Tradition. And indeed, had they been qualified for, and in a Condition to have done it that way, I do know no Cause, unless we will disclaim both the being Men and the being Christians, why we should have taken it ill to be conquered at those Weapons, or been angry with them that should gain a Victory over us by such honourable and divine Means. But this they were so ill prepared and incapable to effect, that all their Essays and Efforts of that Kind, against our Religion, served only to render it the more triumphant, and to confirm us the better in it. And it had been the best Policy, which the Religious of the *Roman* Fellowship could have used, and I dare say will be thought so, if ever they should be furnished with such another Opportunity, to have confined themselves to the Service of their Altars, and to the Discharge of the devotional Functions of their respective Orders, and the performing the Ministrations incumbent upon them towards those within the Pale of their Church; or, at most, to have employed themselves about the Subjects of common Christianity, and of good Morals, and not to have disturbed us in the Possession of our Religion, by Polemical Writings, controversial Tracts, and by oral Disputes. For those Methods were so eminently subservient to the Truth and Glory of our Religion, and to the Reputation and Credit of our Divines, and of other learned Persons of our Communion, that if they be wise they will never venture to tread any more in those Paths, unless they have a mind to embark in a Plot against themselves, and to lose that Esteem which we are willing to preserve for them, notwithstanding all our Differences in religious Matters. For under all their Mistakes, whereof some are of the highest Importance, yet we ought to own and respect them as Christians, and to pay them the Deference that is due unto them, not only upon the Score of the Condition and Quality of many of them, but upon the Account both of their moral Accomplishments, and of their natural and acquired Parts, in which great Numbers among them are remarkably eminent. And as there was not the least Shadow of Probability, that the *Roman* Catholics could have disputed us out of our Religion, so it is to offer an Affront to the common Reason of Mankind, to believe that they could have *overthrown it by Force and Violence*. For notwithstanding that many have had the Malice to say this, and some the Weakness to entertain it; yet, besides the Impracticableness of the Thing, the King had both the Wisdom and Goodness not only to disclaim it by Words, but to disprove it by *signal Matters of Fact*. And unless

unless worldly Interest, Ambition, Passion, and Wrath, had so darkened and distorted our Understandings, as either to extinguish or pervert the Use of our discursive Faculties, we could never have allowed ourselves to think, that the King would attempt to do that in a Way of Force, which there were a hundred to withstand and oppose, for every single Individual that can be supposed inclinable to have joined in the Execution of it. Surely, a very little Knowledge of the World, and a mean Acquaintance with History, would help to instruct some unthinking and half-witted People, how difficult, if not impracticable, this has been found in other Nations where it hath been attempted. Nor have any that have set about it found it easy to be effected, even where they have had all the Advantage imaginable to execute it. And we may be speedily convinced, how unfeasible such a Design would have been in *England*, and, consequently, how far from being either undertaken or thought of by a wise Prince: If we consider the Difficulties which have attended it in Roman Catholic Kingdoms, where all the Craft and Power of wise and mighty Princes, and all the Strength and Rage of the Body of the People, inflamed by Bigotry, have been united to compass it. It is impossible for the King's most malignant Enemies, who use to speak of him with the most unparalleled Indecency and brutal Rudeness, to conceive or believe that he could be so prodigiously indiscreet and weak, as to think of banishing or overthrowing the Protestant Religion, or of bringing in or setting up the Roman Catholic, by a Protestant and Anti-papal Army? and other he had not, nor ever can be in a Condition to have, in this Kingdom, if we speak of the Bulk of one, or of one that can be numerous and strong. And for a few Roman Catholics, mingled here and there in Protestant Troops, or for two or three Regiments, whereof the Generality were of the *Romish* Communion, in an Army of those of the Reformed Profession, instead of their giving us just Terror of a Design for subverting our Religion, they only served to animate and provoke those vastly larger Number of Protestant Officers and Soldiers, to assert their Religion with the more Courage and Avowedness, and to exemplify and adorn it better by their Lives. And it is but for those who were in *England* in 1687, and 1688, to recollect themselves and consult their Memories, and they must needs confess and declare, if they have not renounced all Friendship with Truth, when they disclaimed Loyalty to his Majesty, That they never observed that Zeal in a *British* Army for the Protestant Religion, nor that open Boldness in pleading for it, as when that Roman Catholic Prince was upon the Throne, and some of that Communion inrolled among them, and employed with them under the same royal Standard. But what clearer and fuller Evidence could the King give in Matter of Fact, that he had no Intentions to undermine, and much less to subvert our Religion, than *the Dispensation from Penal Laws, which he granted unto Protestant Dissenters, and the Liberty which he stated them in the Exercise of.* And through his giving it upon the only true Principle on which it could be done justifiably, namely, That it is the natural Right of every Man to choose in what Religion, and in which Way of Faith and Worship he will venture his eternal State; he could not in Justice (abstracting from his Friendship) avoid granting Liberty likewise to the Roman Catholics. I do

know there are some People, whose Malice to the King makes them not only take every Thing by the wrong Handle, but which hath so perverted their Reasons, as to cause them to draw Conclusions directly contradictory to the Premises from which they infer them; who endeavour to obtrude upon the Belief of such as are weak and credulous, That the King's giving Liberty was an Effect of his Enmity to our Religion, and done in pursuance of a Design to destroy it. But the two Poles are not at greater Distance from one another, than they are from Truth and good Sense, who think the King would have given Liberty of Conscience, and have set his Heart upon the upholding and maintaining of it, if at the same time he had given place unto and entertained the least Thought of overthrowing and extirpating the Protestant Religion. For that wise, generous, and royal Concession of his, was so far from lying in the remotest Subserviency to such a Design, that nothing under Heaven can be imagined more effectually contributory to the preventing, resisting, and defeating an Attempt of that Kind. There are few but know what Connivance had been exercised to Roman Catholics, and how gently they had been treated, notwithstanding the many Laws they were obnoxious to, during the last Years of King *Charles's* Reign, while, in the mean time, vast Numbers of Protestants were harassed, spoiled and imprisoned, and this not only by hounding out, but by enforcing those of the Church of *England* to fall upon the Dissenters, and to execute the Laws against them with great Severity. Now, by the King's noble, Christian and heroic Act, of granting Liberty, the Peevishness and Enmity of Protestants against one another, was allayed and extinguished; and they were at Ease, as well as Leisure, to employ their common Care, and unite their mutual Strength, against those of the *Roman* Communion, whom they esteemed Enemies to them both. And by being taken off from scratching, biting, and devouring one another, they began to mingle Counsels, and to join their several Interests, for obviating and obstructing the Growth of a third Party that stands in Terms of Distance, both in Opinion and ecclesiastical Charity to the one as well as the other. For though the Liberty granted by the King to Protestant Dissenters, did not incorporate them into the Communion of the Church of *England*, but supposed the contrary, and provided against the afflictive Inconveniencies of it; and though it did not intitle them unto, and make them capable of the Dignities and Emoluments of the Church, which his Majesty neither pretended nor challenged a Power to do; yet, through his suspending the Execution of the penal Laws, which he was told he might do in virtue of that executive Power of Laws, and of Administration of Government which was lodged in him by the Constitution, and inseparable from his Title, Right, and Sovereignty, there was not only a Cessation of Arms between those of the national Church and them, but a Coalescence in Friendship and Zeal for their common Religion, though they could not embody together for Communion in all the Parts of Christian Worship, and for the Exercise of Church Discipline. And besides the taking off the Reproach, and the wiping away the Infamy, which lay upon our Religion, through our persecuting one another, and which made us the Subjects of our Enemies Raillery, and the Objects of their Scorn, there were so many real Advantages accruing to it, by the Liberty

Liberty which the King granted, that there cannot be a blacker Malice out of Hell, than to pervert this Royal and Christian Act of his Majesty from being an Argument of his innocent and honourable Intentions towards our Religion, into a Topic whereby to insinuate into the Belief of those of a narrow Compass of Thought, that it was only in order first to supplant our Religion, and then to destroy it. And it argueth an Ingratitude, which our Language is indigent of Words to express the Heinousness of, that any Protestant Dissenters should not only concur in such a Sentiment, but value themselves upon the Vivacity, Strength, and Penetration of their Judgment, that they could foresee and discover this to be the Motive and End of it. But this may be catalogued among other of the thankful Returns which some of them have rendered the compassionate and good King, for his snatching them as Firebrands out of the burning, where he both found them, and might have suffered them to have continued, till they had been consumed; and for gathering such Vipers (as those I am speaking about) off from the Dunghill, where the Laws had laid them, and placing them in his Bosom, till they had recovered Life, Warmth and Vigour, to sting him by those Censures and Reproaches which are as false as they are black and villainous. And I would ask those Persons, If the King cast out and drove away the Devil Persecution by *Belzebub*, or in virtue of so hellish a Conspiracy against our Religion, by whom has the Gentleman at *Kensington*, and his Tools and Co-operators at *Westminster* done the same? Is Liberty to Dissenters not only an innocent and harmless Thing, but eminently useful to the Strength, Glory, and Success of our Religion, under one that finds it his present Interest to call himself a Protestant, while in the mean time it is questionable what Religion he is of, if he be of any at all; and must the same Liberty, and to the same People, be a Plot upon, and an Engine for the undermining and blowing it up, and for burying all those that profess it under the Ruins of it, when granted by a Catholic Monarch? Surely, it would not unbecome some, nor be unworthy of their second Thoughts, to consider, That if the Prince, whom they have abdicated for this and other good Offices, had not expressed the Bowels, and exerted the Courage, to break the Chains, and to remove the heavy and insupportable Loads, which many peaceable and innocent People had long worn and groaned under, merely for their Opinions and Practices in Matters of pure Revelation, how probable it is, if not morally certain, that they would have been still in their old Circumstances and Conditions of Calamity and Suffering. Nor would either the Prince of *Orange* had the Inclination and Fortitude to relieve them; nor those Assemblies since the Revolution, which we call Parliaments, have had the Compassion and good Nature to have consented and concurred to the easing of them. For as the generality of those stiled the Representatives of the Nation, retain still their ancient Peevishness and Rancour to Dissenters; so he whom they have placed on the Royal Throne, governs himself by no other Principle or Measures but those of Ambition and Interest; nor would he, for saving and obliging the Dissenters, have ventured upon any Thing that might be disagreeable to the Humour of the *Two Houses*, or which might have cooled or abated the Inclinations of the Commons to be lavish in their Grants of Money. Neither would those

Sons of *Scava* have taken upon them to dispossess the Kingdom of the devouring Spirit of Persecution, if they had not been sensible of the Glory which redounded to the King by the Example he had set them. Nor was it upon Motives of Honour and Justice that Liberty to Protestant Dissenters came to be established by a Law, otherwise that Freedom would upon those very Inducements have been extended to others by the same Act; but it was from Fear that the retrenching that which through the Mercy of the King they had gotten into Possession of, might have lost them the Affections, Service, and Assistance of the whole Fanatic Party, and have made those People turn Jacobites upon the Foot of Interest, that have not Conscience, nor Principles of Virtue and Loyalty to be so.

But besides this Proof arising from Fact, by the King's suspending penal Laws in Matters of Religion, and his granting Liberty to Protestant Dissenters, which puts it in a meridian Light, that he could not cherish any Thoughts or Intentions of overthrowing our Religion; he was pleased to exert his Goodness in a second Matter of Fact, and in a surprising Act of Grace, which carried convincing demonstrative Evidence along with it, that he harboured no such Design in prejudice of the reformed Doctrine and Worship, as have been calumniously fastened upon him: The generous, princely, and merciful Act which I mean, was his receiving, entertaining, and relieving the *French* Refugees; which as he was under no legal Obligations of doing, so there were Discouragements enough lay before him to have hindered and prevented it. I know, Sir, that you cannot have forgotten with what Readiness he admitted them into his Kingdom; what welcome and compassionate Entertainment he gave them; and how he not only invited and required his Subjects to harbour and relieve them, but to what Measure and Degree he exercised and extended his own Royal Benevolence and Charity towards them. Nor was he satisfied with the bare taking them under the Wing of his Protection, and making them Sharers in his own and his People's Bounty, but he entertained divers of them into his Service, and admitted some of them into his Friendship and Confidence; so that whosoever will allow himself Leave and Time calmly to consider, either the King's own Religion in which he was both sincere and zealous, or the Terms of Amity he stood in with the King of *France*, which he had neither Reason nor Inclination to depart from, will not be able to avoid acknowledging (unless he can reconcile Contradictions) that his Majesty could have no other Inducement for the doing of it, but that he judged it an evil Thing, as well as an unwise, for any Prince to persecute and drive away his Subjects merely for their differing in religious Matters from what was legally established and embraced, and professed, by the Bulk and Generality of the People; and that he esteemed it a Duty which he owed to God, and to Mankind, to entertain and succour such as suffered for their Consciences in Things purely divine: For as the King could not be insensible that it was not very grateful to a great Number of his Protestant Subjects, to see so many indigent and necessitous Foreigners received into the Nation, who would not only by their Skill and Industry gain away much of the Manufacture, Traffic, and Employ from them

them, but who, by their frugal and parsimonious Living, would be able, and therefore sure, both to underwork and undersell them; so it could not escape his Majesty's Knowledge and Belief that it would not be very pleasing and acceptable to the *French* King, to see those who carried their Resentments against him along with them whithersoever they went, and who will be always meditating and cherishing Revenge, to be so tenderly pitied, compassionately received, and safely covered and protected by a Prince who was not only his Ally, but a Roman Catholic. Yet under that View, and with a Cognizance of all this, did the merciful King admit, entertain, and treat them; with the same Royal Goodness and Generosity, as if they had been People of the *Romish* Communion drove out of some Protestant Country for their Consciences, and Exiles here for the Religion which he himself professed. Now, can any that live not in an avowed Enmity to Truth and good Sense, either be persuaded themselves, or hope to impose upon the Faith of others, that a Prince who had designed to root the Protestant Religion out of his Kingdom, would do a Thing so inconsistent with and obstructive of it, as this was? And yet there are some, whose Malice against the King hath so distorted their Understandings, as that they will not only undertake to reconcile his fore-mentioned Behaviour to the *French* Refugees, with the Conspiracy he was embarked in for extirpating our Religion, but will make use of his Kindness unto them as a Topic of Argumentation whence and whereby to prove and confirm it: But we must beg those Men's Pardon, if we cannot hinder their insolent Flippancy; yet to claim the Liberty of exposing and controuling their foolish and ridiculous, as well as false and slanderous Dictates: For, can any thing lie in a directer Opposition to a Purpose of subverting our Religion, than for a Prince who harbours such a Project, to do all that lies within the Circle of his Wisdom and his Power to encrease and multiply the Numbers, whose Principles will oblige them to the Use of all lawful Ways and Means at least, if they use not worse, to oppose it, and whose Interest and Safety consists in hindering it? Surely the great Body of native Protestants were enough, if not by far too many, either to have been wormed out of our Religion by Fraud, or to have it wrested from us by Force, that there was no Necessity for encreasing the Honour of the Conquest, or raising the Glory of the Triumph, to have added to our Number and Strength, by the Reception and Entertainment that was given to Foreign Protestants. Nor is it credible, that if his Majesty had been embarked in such a Design as he hath been slandered with, that he would have given Encouragement to those Reformed which fled hither from *France*, to have planted and settled in all Parts of his Dominions where they pleased, when he could not but know and believe that their very Presence among us, and our daily Sight of them, would awaken our Jealousies of what some Roman Catholic might think lawful to be done in prejudice of our Religion; and who would daily tell us what had been practised for the extirpating it elsewhere: But the good King being conscious to himself that he had no sinister Intentions to the legally established Doctrine and Worship, he envied us no Means that might quicken and provoke our Care for the Preservation of them. And though he regretted, and was infinitely sorry, that there was Cause any where administered of publishing
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how poor People, professing the Reformed Religion, had not only been decoyed into the Catholic Communion by the little and mean Arts of Missioners, and bribed and brought to be Converts to the *Romish* Faith, by those that managed a public Treasure to that End, but had been dragooned into the Church by armed Troops; yet he was willing we should have such a Resident in our several Neighbourhoods, who might relate and confirm those Things unto us; and he hoped that by his receiving and countenancing such Persons in his Dominions as would daily entertain us with Accounts of this Nature, which we could not hear without Scandal and Indignation, we should have been satisfied and assured that it lay in an Antipathy to his Nature to imitate any such Examples: But no Means how proper and convictive soever in themselves which the King could use, for laying and extinguishing our Jealousies and Fears of his harbouring Intentions against our Religion, could be of Efficacy to operate upon us with any Success, after our having through Plenty, Pride, and Wantonness grown weary of Tranquility and Ease, and thereupon had imbibed Prepossessions and Prejudices against his Majesty's Person and Government, and suffered ourselves to be wrought up and exasperated by a few Demagogues and Boutefeux, who were bribed by the Prince of *Orange*, and instigated by his promising them the Spoils of the Crown, Kingdom, and Church, to the highest Ferment of blind, brutal, and godless Rage: Nor has the compassionate and merciful King been requited as he ought and deserved by the *French* Refugees, to whom he made his Kingdoms both an Asylum and Sanctuary, and his own Treasure, and the Wealth of his People, a Fund of Succour and Subsistence, when they knew not where with Safety to hide their Heads, nor how to get Bread to preserve them from starving; but notwithstanding all the *Hosannas* they gave him at first, they were many of them in a little time the forwardest to cry *Crucify him*; and contrary to all the Measures of Discretion and Prudence, as well as of Thankfulness and Gratitude, they have been some of them the warmest Inflamers of the Rebellion, and have taken Arms in great Numbers for supporting the Usurper.

But, Sir, allow me to subjoin a third Matter of Fact, by which the King gave all the Evidence and Assurance to his People, that the most incredulous and perversely obstinate among them could have desired or needed, to convince them in what Opposition unto and Remoteness it lay from his Thoughts to injure us in the Possession of our Religion, and much less to rob us of it; and that was by his refusing those Ships of War as well as Land Troops which were offered him by the *French* King, for withstanding the Invasion of the Prince of *Orange*, and for enabling him to suppress those that might fly to Arms, and rise in his own Dominions, to disturb his Reign, or to join with the unnatural Invader in case he landed; for setting aside a few Things which the Judges told him he might do according to Law, and some inconsiderable Trifles, wherein his treacherous Counsellors misled him, by telling him it was to renounce the Prerogative which the Constitution had vested in him to decline asserting them; so conscious was he to himself of having neither done nor designed any thing whereby his Protestant Subjects might be tempted to withdraw with any Shadow of Reason and Justice their Allegiance from him; that no Alarms of Conspi-

Conspiracies against, or suspected Treacheries unto him at home, nor the fullest and most uncontrollable Certainty of Ships being prepared, and Forces ready to embark upon them abroad, to make a Descent into his Dominions, and hostilely to assault him, could prevail with him to accept those Succours which a neighbouring Monarch offered him, as well in Friendship to himself as in Kindness to his Majesty. It ever hath, and always will be found true, that whosoever hath been designing, though never so secretly, an Injury or Mischief to another, he will be constantly suspicious of the Person against whom he intended it, and will use all the Precautions he can, and lay hold upon every Means that offereth, to put him whom he had contrived to wrong out of a Condition to avoid the Blow, and more especially out of all Capacity to revenge it. Ill Thoughts and Intentions in a Prince to his People, tho' they abide so artificially and industriously concealed, that none have detected them, do yet not only continually haunt the Projector as Informers that his Designs are discovered and understood, but are ever counselling him to close with all Methods which may obviate and prevent a Retaliation: But the King thought his Protestant Subjects had been as free from rebellious Designs against his Person, Crown, and Dignity (which indeed most of them were) as he was from any usurping and tyrannous ones against their legal Rights, Liberties, and Religion; and that withheld and restrained him from accepting an Assistance in his Defence, when there was a plotted, formed, and maturated Conjunction between the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland* abroad, and too many of several Persuasions, Communion, and Factions at home, to drive him out of his Kingdoms, if not to murder him; which he stood not far out of the Danger of, when the *Sunday* Night before the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, it was proposed and debated at *Windsor* to make him a Prisoner; but that being opposed by some Persons, whom it was not then thought convenient and safe to contradict and disoblige, it was thereupon resolved the Night following at *Sion-house* to require him immediately, and at a very unreasonable Hour, to abandon and withdraw from his Royal Palace; which was so ordered upon Prospect and Hope that he would not have complied, and that thereby a Pretence would have been administered of sending him to the *Tower*, from whence his next Stage would have been to the neighbouring Hill, there being but a few Steps between a King's Prison and his Grave: Nor would he in any Likelihood have escaped the Snare that was thus artificially laid for him, nor have avoided the Danger that was lurking behind it, but that some of those intrusted with the Conveyance of the Message, delivered it with such Accent, Tone, and accompanying Circumstances, as both awakened him to Apprehensions of his Peril, and guided him to submit to what was so inhumanly and barbarously prescribed unto him. But to return to the Inforcement of the Argument I am upon, for proving that the King could have no secret Intentions, nor have been carrying on any concealed Designs in order to overthrow our Religion, in that he refused *French* Forces at a Season when they were both generously offered, and he extremely needed them; and when by all the Laws of God, and the Kingdom, he might have received and employed them for the withstanding a foreign Army, commanded by an ambitious

bitious and unnatural Prince, which came to divest him of his sovereign and legal Rights; for if the States of *Holland* might send, and the Prince of *Orange* bring Troops into *England*, let the Pretence be what it will, and the *British* Subjects that invited and gave Encouragement unto it be never so many, and of what Quality any think fit to have them, the King might with much more Justice and Right have desired and received *Turks* and *Tartars*, as well as *French*, to oppose and beat them out; seeing both the Power of War, and the lawful Authority of defending the Kingdom being lodged sovereignly and solely in his Majesty, and the Ways of managing the one and the other being entirely intrusted with his Wisdom, save as he pleased to call for Advice, he might without any Violation of the Rules of the Constitution, have furnished himself with necessary Forces from whence he thought fit, for the Defence of his Person and the Government; whereas none of his Subjects could raise Forces at home, or invite them from abroad, without rendering themselves guilty of the highest Disloyalty and Treason; nor could the States of the Seven Provinces, being in League and declared Terms of Amity with his Majesty, send or authorise their Troops to come hither, without becoming obnoxious to the Crime and Charge of contemning and violating public Treaties, of breaking through all that is sacred, and of trampling upon every Thing on which the Peace of Nations doth depend: And as for the Prince of *Orange* himself, he being no Sovereign Prince, but the Servant of a late tho' wealthy Republic, he possibly might have the Right as Stadtholder, into which he wound himself by Perjury and Murder, to exercise some Authority in his own Country, or he might have the Privilege to set up for a Knight-Errant to combat Wind-mills, and kill Dragons; but he had no Authority by the Laws of God, or Nations, to invade and attack a rightful King in the quiet and peaceable Possessions of his own Dominions; and by assuming the Insolence, and taking upon him the Injustice to do it, he stands proclaimed by all the Revelations relative to Societies in the Bible, and by the whole Civil Law, which is the Law of Nations, to be a Robber and an Usurper; and to have all the Blood that hath been shed in *Europe*, by reason of, and as an Effect and Consequence of his Invasion, to be charged upon him and laid at his Door; and for which he will be made accountable at the great Tribunal: Nor can his Majesty's Authority and Right to have received and called *French* Troops be questioned by our Revolutioners and Abdicators themselves, seeing we allow and suffer the like, and much worse, in that Pagan King we have dressed up and erected; for notwithstanding of that vast Army of *British* and *Irish* Troops, with which to the Impoverishment of the Nation we continue to furnish him, and notwithstanding he is fulsomly represented in Pulpits, and with a flattering as well as a mean Cringingness addressed unto by Corporations, as the Saviour of our Liberties and Religion; yet he challengeth a Right, and we like a tame slavish People both connive at and approve it, not only of keeping among us, contrary to his solemn Promise given in his Declaration, dated at the *Hague*, several *Dutch* Forces, Horse as well Foot, whom he claps and fasteneth upon the Nation as a Badge that he esteems us no better than conquered Vassals; but if we may believe the Prints which come from abroad,

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he hath sent for ten thousand more outlandish Soldiers to insult and triumph over us as his subdued Slaves; while in the mean time he sends our native Forces into *Flanders* to perish by Famine and Sword, as Sacrifices to his Ambition, and to have the Infamy, which he calls Glory, of dying in a *Dutch Quarrel*: Nor do I wonder that he will not trust the Defence of the Kingdom to our own Troops, seeing he cannot but be sensible with what Arbitrariness he hath ruled over us, and how he hath cheated, impoverished, and ruined us; and that if we had but as much Sense, Reason, and Courage left us, as we have Provocation and Cause of Anger and Indignation given unto us, we would revenge ourselves upon him for the Wrongs he hath done the Kingdom, as well as for those he hath done the King; whereas that injured Monarch being fully assured in himself that he never designed to prejudice us in our Liberties, Properties, or Religion, but that all he aimed at was to make us a free, rich, and glorious People, he cast himself entirely upon the Loyalty of his own Subjects for the Safeguard of his Person and Crown, at the Time when he saw he was to have his Dominions invaded, and an Attempt to be made for turning him out of his Throne; all which Designs he might have easily defeated, had he but accepted the *French Ships and Troops* that were offered him; but to his Glory and our indelible Infamy, he chose rather to be forsaken and betrayed by his own People, than to distrust them, as knowing he had always lived in an Abhorrence of giving them just and real Cause to be false to him; and indeed the Misfortune and Distress which befel him upon whatsoever Motives they were occasioned, yet they must be resolved into his own Uprightness and Integrity as the contributing Means; and that being an honest Man himself, he drew other Men's Pictures by his own Original; whereas he had continued safe and happy if he had drawn those of a great many People by the Reverse of his own. I know that the Earl of S—— doth in a *Letter from Holland to his Friend in London*, printed *March 1689*, endeavour to rob the King of the Honour due unto him for having refused the *French Assistance*, and challengeth it to himself, by telling us, *That he opposed to Death the accepting of them, and that he was the principal Means of hindering the receiving both the Ships and Men*: But all this was then published to put a Merit upon his own Treachery to the King, and to reconcile himself to the Mercy and Favour of the Nation, to whose Anger and Wrath he stood at that Time highly obnoxious; for no Man can imagine that either the Earl, or those other Lords, with whom, as he tells us, *he consulted every Day, and they with him*; and by whom he was helped to prevent the accepting both *French Ships and Troops*, which they thought would be a great Prejudice, if not ruinous to the Nation, would have been able to have prevailed with his Majesty to have refused so seasonable and necessary Assistance, if he had been any ways conscious to himself that he had been harbouring and carrying on Designs which might make him distrust the Loyalty of his People, or which might give him Cause to apprehend that his Subjects had just and reasonable Pretences of departing from their Fealty, or for denying their Aids to defend him: Nor would any thing but a Clearness of Mind as to his own Innocency from any sinister Intentions against our Religion and Laws, have influenced as well as suffered

him to reject the Offers made unto him at that Time by the King of *France*: But though this was the only Motive upon which his Majesty could do it, in any Consistency with common Discretion, yet we sufficiently know upon what Inducements, and to what Ends that Earl advised him to it; nor hath he been either shy in concealing of it, or gone without very liberal Rewards for it; for he told *Ginckle*, once at his own Table, That though it was his Honour to have subdued the King's Forces in *Ireland*, and to have wrested that Kingdom from his Majesty; yet the Glory belonged unto himself of having contrived the Provocations to the Revolution, and having laid the Foundations for deposing his Majesty from his Royal Dignity and Throne; and the inward Confidence he is admitted into with the Prince of *Orange*, and the vast Sums he has obtained, and continues still to receive from him, are plain Evidences, as well as they are thankful Recompences, of the Counsels which in favour of the Prince's Designs he gave unto his Master: But would any one that hath not lost all common Prudence and true Sense, as well as renounced his Loyalty to his rightful Prince, have published in the same *Letter* a Thing so visibly false, and so easy to be contradicted and exposed, namely, *That when the first News came of the Prince's Designs, they were not looked upon as they proved, no body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct, and Courage, in that the greatest Thing which has been undertaken these thousand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Virtues hardly to be imagined, till seen nearer hand*; whereas it was obvious to vast Numbers then, as it is now to the whole Kingdom, that there was neither Prudence, Conduct, nor Courage, and much less Virtues hardly to be imagined, guiding and influencing the Prince of *Orange's* Success, but that his whole Prosperity in his Undertaking is to be resolved in, and ascribed unto, the Disloyalty and Treachery of some of his Relations, bosom Friends, Counsellors, Officers, and Soldiers, and into the rebellious Principles of too many of his Subjects; for to omit speaking of the great Effects which the Prince of *Orange* hath so often and wonderfully given in *Flanders*, of his *Prudence, Conduct, Courage, and other Virtues hardly to be imagined*, it is but for us to recollect his Behaviour at and before *Limerick* in *Ireland*, where he became the Subject of the Derision and Contempt of all that were there, and by which he hath furnished us here with Matter of Diversion ever since, when we have a Mind to be pleasant; and we may from thence take the Measure and Extent with all the Dimensions of his political and military Excellencies: But the Passage I have quoted out of the *Letter* serves to confirm me, that it is an usual and righteous Judgment of God upon those that turn *Knaves* to give them over to become *Fools* also: And for the *thousand Years, or the perhaps ever*, that he mentions, wherein the like hath not been undertaken and executed, it is neither for the Reputation of the Prince of *Orange*, nor for the Credit of this Kingdom, but for the perpetual Dishonour and Infamy both of him and us, that we should have been guilty of so much Treachery and Villany, and he of such an unbounded Ambition, and unnatural Crimes, as there are no Examples of, nor Precedents for.

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And as the King harboured no Thoughts, nor drove on any secret Designs, for the Extirpation of our Religion ; so I will affirm, that the preserving the Protestant Religion was so far from being the true and real Motive to the late Revolution, though so much pretended, and so often alledged in Vindication of those who engaged in it, that most of those that were the first Instigators unto, and who principally concurred and co-operated to the bringing it about, are not Persons disposed by their Judgments, nor prepared by Virtue and Grace, to be concerned for any Religion, farther than as the seeming to own *One* ministers to their secular Ends. Now this, if clearly demonstrated, being as likely a Means as any for undeceiving the credulous and well-meaning Body of the People, and for taking them off from supporting the Usurpation, when they see upon what a Mistake they were wheedled to join at first with the Conspirators against his Majesty's Person and Government ; I will lay it before you in the best Light I can, without writing a Satire upon States and Countries, or too much exposing the Atheism, Unbelief and Immoralities, inconsistent with any Religion of particular Men, who are divers of them of great Rank, Quality, and Condition in the World. However, it doth not detract from the Worth of Religion, but rather shews it is some excellent Thing, that all Men will seek Countenance from it to those Undertakings, for which they would fear to be otherwise the Objects of a keen and general Hatred. To which allow me to add, that the being hurried into this Revolution, upon the Pretence of saving our Religion, shews, that though most who stile themselves Protestants are People of very weak and shallow Understandings, and that their Zeal is much greater than their Knowledge ; yet it likewise tells us, that many of them heartily love it, in that they think neither the public Tranquillity, nor their private Fortunes, too valuable to be parted with in order to preserve it. And this the Prince of *Orange* and his mercenary Tools were sufficiently aware of, and therefore made that the Pretence both of the Invasion, and of the aggressive War we made afterwards on *France* ; as knowing it would bubble us out of our Lives as well as our Money, and be an Engine to open both our Veins and our Purses. Yet after what I have said, I will nevertheless add, That as it is no Credit, but a Disgrace to Religion, that some Men should pretend to have a Concern or Regard for it ; it being a Reproach unto it, that they should wear its Livery, and a Disparagement to be favourably spoken of by them ; whereas their Reviling it would be its Commendation, and their turning their Backs upon it would argue it lovely : So it hath been always found true, and ever will, that the making Religion a Plea whereby to justify that which is evil, does lessen its Power over the Consciences of Men, and hindereth its Success in conquering the Irreligious and Incredulous, and defeats it in its only Design, which is the raising Glory to God, and the restoring the divine Image upon Men. Nor can I forbear to publish it as my avowed Opinion, That no Success or Honour that can attend our Arms in this War, should we not only be so prosperous as to obtain a safe and honourable Peace to *Europe*, but to subdue and conquer *France*, will ever be able to countervail the Injury we have done the Protestant Religion, and the Disgrace we have brought upon it, by pretending to make the preserving it the Motive and In-

ducement for dethroning our rightful King. Nor will all that Sea of Blood spilt in *Europe*, as the Effect and Consequence of it, wash away the Blots and Stains we have thereby brought upon the Reformed Doctrine; but they will remain indelible, until we have returned to our Duty, reassumed our Loyalty, and have restored our exiled Prince; and until we have taken the Ignominy and Reproach upon ourselves, that we have derived upon our Religion, and have by Words, Writing and Tears, vindicated and acquitted it, from having given any Countenance to what hath been done, and have charged and lodged it upon our own Disloyalty, Pride, and Covetousness. Nor must we think to salve ourselves, and come off at the great Tribunal, by saying, as a certain Presbyterian Parson in *Scotland* did, *That if we make bold to offend God in some Cases and Instances, yet we will be as good to him another Way.* Now, as to what I am to lay before you in Reference to the Unconcernedness of those for any Religion, that contrived and conspired the Revolution, and were the forwardest to promote it, and still continue to be the zealous Upholders of this bloody and ruinous War that hath followed upon it; I do not intend it should be construed and intended to affect and blacken all that were accessory unto, and active to the utmost of their Power and Interest in those Designs: For in some of them it proceeded either from the Weakness of their Understandings, or from their being prepossessed with corrupt and bad Principles as to Governments and Politics in general, and particularly with respect to our own Constitution, and not from Criminalness in their Wills, and Pravity of their Consciences. For not only People of shallow Judgments, and of narrow Compass of Thought, are capable of being misled, notwithstanding their Endowments with a great deal of Probity and Uprightness, to very sinful and bad Things in Matters of Politics, and the Measures of civil Obedience, by those that are acute, crafty, and subtle, and in the mean time believe themselves in the right, and to be doing God and their Country good Service; but even such as are of better and more discursive Parts may, through false Notions, as well as through Prejudices sucked in and derived from an unhappy Education, and the Misfortune of Acquaintance with ill Books, and of intimate Conversation with Persons drenched in Republican and Democratical Notions, be insensibly carried to the committing very illegal, and, by Consequence, very irreligious Things. But then such Persons are, upon serious and second Thoughts, and upon obtaining the Happiness of being furnished with the Assistance and Advantage of clearer and better Lights, easily recovered from the Power and misleading Influence of those Principles upon which, through Darkness or Mistake, they formerly acted; and upon their Repentance of such Things which they had wandered and been hurried into, and Proofs of their Conversion to God and their King, they become prepared Subjects both for Pardon on Earth and Forgiveness in Heaven. But as to the generality of those who were most actively and eminently interested and involved in bringing about the late Revolution, and who remain the unrelenting and obstinate Upholders of the Usurpation; I do affirm, That they were and are so far from acting upon the Motive, Prospect, and Design of preserving our Religion, that they would not wet the Sole of their Shoes, nor hazard the losing of a single Hair of

of their Heads, for saving the Gospel, or for continuing the Light of it to us and our Posterity. For besides that the chieft and Majority of them do glory in Courses of Life inconsistent with all Religions, and which the Alcoran disallows and condemns as much as the Scripture doth ; and which are directly repugnant unto the Hopes that ours giveth unto any Man of Salvation and eternal Life, and who themselves are far enough from taking the Gospel to be a Spell that will save them, whether they come into the Way prescribed by it, and have a mind to be saved, or whether they neither do, nor have not : So many of them do ridicule and mock at all Revelation, and do pronounce them foppish and silly, that account otherwise of the Bible than of a Romance, feigned by a Conspiracy of Rulers and Priests, in order to govern the Mob, and the better to squeeze Money from the Credulous. Yea, there are some of them who deride a Deity, and value themselves upon the believing no other Being, or Modes of one, but Matter, Figure, and Motion. And though I do not know whether many, or any, of them went into the Revolution themselves, and afterwards drew in others, with a Purpose to expose and lampoon our Religion ; yet this I am sure of, that what we have done against the King, and in the involving the Kingdoms into a bloody and expensive War upon so little Cause and Provocation as was administred, is more adapted to render Persons Anti-scripturists and Atheists, than all the Arguments in *Hobbs's Leviathan*, or in his Book *de Cive* are. Was not the late Lord *Lovelace*, who could not speak without an Oath, Blasphemy, or Execration ; or the surviving *Fleetwood Sheppard*, whose whole Wit is employed to burlesque the Bible, and mock at an invisible Being ; and who had the blasphemous Audacity to say to two Bishops, who desired Leave of him to pass through his Lodgings to see the Raree Show exhibited the other Day at *Whitehall*, That he would not grant it, though the *Virgin Mary* were there with her Child at her Back to beg it of him ; and which they had not the Zeal and Courage for God and their Religion as to rebuke him for, lest they should have offended the Man at *Kensington*, who is fond of him for his Piety and Virtue, *Et quem pro Jove habent* : I say, were not those I have mentioned very likely Persons to have engaged to assist in the Revolution upon Motives of Religion ; or in order to preserve and defend the Reformed Doctrine and Worship ? Can any Man think that Secretary *Trenchard* can be under the Influence of Religion in any Business or Undertaking, or can make it the Motive or End of what he does, who concerted with the Prince of *Orange* how to betray and ruin the King, and became engaged to him to use all Means he could to do it, and this at the very Time when he was suing for a Pardon, and who, after the Grant and Receipt of one, came over, and made his Majesty all the Promises Words could express, of his serving him with Loyalty and Fidelity so long as he lived ? But as there is no Necessity now of telling which of these Promises he has performed, whether those made at the *Hague*, or those given at *Whitehall*, that being sufficiently declared by a long and ample Series of Actions ; so I think it will be easily granted, that this Man could act under no Impression of Religion, nor upon the Motive or to the End of saving or serving it, who could come under two such opposite and contradictory Obligations at the same time, as the yielding
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an unchangeable Fealty and Obedience to the King, and the undertaking to betray and divest him of his Royal Power were. Or, is it possible we should believe that my Lord L—— and the honourable Speech-maker and Haranguer of the Mob at *Norwich* and *Lynn*, could embark in promoting the late Change, out of any Concernment for the Protestant Religion, or in order to protect it, who, though they profess to be Protestants when they are well and in Health, yet who, at every time when they are sick, or when they have Apprehensions of dying, do constantly send for *Romish* Priests, to administer unto them all the Helps, and give them the Assurances appointed by that Church for Men in their last Hours? I am loath to multiply many Instances in Confirmation of what I have affirmed, and the chief Leaders and Actors in the Conspiracy for dethroning the King are so well known that I need not do it. Even they whose Character should oblige us to believe that the preserving the Protestant Religion was the chief, if not the only, Motive upon which they acted, in the late great Turn that was made in this Kingdom, were as far from having it in their Eye or Aim, as any other were. Nor will any that know the Men allow, that either Jack Boots, or Cambrick Sleeves, embarked in dethroning and driving away the King, out of any Regard unto, or Concernedness for, the Reformed Doctrine and Worship; but that they did it out of Picque and Revenge, and upon the Motives of Ambition and Covetousness, in the *one* to get a Bishopric, and in the *other* to preserve one. For not to speak of the Rings and Seals which the Doctor (through an Hypocrisy peculiar to himself that weareth *Cambrick*, *Holland*, *Scots* Cloth Sleeves instead of *Lawn*) boasteth of as many Pledges of the Kindnesses of Ladies for the Services he has done them; can that Man live in the practical Belief, or be under the Awe of a Deity, and much less act upon any sincere Motives of serving Religion, but merely to serve himself upon it, who, when he was dipped in all the Counsels and Conspiracies for commencing and compassing the Revolution, could yet, at the same time, in his Letters to the Earl of *Middleton*, not only make solemn Protestations of his Loyalty to the King, but have Recourse for Proof and Evidence of it to the Sermons full of Duty and Fealty to the King, which he had preached at the *Hague* as well as at *London*. And as those Letters are in Print, to remain Records and Registers of his Irreligion and Hypocrisy; so I am mistaken in the Rules of Physiognomy, if the Punishment that waits for him, and which he hath so much deserved, and whereof he hath had Advertisement in Dreams, be not legibly written in his Forehead. Nor could any true Church of *England* Man, whether Ecclesiastic or Laic, have Accession to the Invasion, and to the deposing of his Majesty, or be gained over to approve them, without renouncing all the Doctrines and Principles of that Communion which relate to civil Government, and the Duties of Subjects to their Rulers. And that may serve sufficiently to shew, that they acted not in these Matters upon Motives of Religion; because the very Things they did, plainly interfered with the whole Religion which they professed and owned. And there was such an outrageous Rape committed by it upon their Principles, and such an open deflowering of the Chastity, which their Church had hitherto preserved in Point of Allegiance to lawful and rightful Monarchs, that were it
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not that great Multitudes of that Communion both preserved their own Innocency, and have loudly condemned the Crime of their *quondam* Brethren, and Fellow-members, their whole Church would for ever lie under the same Blot and Infamy which those very Men, namely, your *Tillotsons Burnets* and *Sherlocks*, &c. have used heretofore to cast and fasten upon others. And as for those called *Whigs*, which were the warmest Promoters of the Revolution, and are supposed, more than others, to have acted in it upon the Motive of securing our Religion, I will make bold to say of many of them, and that both with Truth and Justice, That they have no Religion but their Interest, nor sacrifice to any Deity but themselves. The Whig Party is, generally speaking, a Compound of the Atheistical of all Opinions and Persuasions whatsoever; and they can be of any Religion, because they are really of none. They will take the Sacrament in the Church of *England* to be qualified to get or hold a Place, and then will herd with the Fanatics ever after, that they may be esteemed Partizans for our Sovereign Lord the People. Upon the whole, whosoever will speak his Knowledge or his Conscience, cannot avoid confessing, that the promoting the Revolution, the abdicating the King, the crowning the Invader, and the lavishing away Lives and Fortunes to support the Usurpation and Rebellion, were not entered upon out of Fear of losing otherwise our Religion, nor continued and persevered in upon Inducements of being serviceable to its Safety, Success, and Glory; but that some wanted white Staves, to which they thought they might pretend on the Foot of Merit; and that others had fallen under Fines, which though they were forgiven the Payment of, yet they resented, and sought to revenge their being laid upon them; and that all were desirous to fish in troubled Waters, in which, though but a few were to catch Ducal Titles, or blue Ribbons and Garters, yet something would come as a Share to many upon the Shipwreck of the Government, and out of the Spoil of the Crown, Kingdom, and Church. The truest Character I can bestow upon them, is that which *Livy* gives those that set up for and joined the *Decemviri*, namely, That they did pursue *licentiam suam, non libertatem Patriæ*: And indeed the unparalleled Treachery that accompanied the Revolution, in most of those that were actively engaged in it, does put it beyond all rational Contradiction, that it was so far from being undertaken or pursued upon Motives of Religion, that they could neither have Religion, Virtue, nor true Honour, who were capable of being guilty of so much Falseness and Infidelity, as well as of Disloyalty. Is it possible, or to be imagined, in any Consistency with common Sense, that those Persons could come into the Design of the Revolution under any Views of Religion, or promote the late Change upon Motives or Prospects of serving it, who not only abandoned and betrayed the King, with his Commissions in their Pockets, and while they were eating his Bread; but who could beg Money of him to form their Equipages to serve him, and which he innocently, liberally, and generously gave them, in the Midst of his Streights and Exigencies of Money for his personal Use? And yet all that they craved it for, and applied it to, was to get into a Condition to fight against him, and to drive him out of his Kingdoms. But we need no more to proclaim the Distance and Estrangedness
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that most of the Revolutioners and Abdicators live in, both as to the Protestant Religion, and any sincere Love to their Country; and how little they were swayed in what they did, by any Regards or Concernments for the Good of either; but since their getting into Offices, Places and Commands, as the Recompence of their Disloyalty, Treachery, and Rebellion to the King, they have committed more Rapines and Robberies upon the Nation, more audaciously sold the Kingdom for Pensions and Bribes, and have more impudently cozened, defrauded and oppressed their Fellow-Subjects, than the worst of Men heretofore have attempted or allowed themselves to do; and which Highway-men and Banditti would not have the Immodesty and Injustice to perpetrate. For Pick-pockets, Shop-lifters, or such as take a Purse upon the Road, are both virtuous and harmless Persons, in comparison of those that eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, and gnaw the very Bones of poor Soldiers, by defrauding them of their Pay; of whom, to use *Tacitus's* Phrase, I may say, *Quinis in diem assibus corpus & anima estimantur*; or of those that rob Hospitals, in withholding from Widows and Fatherless Children the Arrears due to their Husbands and Fathers that perished in their Service; and I am loath to add, that plunder the Subject, by the Authority and in the Virtue of the Great Seal, and exercise the Legislative Power in favour of one, and in prejudice of another, according as our Representatives in Parliament are hired and paid for it. Nor are these Aspersions unjustly thrown upon the Instruments of the Revolution, and the Zealots of the present Government, or Things whereof they are accused at Random, without Proof or Evidence; but they are the Effects and Testimonies of Love unto, and Care for preserving, the Protestant Religion, which the Gentlemen of *St. Stephen's Chapel* find one another, and those guilty of, that were the chief Assistants in the Revolution, and continue the main Pillars of the Usurpation. For when a certain Sort of People quarrel, and fall out, many hidden Truths and concealed Crimes come to be discovered; and I wish it may have a Tendency to every Man's recovering his Right, that is a true Owner. Nor are these Things to be thought strange in those employed by this Government, seeing they were the very worst Men of the Nation that contributed most to the Revolution, in whom that of *Tacitus* was verified, *In turbas & discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis*. And the public Liberty was only made a Pretence for their pursuing their own Interests, at the Expence and to the Ruin of their Country: For, as the same Author observes, *Libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei, nisi per discordias habent*.

Nor did those abroad that co-operated to the Revolution, and lent their Ships and Troops to effect it, act any more upon Motives that respected the Protestant Religion, than we here did, but purely upon Principles and Inducements of Interest and State: For it is no Slander to say that the Deputies of the Seven Provinces, who sit governing at the *Hague*, never enter into War or Peace upon any other Instigation, or Views and Ends, save those of a secular Concernment: Nor would it move or impress them to see all the Inhabitants of these three Kingdoms turn Pagans or Mahometans, farther than as it may affect their Trade, and disturb their Civil Tranquillity; and so little do

do they act under an Influence, or with a Respect to the Christian Religion, and much less with regard to the Protestant, that in order to drive the *Portuguese* out of *Japan*, where they had a large and beneficial Commerce, and to engross the Trade of it to themselves, they not only suggested to the Natives, and particularly to the Ministers at Court, and by them to the Emperor, that the Christian Religion involved Treason in it against his Crown, Person, and Estate, and thereby raised a Persecution which ended in the Extirpation of Christianity out of those Dominions, and in the Massacre of several hundred thousand Souls; but they both permitted, and by a solemn Act of State authorised their Subjects that traded thither to disclaim being Christians, and only to own themselves *Hollanders*, who knew no Religion but Profit, nor had other Ends or Aims save to gain and heap up Wealth: And besides many other Instances which might be assigned of their abandoning all Care and Concernment for the Protestant Religion in other Nations, when the doing so is reconcileable to their Safety and worldly Advantage, it may not be amiss to put you in Remembrance of their furnishing *Lewis* the XIIIth with Ships to subdue *Rockel*, when it was the chief cautionary Town, as well as the strongest and most opulent, which the Reformed in *France* had to intitle them to a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion: Nor is it unseasonable to ask, That if they embarked to assist in the dethroning of the King of *Great-Britain*, out of Zeal for preserving the Protestant Religion to these Nations, how comes it then that they have so little interposed with their Confederate the Emperor for some Lenity and Favour to his Protestant Subjects in *Hungary*? And that they have not dealt with their other Ally the King of *Spain* for abolishing the *Inquisition*? and that he would not continue to make Bonfires of his Subjects, whensoever any of them turn Protestants? nay, their entering into the Conspiracy for subduing and deposing his Majesty, was so far from being done from Motives relative to the Honour and Safety of the Protestant Religion, that it was laid and forwarded by the greatest Falshood and Treachery that ever either a crowned Head, or a Republic was guilty of: For, what can be more inconsistent with good Morals, namely, with Truth and Justice, or less reconcileable to the Principles of Christianity, than not only to attack a King upon his Throne with whom they were in League, without giving him Warning, or seeking for Reparation of Injuries, if he had done them any, and without desiring an Adjustment of Differences and Misunderstandings where there were such? but to invade his Kingdoms with a Naval and Land Strength, after the solemnest Protestations made to the King himself by *Cittars* their Ambassador here, and the greatest Assurances given immediately by the States-General to the Marquis *d'Albeville* his Majesty's Envoy there, that they had no Design against him, and that their Preparations were not in order to disquiet him on his Throne, or disturb the Peace of his Kingdoms, but that they were for a Purpose merely relative to themselves, and in which his Majesty was no ways interested; so that after so fraudulent and perjurious an Act, the Commencement of the War being in Violation and Contempt of actual and subsisting Treaties, I do challenge any Man to believe, without doing Violence to his Mind, that the *Dutch* are in the practical

tical Belief of any Religion, and much less that they co-operated to the Revolution out of Care to preserve the Reformed Doctrine and Worship to these three Nations. Alas! it was upon other Inducements that they concurred to involve these Nations in War and Blood, which we might easily have discovered, but would not: For they no sooner observed the King's putting an End to Persecution in his Dominions, and thereby doing that which might have reconciled his People to one another, and should have united them all to him; nor sooner found that he had too much Honour and Courage, and withall bore more Love and Tenderneſs to his People, to suffer them either to be wormed or insulted out of their Trade; and had likewise perceived, that as he was an admirable Oeconomist of the public Treasure, so he was a great Encourager of all over whom God had set him, to Industry and Virtue; but that they grew immediately thereupon apprehensive, that we would become more strong and opulent than would be for their Interest, or prove consistent with the Tricks and Rapines they had been accustomed to practise in Ways of Commerce: And as these were the Provocations upon which they desired to see his Majesty dethroned; so the Ambition of the Prince of Orange, of whom it may be said in the Words of *Tacitus*, that *cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior*, that all his Lusts as well as his Obligations give place to his Aspirings after Sovereignty; together with the Discontents in *England*, which the Means and Methods to our Happiness had filled us with, administered them an Opportunity of stepping in to ruin the King, and to make us miserable, which they easily foresaw would be the Effect of it. And as they speedily had the Satisfaction to see the *first* performed, so they have now also the Pleasure to behold us impoverished and weakened to that Degree, which was the *second* Thing they longed for, that an Age under the mildest, wisest, and justest Government, will not restore us to that Condition, at least in their Opinion, as to beget either their Jealousy or their Envy, or which may hinder them wresting from us what Parts of our Trade they please; for they are a People that will call it Friendship to us to rob us; & *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, to borrow another of *Tacitus's* Phrases: Nor will any Means in human View prevent our becoming in a very little time the Contempt of all Nations about us for Weakness and Poverty, and much less raise us again to that State of Strength, Opulency, and Glory in which we were, but the calling home the King with all the Expedition we can, and combining together with united Hearts and Hands to shake off the Usurper, with his *Bentinks* and *Ginckles*; *Qui se partem nostræ Republicæ faciunt*, that I may use an Expression of *Tacitus*, but are in an apparent Conspiracy with the High and Mighty at the *Hague*, to reduce these Kingdoms to a Feebleness and Indigency, out of which they have a Design we shall never emerge.

Nor did the great Man who keeps his Palace at *Kensington* bring an Army into *England*, and screw himself to the Throne upon any Motives of saving the Protestant Religion, or out of any Intentions of Kindness and Good-will to it, but merely upon the Impulse of Pride, Haughtiness and Ambition, and to gratify his Aspirings after a Crown. I am not ignorant how he hath been represented and painted forth by your temporizing, mercenary, and sycophant Divines,

Divines, as the Saviour of our Religion and Liberties ; and that the godly Saint, and the heavenly divine Man would not have violated all the Ties and Bonds of Nature, and trampled upon the Precepts of the Decalogue, and the Sanctions of the Bible, but upon the Inducements of Zeal for God, and his holy Religion ; which by Examples taken from *Phineas* and *Ehud* transform Murder into Sacrifices ; and by Precedents derived from the *Israelites* borrowing the Ear-rings of the *Egyptians*, consecrate and hallow Rapines and Robberies. The Panegyrics upon him, on this Account, of your *Tillotsons*, *Tenisons*, *Patricks*, and *Burnets*, &c. are more frontless and fulsom, than what your *Shadwells*, *Settles*, or any of your *Grub-street* Poets, who claim a Dispensation of Lying for Bread, would have the Impudence to justify themselves in, when they write to purchase the Applauses of the gaping Mob, and much less when they purpose to gain the Clappings of those in the Pit and Boxes. But after I have borrowed for a while these Gentlemen's Pencils, and only dipt them in Colours more natural, and better adapted to the Figure and Complection of the Prince of *Orange*, I will challenge all Mankind, who have not abjured Truth and common Honesty, to believe any longer, or continue to avouch, that his coming into *England* was out of any other respect to our Religion, save making it the Cloak of a stalking Horse to his towering and ambitious Designs. I need not tell you with what Alienation from Gratitude, Contempt of Justice, scornful Regardlessness of a Deity, as well as Disgrace of all Religion, he first came abroad, and set up in the World, when he thrust himself into the Stadtholdership of his own Country by Perjury and Murder of two of the best Patriots of the *Dutch Republic* ; of one of which, namely *John de Witt*, the late Pensionary *Fagel* was heard and known to say, after he had examined all his Papers, and searched into the Whole of his Conduct, during his Ministry, That the great, if not only, Fault he was guilty of was his ardent Love unto, and his steady and unshaken Service of his Country. Nor shall I do more than briefly refresh your Memory, how being of no Religion he can personate any, when it lies in a Subserviency to his Interest, and that he would with the same Readiness, and exterior Shews of Zeal, have acted the Part of a Roman Catholic to have obtained a Sovereignty over any Kingdom of the Papal Communion, as he hath done that of a Protestant, to get into the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to be admitted unto a Domination over these Nations ; for his having been oftener than once at *Mass*, and that not as a Spectator out of Curiosity, but as communicating in that Worship and Devotion is known to so many Persons of several Qualities as well as of different Religions, that it will not be gainsaid by any who are acquainted with Passages and Transactions some Years ago in *Flanders* ; and should any be so ignorant of Matters of Fact at a Distance from their own Doors, or live in Enmity to all Truths disagreeable to their Humours and Interests, so as to deny it, there are those both at *Brussels* and *Antwerp* who can testify it, and have not been heretofore shy to do it. It was King *Charles's* having no Children, and the Duke of *York's* having no Male ones that lived, and his own Marriage with the said Duke's Eldest Daughter, and therefore coming into some probable and nearer Prospects of arriving sooner or later at the Sovereignty

verieignty over these Kingdoms, that made him put on the Vizard and Mask of a Zealot for the Reformed Religion, having before lived in all the Coldness and Indifferency in that Matter that was consistent with his keeping the Posts he held in *Holland*. I am loth to subjoin how impossible it is that that Man should be of any Religion, and much less act upon real and sincere Motives, for the good of the Protestant, who can and doth indulge himself in the Practice of such Abominations as are repugnant to the Light of Nature, and to the Ethics of Pagans, as well as to the Doctrines and Precepts of the Bible, and which are made capital by the Laws of all Nations. Nor can I do it, unless I would offend the Eyes and Ears of modest Persons, and give Occasion to the infecting and defiling the Imaginations of Men and Women, by mentioning such Crimes in Paper; for as they are such heinous and provoking Abominations as have brought Fire from Heaven upon whole Cities and Societies, so they are of that Strangeness to our Climate, and so little heard of, and much less practiced under our Meridian, that our Law took no Knowledge of them till the 25th of *Henry VIII.* when they were made Felony without Benefit of Clergy. They are *ultramontane* Crimes, lately transplanted into our Soil, and in which to the Credit of our Country they have not much throve nor grown. But I do reckon it unbecoming both you and myself to enlarge upon this; nor is it necessary to descend to Proofs of it in a City, and about a Court where your *Capels* are known, and where it is sprung up into a Proverb, *In hunc modum fiunt Comites Anglicani.* It is enough to tell you, that it is the Entertainment of Societies of People of the best Fashion, where the rallying upon it has a thousand times made the modest, fair, and tender Sex to blush, and hath filled the Masculine and Virile with Contempt and Hatred of themselves, for enduring a *Catamite* to rule over them; only I would have those that are the great Theological Artists in painting Blackmoors white, to try their Skill, whether they can make a beautiful and religious Stroke of this in the Pictures they draw of their Prince; and whether, by all the Chemistry of modern Priesthood, they can extract out of it an apodictical and convincing Argument of their Master's Zeal for preserving the Protestant Religion, or distil from it a Plea in Law to justify his driving his Father-in-law from his Throne and Kingdoms. But it may be, nothing is impossible to those Gentlemen, save to speak and act consistently with their own Principles, and to practise conformably to the Doctrines they have taught their People, and pretended themselves to believe; and undoubtedly they may do this I have named with the same Ease, and by the same Rules of Philosophy that they have inferred Rebellion against the King from the Article of *Non-resistance*; and their deposing their rightful and lawful Sovereign from their celebrated Tenet of *Passive Obedience*. To which it may not be amiss to add, the Antipathy which that Man must unavoidably live in to all Religion, who after his Declaration prepared and printed at the *Hague*, for wheedling the credulous People of *England* into a Belief, that he came to save them from Popery and Tyranny; and in which he makes the Supposititiousness of the Prince of *Wales*, or at least the Questionableness of his Legitimacy, one of the mighty Grounds of his Quarrel with the King, and the chiefest Provocation upon which he

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was about to invade his Kingdoms ; yet that even then, and until a few Days before he actually embarked on that Design, he had the Royal Babe prayed for in his own Chapel, by that distinguishing and princely Title. And as I will never henceforth think it strange, that he should allow himself to hood-wink, impose upon, and mislead Nations, who durst with that open Boldness mock and deride the Omniscient, Almighty, and Righteous God, both to his Face, and in his own instituted Worship and Service ; so it satisfied me, and may do all others, that one who could be guilty of so much public Atheism as well as Hypocrisy, as that was which I have now mentioned, can have no other Designs concerning either the Protestant or any Religion, but the making it a Stale for the better compassing his own Ends : And suffer me upon this Occasion to entertain you with a Passage of *Bentink* (who is the Earl said to be made on the new Foot of Merit that I have mentioned) to a certain Gentleman in a private Conversation between them. For the Gentleman having asked him, why they did not discover and make appear the Illegitimacy and Suppositiousness of the Prince of *Wales* ? seeing as the Belief of it had served more to draw the Nation into the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, than any thing else, so a legal and parliamentary Proof of it would inseparably link most Men to him, and preserve them in a perpetual Alienation from King *James* : *Bentink* told him, by way of Reply, that they neither questioned the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, nor were concerned about it, for that the Prince of *Orange* was now got into the Throne, and was resolved to keep it so long as he lived, and cared not who ascended it when he was gone : Nor did his Letter to the Army and Fleet, for debauching them from their Duty, and by which he courted them to revolt from the King, favour of, or stand in Consistency with any Religion, but proclaims him both highly impious and atheistical, it being not only to countenance Breach of Trust and Disloyalty, but to advise and authorise Perjury. And whosoever tempts others to forswear themselves, have been accounted by all Nations as Despisers of a Deity, Supplanters of the only Ground of all human Commerce and Conversation, and the Subverters of the Foundation upon which all Societies are established : And his inviting those to desert and forsake his Majesty, who not only eat his Bread and received his Pay, but who stood bound to him both by their Allegiance and Oath of Fealty, as they were his Subjects, and by a military Oath as they were Soldiers enrolled under his Banners, shews his own Irreligion that advised it, as well as theirs that hearkened unto him ; and may be it will sooner or later return upon him, wherein not only God will be righteous, but those that forsake the Standards of the Prince of *Orange* justifiable, provided they do it from a just and penitent Sense of their Crime, in violating the lawful and righteous Oath they were under to the King, from the Sanction and Obligation whereof no human Power can ever acquit them ; and also from a Conviction of the Unlawfulness of that Oath which they have taken to the Usurper. I might add, that the pretending to have come hither for the Safety, Honour, and Interest of the Protestant Religion, will appear the most shameful Banter that ever was upon the Understandings of a whole Nation, if we consider the Treaty at *Ausbourg*, and with whom

whom the Prince of *Orange* concerted the Invasion that was to be made upon the King: For they must have forfeited common Sense, as well as moral Honesty, who can be prevailed upon to allow that the many Catholic Princes who approved of that Undertaking, could design any Good to the Protestant Religion, or believe that any Advantage would accrue unto it by that Attempt. It is to buffoon us, and treat us in Ridicule, to endeavour to impose upon our Belief, that the late Prince *Palatine*, who together with the Prince of *Orange*, was the original Contriver of a Descent upon *England*, or that the Emperor, King of *Spain*, Elector of *Bavaria*, &c. who concurred unto, and countenanced it; or that old *Odiscalchi*, and *Innocent XI.* who winked and connived at it, though against both a Catholic Monarch, and the first of the Romish Communion that hath sat upon the Thrones of *Great Britain* for above these hundred Years, could do it in Kindness to the Protestant Religion, or foresee that it was undertaken by the Prince of *Orange* upon any Motive relating to the Safety of it. No, they very well knew that there was nothing of Religion in this Case; but they were willing to make use of the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange* to seek their own Revenge against *France*, and to raise a War of Interest and State upon his haughty Aspirings after a Crown, and on our being bubbled into it through a foolish Credulity that it was entered upon in behalf of our Religion. Nor is it unworthy of Remark, that the last Duke of *Brandenburgh*, who was one of the wisest and bravest Princes in *Europe*, and one of the sincerest and most zealous for the Protection, Glory, and Advancement of the Reformed Religion, would neither embark in a Design against the King of *England*, nor suffer the Prince of *Orange* to enter actually upon it so long as he lived; which made his Death to be received and entertained at the *Hague* as a happy and seasonable Providence, in that his Son who succeeded would not have the Prudence to avoid being ensnared into it, being withal under the Influence of those mighty Expectations he stands intitled unto, as he is the Prince of *Orange's* Cousin-German, and thereupon rightful Heir to all his personal and hereditary Estates. And what can put it more beyond all reasonable Contradiction that the Prince of *Orange* did only sham, abuse, and banter Mankind, in pretending to come hither upon Motives of Favour and Kindness to our Religion, than that the only two Protestant crowned Heads in the World, did neither antecedently concur unto it, nor have they to this Day engaged in the War with *France*, which was the immediate and natural Consequence and Effect of that Undertaking?

But to advance a little farther, Does not the whole Tenor of the Prince of *Orange's* public Government, as well as his personal and private Conduct, lie in a direct Contradiction to his being under the Impressions of any Religion, and much more to his being under the Efficacy of what we call the Protestant? I am not at Leisure to give you the full History of his Usurpation, which some are pleased to stile his Reign; but there are those who will do it to Purpose in due Time, it being necessary that the virtuous Memory of the *Hero*, and of our Folly, should be recorded for the Instruction of Posterity. All therefore I shall do at present is to bestow a few Strictures upon his Administration, there being no more needful to my Purpose. Let me then ask, Whether he hath
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done any Thing for bettering our Laws, and enlarging our Liberties, which were some of the main Things he came hither for? Or hath he not, on the contrary, more avowedly superseded and departed from our known Laws, and put more Negatives on public Bills prepared by both Houses for the Royal Assent, than any of the Kings that went lately before him did? Has he performed any one Thing he undertook, and which was expected from him, that he could avoid the doing of? Hath he kept one Promise he ever made, that he has been in a Condition to evade? Has he proved true to any one Friend that trusted and served him, save as they have been Slaves to his Will, and Tools of his Arbitrariness? Hath he, from the Time he came in to this Day, been known to discern or reward Merit? All his Policy is Trick; and his pretended Kindness, Fraud and Deceit. Instead of increasing our Wealth, he hath utterly impoverished us; and that not so much through Necessity, as Choice resulting from Hatred. In the place of making us more opulent than we were, he hath brought us into contemptible Poverty. Whereas we hoped he would have protected us from the Enemies he created us, he hath upon Design, as well as from Laziness, given us up to them as a Sacrifice. And whereas it would have become him, had he been either a good Man or a just King, to have discouraged and prevented Bribes, especially when Persons only sought and sued for their Right, the Privy Purse hath been the Receptacle of most of the scandalous Bribes that have been given; for it is thither that what we call our House of Commons has traced them. But that which is base and criminal, beyond what any Language can express, unless it be *Dutch*, is his purchasing so many Members of both Houses to sell their Country. This being a direct Subversion of the Constitution, if any thing could make a lawful King forfeit his Right, this would stand fairest to do it. For the Sovereign having no other Ground of Claim to any Power or Prerogative, save what he hath from the Constitution which hath settled and vested them in him, that Prince who goes about to overthrow this, does all he can to cancel his own Right, and to cut the Bough on which he stands. And yet we who have had the Folly and Madness to abdicate a legal King for some few little Mistakes in the Administration, have not the Wisdom and Courage to call an Usurper to account, for trampling upon all the Fundamentals of the *English* Government. The King's closeting some Peers and Gentlemen, which was only to address their Reason and Understanding to consent to a Matter which the Crown had, in all Ages been in Possession of, until about twenty Years ago, and which was never thought hurtful unto, and much less inconsistent with, the Safety of our Religion till of late, filled the whole Nation with Complaints and Clamours of his Majesty's designing to alter the Government, and run the People into that brutal Fury, which produced the woful Effects that soon after followed: Whereas we sit still, and with a stupid Tameness endure the Prince of *Orange* to steal away all our Rights from us, by his bribing those to betray and give them up, who were chosen by their Country to be the Guardians of them. And he who dares not in a Way of Fortitude and Bravery fight us out of them, is endeavouring to strip us of them by an Assassination. Surely, if he that poisons an individual Person be out of the Purlieu of Mercy, and from under
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the Protection of the Laws, there can be no Severity great enough to be exercised against him, that hath not only endeavoured, but in a manner effected, the poisoning of the whole Kingdom. And if the Murderer of the meanest Subject be obnoxious to capital Punishment, what should he be made liable unto that murdereth a Parliament? who, that he may the better rob and plunder a Nation, gives others a Share in the Spoil. For the Jackcalls, that hunt and run down the Prey, are allowed to eat the Remains of the Flesh, and to gnaw the Bones, when the Creature which they have cloathed with a Lion's Skin hath sucked our Blood, and fed himself upon us. He had soon learned, and as soon practised, the pouring a little Water into a dry Pump, to make it suck below and give forth above, whatsoever Quantity he needed, or was pleased to call for: Witness his parting with the Chimney Tax from the Crown, for which he hath made Reprizal on the Kingdom in divers Methods of raising Money that have been more dishonourable, as well as more grievous to the Nation, than that was. He hath more debauched the Kingdom from all Principles of Virtue, Honour, and Justice, in a few Years, than all the Kings either could do, or attempted, from the first *William*, till his coming, by Usurpation, to be stiled the *Third* of the same Name. *Sardanapalus* never more neglected the Grandees of *Persia* out of Effeminacy, and that he might spin and card with his Ladies, than the Prince of *Orange* despiseth the greatest Peers of *England*, out of Haughtiness and sullen Pride. And it is but lately that he hath treated those of the Nobility and Gentry that came up from *Scotland*, to attend him about the Affairs of their Nation, with so unparalleled Contempt and Scorn, as no Monarch in *Europe* would have used the like to his Pages and Grooms. For while he was conversant not only Hours, but whole Days together, with his *Bentinks* and *Capels*, they could hardly, in two Months, obtain Access to him; nor were they then allowed the Favour of a few Minutes for representing unto him what they came about, but were dismissed with all Scorn imaginable, and are commanded home under all the conceivable Marks of Reproach and Disgrace. For he published with an Openness, that they all became acquainted with it, That *he was more troubled with the beggarly Scots than he was with all Mankind besides*: Nor is it to be questioned, but that after he has impoverished the *English*, which, through squeezing five or six Millions yearly out of them, as he is in a fair Way of doing, he will have the same Compliment in Reserve for them, with the Addition of Sots and Fools to the Bargain. Only I cannot avoid saying, That if the *Scots* have not Courage and Honour to resent it, and to make him feel the Effects of his haughty Folly, and of their just Indignation, all the World will think that they deserve a worse Character than that of *beggarly Scots*, and will account them a rascally and dastardly People. I am sure their Ancestors would not have borne the like from the greatest Monarchs that ever sat upon the Throne; nor were any of their Kings so ill bred, as to treat Persons of Quality, and some of them of as ancient Families as the House of *Nassau* itself, with so much Rudeness and Disdain. But a *Dutch* Education authorizeth many Things, only let the *Scots* remember, that much Patience emboldens Oppressors. *Et nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur*, as *Tacitus* says.

If they have the Spirit and Bravery of their Predecessors, they will chuse War or Death rather than submit to this Slavery, and will say, *Esse sibi ferrum & Juventutem, & promptum Libertati, aut ad mortem animum*, that I may use another Expression of the same *Tacitus*. Now, unless these Things, and more of that kind which it were easy to mention, are be accounted Arguments, and held for Evidences of the Prince of *Orange's* acting upon Motives of Love unto, and Care for, the Protestant Religion, in the invading his Uncle's Kingdoms and usurping his Crown, there are none else discoverable in the whole Course of his Administration ; and they must either be more sottish than the *Soldanians* in *Africa*, or more irreligious than the *Cannibals* in *America*, who can conclude from the foregoing Practices, and from such other as stand in Affinity with them, That he has any Religion at all, or that he acts for any End but the satisfying his Ambition, or upon any Motives save Pride and Haughtiness. To which let me add, in the last Place, That if his Errand hither had been to take Care of the Protestant Religion, he might have done it effectually without driving his Majesty out of his Dominions : Seeing there was not that Security that could have been wished or desired in order thereunto, but what the King was ready to have consented unto ; and that more from his own Choice and Goodness, than from the Influence of the Condition he was in. And as all Things of which his Enemies accused him, and whereof they took Advantage, into which he had been misled, were rectified and redressed by Acts of his own Wisdom and Grace, before ever the Prince of *Orange* came out of *Holland* ; so he had ordered the issuing out Writs for calling a Parliament, in which the Nation might, in the ancient and legal Way, have made what Provisions they had pleased for the preserving and securing our Religion and Liberties. Nor is there that Man in *England* who retains the least Measure of Reason and good Sense, let his Malice to the King be never so furious and obstinate, but he must acknowledge, That if the Prince of *Orange* had come hither upon any other Design, save that of dethroning the King, and usurping his Crown, he might have easily compassed all the Ends published in his Declaration, either by Way of a private Treaty with the King himself, or by the Method of a Parliament, freely and indifferently chosen, and permitted to sit without an armed Power and military Force upon them. And as this would have redounded to the Honour of the Prince, and gained him the Admiration of his Enemies, and the Praises and Benedictions of his Friends ; so it would both have prevented a great deal of Distress, Calamity, and Bloodshed in *Europe*, and have left these Kingdoms more safe and opulent than they now are, and without that Heap of Guilt and Infamy upon them under which they are brought. But instead of treading in those Paths of Truth to Mankind, Reputation to himself, and Justice, as well as Kindness to these Nations, it is known with what Neglect and Scorn he received the Proposals carried from his Majesty to him by the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and my Lord *Godolphin* ; and how he put the Earl of *Feverham* under Restraint, and made him a Prisoner, when he came to him at *Windsor*, with a Message from the King. Nor needs there more to discover how remote he was from

Sincerity, in all the Pretences upon which he came hither, than that he would never hearken to any Overtures which might lie in a Tendency to the making one Word of them good.

Thus, Sir, I have with all the Brevity the Subject would allow, endeavoured to answer your first Question; and if the Stile, in some Places, be a little piquant, the Scribblers for the Usurper and Usurpation have set me the Precedent; and who have been commended and rewarded for treating both his Majesty and the King of *France* with Ribbaldry, as well as below their sovereign Qualities; whereas there is nothing here indecent, though some Things may appear sharp. Nor would it have answered the Majesty and Justness of the Theme to have handled it flatly, and without a Warmth correspondent to the Injury done our holy Religion, in making it a Cloak to so much Villainy as hath been committed. And it would have been an indecorous Thing to have looked grave upon Baboons, or have hunted wild Boars without a Spear or Weapon. Yea, it were to frustrate the great End of Languages and Speech, and to quarrel with the Rules of good Sense, to ascribe Mildness to Tyrants, Honesty to Robbers, or Truth to Liars. Adieu. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

April 18. 1695.

A true ACCOUNT of the present State of *Ireland*, giving a full Relation of the new Establishment made by the late King *James*, as it was presented to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council : With an Account of what Sums of Money, Arms, and Number of Officers arrived there from *France*. Together with the State of *Derry* and *Enniskilling*, and several other Affairs relating to that Kingdom, particularly of the Proceedings of their Parliament there.

By a Person that with great Difficulty left *Dublin*, *June* the 8th, 1689.

Printed in the Year 1689.

DURING my Stay at *Dublin*, (which with much Difficulty and Hazard, I left on *June* the 8th) I made it a great Part of my Business to be well informed of the State of Affairs in *Ireland*, and of the most remarkable Matters that passed there, which I had the Opportunity of doing, as well by my own Observation, as by what I received from Persons of Credit that I frequently conversed with, that thereby I might be enabled to give such an Account as might be serviceable to the Government here, upon my Arrival, to be acquainted with, which, in the following Narrative, I have endeavoured to do with all possible Sincerity and Impartiality.

The Revenue of *Ireland* is quite sunk, no Money being raised but by the Excise, that for this Year and half past there has not been paid one Penny of the Civil List; and now the late King has been forced to make a new Establishment, and gives only Half-pay, which he calls *Subsistance*; they grumble at it, and are ready to mutiny : To the Foot three Pence *per* Day, and for the Officers 'tis no Matter, he makes them content : The Dragoons have five Pence Farthing, and the Horse six Pence *per* Day : He proposeth this, one Half Money, and the other Forage. The Horse Grenadiers fifty in each Troop; seven Regiments of Horse, 2750 Men; seven Regiments of Dragoons, 3800 Men; the Royal Regiment of Foot, twenty two Companies, 1980 Men.

Forty two Regiments of Foot more, 33852 Men. The Total is, 42432.

Of this Army, there are about 17000 drawn northwards, against *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling*, which are of the best, both of Horse and Foot, and have been so harrassed, that within these ten Days past, they were not in any Condition of Service; there are 5000 more gone after these, towards *Ennis-*

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killing, and more on their March ; so that there are near 25000 gone against *Londonderry* and *Enniskilling*.

Besides this, they designed two Camps by *Dublin*, which Camps were to consist of 14000 Men, the first grand Camp was to be at *Rathfarnam*, betwixt that and *Rathmines*, on the South of *Dublin*, in the View of the Harbour. The next Camp was to be under the Hill of *Dunfink*, near the *Cabaragh*, North-west of *Dublin*, and in View of the Bay also.

Colonel *Sarsfield* lies at *Sligoe* with his own Regiment, and some Dragoons, and has received several Rubs from the People of *Enniskilling*.

It is said there came 150,000 *l.* with the late King from *France* to *Ireland*, and 300,000 *l.* with the Fleet that arrived at *Bantry* ; but by as near a Computation as possibly can be made, we cannot find that there came above 150,000 *l.* in all, the first being 60,000 *l.* and the last 90,000 *l.* and about 900 *French*, *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish* Officers, came this last time with the Fleet, all which receive the same Allowance with the Officers of the Army, proportionable to their Stations and Qualities.

The *French* Ambassador influences all Affairs, both Civil and Military, and 'tis discoursed amongst themselves, what a Prejudice he has against his present Majesty, having formerly been Ambassador in *Holland* ; he often presses for Severity to be used against the Protestants. No Violence whatever, that is acted by any of the *French*, dares be complained of, but is stifled immediately, and he that complains is frowned on. He has influenced the passing the Bill for destroying the Act of Settlement, insomuch that he has said, that he would go again to *France*, if it were not done, to tell his Master.

Monsieur *Boysloe's*, the Governor of *Cork*, Letter to the *French* Ambassador, was the Occasion of the Embargo at *Dublin*, on Saturday, May the 18th last past. The late King is wholly at their Discretion, and *Tyrconnel* is mightily discontented both in Body and Mind since the King came : For the *French* Ambassador said, *If any one had served his Master as he did, (about Londonderry) in taking away the Lord Mountjoy's Regiment, he would have lost his Head.* The Ambassador commands the Treasury, and not one Farthing is paid out, without his Leave, for he views the Muster-rolls, before he suffers any Payments to be made, so that the Design is plain *French*, and to bring this Kingdom wholly under them, that thereby they may divert *England* from annoying *France* : But now they are become obnoxious to the People of *Ireland*, who see all that is for the *French* ; so that great Discontent is upon the Spirits of the *Irish*, on the Account of the *French* being put into Employments ; for they generally say and allow, that *Ireland* is given to the *French* King, in Consideration of the Charges he shall be at, in helping the late King *James* towards the regaining of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

Monsieur *Boysloe*, at *Cork*, seizes the Merchants Goods, drinks their Wines, and, in short, takes away from them whatever he has a-mind to, without making them any Satisfaction ; and says, it is a Shame that any Correspondence should be held with the Rebels of *England*.

The *Enniskilling* People have rummaged the Country for near thirty Miles round about them, and brought in all the Cattle and Forage they could find,
and

and have disarmed several Companies of the new raised *Irish*; and 'tis talked of by the late King, and at the Castle, that the Garison of *Enniskilling* were so resolute, that they would attempt the raising of the Siege of *Derry*, the Fear of which does somewhat alarm them; for about the latter End of *May* they came near to *Kells*, thirty Miles from *Dublin*, and Westward as far as *Finnab*, burning *Luke Reily*, High Sheriff of the County of *Cavan*'s House, with the Houses of other considerable Papists who were in Arms against them, killing only three Soldiers at a Place called *Drum*, because they refused to quit their Arms; and as one *Brady*, who is a Papist and an Inhabitant there, declares, that they were the fairest Enemy that ever came into a Country, not injuring any Person that lived peaceably, leaving a Troop of Horse in the Town of *Cavan*, until all the Army were marched away, to see that no Injury might be done to the common People: He likewise says, they drove along with them about four or five thousand Head of Cattle, that had lately been taken from the *English*.

As for the State of *Enniskilling*, it is said that they are in a very good Condition for Provision and all other Necessaries, as yet, and that there are there, and at *Ballyshannon*, eight hundred able Horse, besides Foot, who are brave resolute Men; most of them being Gentlemen out of *Munster* and *Connaught*, that fled thither, who are resolved to lose their Lives, and sacrifice all rather than yield.

On *June* the 1st there marched from *Dublin* Sir *Michael Creagh*, the present Lord Mayor, with his Regiment, Sir *John Fitzgerald*, from *Rathcoole* and *Lucan*, with his Regiment, with several others from other Parts, towards *Trim*, twenty Miles from *Dublin*, the Place appointed for the general Rendezvous of the Army that are sent against *Enniskilling*; Colonel *Sarsfield* from *Sligoe* is to join them, and so to march to *Enniskilling* to attack it, with a Resolution to bear it down: All Sir *Michael Creagh*'s Regiment raised in *Dublin*, Sir *John Fitzgerald*'s from *Munster*, and most that are gone down there, are all raw Fellows, not knowing how to fire a Gun.

There are gone from *Dublin* General *La Rose*, General *La Roy*, Count *d'Estrades*, and several other of the General Officers of *France* towards *Enniskilling*, with four Field-pieces. They have sent before-hand to buy up all the Corn in *East* and *West Meath*, to be brought to *Kells*, twenty-seven Miles from *Dublin*, and forty from *Enniskilling*, which is the Place appointed for their Store, for beyond that there is no manner of Provision to be had; so that in all Probability they will meet with the same Penury and Want that they have had these two Months past before *Londonderry*.

Now for the State of *Londonderry*; it is said this Morning at the Castle, they have furrounded it within half Cannon-shot, and taken the Wind-mill-hill, which the Town quitted, and had thrown up their Trenches, and drawn up all their Army on *Friday* last, and so modelled and divided them into two Bodies to compass the Town, placing them in their several Posts. Monsieur *Pontee* was to have bomb'd it before, but he found, when he came to examine, that the Fuses of the Bombs did not fit, some being too little, others too big, which he having new-moulded and worked up, did, as he himself said,

said, intend to begin to bomb on *Sunday* the second Instant. They hear that there are Ships in the River, which they believe will endeavour to succour *London-derry*; but by the Help of *Culmore* Fort, with other Batteries they have raised, together with the Chain and Bomb they have fixed a-cross the River, they hope to prevent them.

There is an Account sent up from the Camp, of the Names and Behaviour of the several Officers there, with which they make themselves Sport at the Castle, particularly the Lord *Galmoy* running himself into a Ditch of Briars, Lord *Kingsland* getting into a Bush of Furze, together with the Valour of Sir *Gregory Birne*, and Sir *Luke Dowdall*, &c.

A Dragoon that was shot into the Shoulder, and came up to his Friends near *Dublin*, to get Cure, said, that abundance were lost for want of Care being taken of them; that he himself had ended his Days, if he had staid; that he left 400 lying of their Wounds in the Church of *Culmore*; that they had lost near 7 or 8000 by the Sword and Sickneſs, since they ſate down before *Derry*.

The Duke of *Berwick*, *James Fitz-James*, and Lord *George Howard*, are said to be in *Brook-hall*, at Sir *Matthew Bridge's* House near *Kilmore*, a curing of their Wounds.

They likewise give out, they are in great Want of Provision in the Town, and are so crowded, that they are very noisome and full of Vermin, for that several who have been taken and killed, are found to be so. But in truth, as to the State of their own Army, they have lost as many for want of Conveniences, as have been killed: For the Bloody-flux, Small-pox, Fevers, and Agues being among them, they die extremely fast in the *Irish* Camp; the generality of their Sustenance being nothing else but Oatmeal and Water, with some raw lean Beef, insomuch that the Spirits of the Men are mighty low, and very weak.

There are gone down to them abundance of *French* Officers, that are to be preferred as Commands fall, with great Resolution what they will do when they come there.

They did not carry any of their great Guns or Bombs over the River, but they lie on the other Side, and so play over the Water at *London-derry*. Since their sending the Army towards *Enniskilling*, the People of *East* and *West Meath* have raised the Price of Corn extremely.

The *Kerry* Forces are drawn to the *Shannon* to fortify all Places on it, as *Lymerick*, *Atblone*, &c. All the best of the Forces are clearly drawn out of *Munster*, except the Major General's Regiment, which is now commanded by one Monsieur *Boysloe*, a most tyrannical *Frenchman*, who with his Regiment is now at *Cork*, where he exercises an absolute Authority, that no manner of Complaint against him will be heard, though he thrust out one of the Protestant Sheriff of *Cork's* Eyes, and swore he would make no more of blowing up all the Protestants in their Churches, than of a Child in a Cradle. He threatens to hang any that shall be taken going away; and if four Protestants be together, he looks on it as a Conspiracy, and sends them to Gaol: They have likewise employed Spies about *Dublin*, to see if any Protestants meet or talk together;

gether, and are mightily incensed at the Embargo in *England*, because they cannot have a free Correspondence with their Friends there.

June the 5th, the late King declared he expected in a Week's Time, if the Wind served, a great Fleet from *France*, and a numerous Army of Landmen; that the Fleet after landing their Men, would repair to the *Downs*, to find out and fall on the *English* Fleet. Some of his Council advise him to *Scotland*, others to *Chester* with his *French* and *Irish* Forces, as soon as *Derry* is taken.

They have lately imprisoned several Persons in *Dublin*, on a Pretence for plotting and corresponding with the Rebels in the North and *England*, &c. and in searching for treasonable Papers and Arms, they took away whatever Money they could find in the Houses of the several Persons: They likewise threaten another Search for Arms very suddenly, when it is not questioned but they will take all Money and Plate away, for they are erecting a Mint for the Coining of Money. One Thing more is to be observed, that the Popish Clergy has ordered all their People not to pay one Farthing to any Protestant, till they are compelled by Law; the Design being visible that they would utterly extirpate the *English* there.

The Wind no sooner blows Easterly, but they are in great Dread and Fear; yet they tell us there is Confusion in *England*, and that there will no Succours come from thence; that they will land an Army in *England* suddenly; and that *England* fears an Invasion from *Ireland*, more than it doth from them: Their usual Saying is, *You Whiggish Dogs, we will make you know that the Prince of Orange is not come yet, and we will do your Business before he comes, for when we come back from Londonderry we will make an end of you all.* And the *Irish* Tenants and Neighbours of the *English*, that formerly lived in Amity with, and chiefly depended on them, do continually send the Soldiers to the Protestants Houses, telling them that the Whigs live there, where they go and eat up their Provisions, taking away their Horses from the Plow, and whatever else they have Mind to, giving them horrid Abuses besides; so that many Families who formerly lived very plentifully have not now left them Bread to eat.

The Popish Clergy appear in Multitudes, and are going forward with all their Chapels and Buildings, and looking out for Abbeys and Nunneries, and do exasperate the King mightily against the Protestants. The Lord *Melfort* is also very violent against them; and the Lord Chancellor (though an *Englishman*) worse than he.

On *Whitsun Monday* the Town of *Drogheda* was alarmed by two Officers, who rid through it towards *Dublin*, telling them, that the *Scots* were within six Miles, and had taken the great Guns, Carriages, Ammunition, and Provisions that were going to *Derry*, and had killed the Convoy: Whereupon they immediately planted their Guns, and shut up the Gates, having only two Companies of the new-raised Men, and a few Horse of the Lord *Gilmoy* in the Town. An Express was sent immediately to *Duleek*, where the Commissioners of Enquiry into the Estates of the Absenters were met (who being busied in swearing and examining the Tenants to the Earl of *Drogheda* and others as to what Rents they

they paid, and what Arrears of Rent were due) requiring them to repair to the Town, and bring with them what Strength they could to fortify the Town: Some being sent out to know the Truth of the Matter, returning, told them it was only a false Alarm, tho' it was generally said and believed, that several Cart-loads of their Ammunition, Provision, and Arms were intercepted and taken by the People of *Ballyshannon* and *Enniskilling*.

There has been a Motion in the House of Commons for the naturalizing all *Frenchmen*, infomuch that some said in the House, that they ought to have a Day of Thanksgiving for the coming of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*.

They are preparing for another Court of Claims, and reducing the Fees of all Offices, throwing all Forfeitures into the Stock of Reprisals; into which Stock the late King has thrown his private Estate that he had in *Ireland*.

The old Proprietors are taking Possession daily, before the Act that makes void the Settlement of *Ireland* passeth, some of them paying the Quit-Rent to get into Possession. Eight Protestant Peers, four being Spiritual, and four Temporal, entered their Protest at the Bill passing the Lord's House, and Mr. Justice *Dayly* opposed it to that Degree, that in his Passion he said many Things that were highly resented, the Substance whereof was, ' That instead
' of being a Parliament, as we pretend, we are more like *Massanello's* con-
' fused Rabble, every Man making a Noise for an Estate, and talking Non-
' sense, when our Lives are in Danger; we expect a sudden Invasion from
' *England*, and a bloody War likely to ensue, as Persons altogether unmind-
' ful of the Ruin that hangs over our Heads; and without taking any Care
' to prevent it, we are dividing the Bear's Skin before she is taken. All the
' Honour we do his Majesty is, by reflecting on his Royal Father and Bro-
' ther, as wicked and unjust Princes, charging them with enacting those Laws
' that were contrary to the Laws of God and Man.' Which the House summed up in six Articles against him. They would have been contented with a Submission, but he refused any, saying, he would go to *Jamaica* rather; yet his Friends prevailed on him at this Juncture to ask the Pardon of the House; and yesterday he was to have come into the House of Commons; and accordingly the House being sate, the Usher of the Black Rod went in and acquainted the Speaker that Mr. Justice *Dayly* was at the Door; upon which it was put to the Question, in the House, Whether his asking of Pardon should be a sufficient Satisfaction for them to pass by his Miscarriages; and it being carried in the Affirmative, Mr. *Nugent* of *Carlingstown* in *Westmeath*, a Member of the House, was ordered to go and acquaint him, that the House was resolved to accept of his Submission, that so there might be Admittance for his coming to receive Pardon of the House. Mr. *Nugent* returning into the House, told the Speaker that Mr. Justice *Dayly* was very thankful, and ready to come in to make his Submission, and at the same time said, *Mr. Speaker, I have other great News to tell you, viz. Londonderry is taken.* Upon which there was three great Shouts set up in the House, and throwing up their Hats, cried out, *No Submission of Mr. Justice Dayly; We pardon him, we pardon him;* being transported with Joy, suffered him not to come

come in, but pardoned him without any Submission at all. But afterwards some of the Members (none of Mr. Dayly's Friends) finding it false, thought it was some Trick put on them, and threatened Mr. Nugent to bring him on his Knees before the House.

They are now passing an Act that all Leases above One and Twenty Years, of any Corporation in *Ireland*, shall be void; and it is doubted whether *Dublin* will be excepted: They are likewise laying fifteen Shillings a Ton Duty upon Sea Coals, and taking away the Poundage Act, which in Corporations is the Clergy's Support. The *Ulster* Act of Tithes, and the Act for Impropriations and Augmentation Lands, that so by taking from the Clergy their Maintenance, the Churches may fall of themselves. An Act attainting all Persons by Name, and another granting fifteen thousand Pounds *per Month* for Supplies to King *James*.

There are Five new Peers created, *viz.*

Justin Maccarty, Lord Viscount *Mountcashel*.

Sir Valentine Brown, Lord Viscount *Kenmare*.

Thomas Nugent, C. J. Lord Baron of *Riverstown*.

John Bourk, Lord Baron *Bouffin*.

Sir Alexander Fitton, Lord Baron *Gawsworth*.

A CATALOGUE of all the Nobility of *Ireland*, such being marked who now sit in the *Irish* Parliament.

DR. *Michael Boyle*, Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, Primate of all *Ireland*.

+ *Alexander Fitton*, Baron *Gawsworth*, Chancellor.

Dr. *Francis Marsh*, Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*.

Dr. *John Veasy*, Lord Archbishop of *Tuam*.

Archbishoprick of *Cashell* void.

Richard Boyle, Earl of *Cork*, Lord-Treasurer.

Dukes.

James Butler, Duke of *Ormond*.

+ *Richard Talbot*, Duke of *Tyrconnel*.

Earls.

John Fitz-Gerald, Earl of *Kildare*.

Henry O Brian, Earl of *Thomond*.

+ *Richard Bourk*, Earl of *Clanrickard*.

James Touchet, Earl of *Castlehaven*.

+ *Richard Barry*, Earl of *Barrymore*.

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+ *Alexander Mac Donnel*, Earl of *Antrim*.

+ *Richard Nugent*, Earl of *Westmeath*.
Cary Dillon, Earl of *Roscommon*.

Thomas Ridgway, Earl of *Londonderry*.

William Fielding, Earl of *Desmond*.

Edward Brabazon, Earl of *Meath*.

John Vaughan, Earl of *Carbery*.

Luke Plunket, Earl of *Fingall*.

Arthur Chichester, Earl of *Donegall*.

Richard Lambert, Earl of *Cavan*.

William O Bryan, Earl of *Inchequin*.

+ *Donogh Mac Carty*, Earl of *Glancarty*.

Lionel Boyle, Earl of *Orrery*.

Charles Coot, Earl of *Mounteath*.

Henry Moore, Earl of *Drogheda*.

Charles Talbot, Earl of *Waterford*, &c.

Hugh Montgomery, Earl of *Mount-Alexander*.

Roger Palmer, Earl of *Castlemain*.

Nicholas Taaf, Earl of *Carlingsford*.

+ *Richard Poor*, Earl of *Tyrone*.

N n n

Richard

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Richard Jones, Earl of Rannellagh.
 † Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford.
 † Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard.
 † William Dungan, Earl of Lymerick.

Viscounts.

† Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanstown.
 † David Roche, Viscount Fermoy.
 † Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret.
 George Villers, Viscount Grandison.
 James Anslow, Viscount Valentia.
 † Theobald Dillon, Viscount Costello and Gallen.
 Nicholas Netterville, Viscount Dorath, a Prisoner in Derry.
 Arthur Loftus, Viscount Ely.
 Thomas Beaumont, Viscount Sword.
 † Arthur Magennis, Viscount Iveagh.
 Thomas Needham, Viscount Kilmurry.
 † Dominick Sarsfield, Viscount Kilmallock.
 Theobald Bourk, Viscount Mayo.
 Patrick Chaworth, Viscount Armagh.
 George Sanderson, Viscount Castletown.
 John Scudamore, Viscount Sligo.
 Richard Lumley, Viscount Waterford.
 Philip Smith, Viscount Strangford.
 Philip Wenman, Viscount Tuam.
 Charagh Mullineux, Viscount Maryborough.
 William Fairfax, Viscount Emely.
 Pierce Butler, Viscount Ikerin.
 Thomas Fitz-Williams, Viscount Mirrion.
 † Maximilian O Dempsey, Viscount Clanmalere.
 Brian Cockin, Viscount Cullen.
 Tracy, Viscount Rathcoole.
 Francis Smith, Viscount Carrington.
 Richard Bulkley, Viscount Casbell.
 William Brunker, Viscount Lyons.
 Richard Ogle, Viscount Catherlagh.
 † Pierce Butler, Viscount Gilmoy.
 Nicholas Barnwel, Viscount Kingland.
 Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon.

John Skevington, Viscount Mazereene.
 Hugh Cholmondy, Viscount Kells.
 † Daniel O Bryan, Viscount Clare.
 Lewis Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.
 Maurice Berkley, Viscount Fitzbarding of Beerhaven.

William Canfield, Viscount Charlemont.
 Foliot Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt.
 Murrough Boyle, Viscount Blessington.
 James Lane, Viscount Lanesburrow.
 John Deny, Viscount Down.
 † Richard Parsons, Viscount Ross.
 William Stuart, Viscount Mountjoy.
 Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburn.
 † Ullick Bourk, Viscount Galloway.
 † Justin Mac Carty, Viscount Mountcashel.
 † Valentine Brown, Viscount Kenmere.

Bishops.

† Dr. Anthony Dobbing, Lord Bishop of Meath.
 Dr. William Morton, Lord Bishop of Kildare.
 Dr. Hugh Gore, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
 ——— Clonfort, void.
 ——— Clogher, void.
 † Dr. Thomas Ottaway, Lord Bishop of Offory.
 Dr. Ezekiel Hopkins, Lord Bishop of Derry.
 Dr. Thomas Hacket, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.
 † Dr. John Roon, Lord Bishop of Kilalaw.
 † Dr. Edward Wettenball, Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross.
 † Dr. Symon Digby, Lord Bishop of Limerick and Ardfert.
 Dr. Richard Tennison, Lord Bishop of Killala and Arconrah.
 Dr. William Smith, Lord Bishop of Rapho.
 Dr. William Sheridan, Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Dr.

Dr. <i>Narcissus Marsh</i> , Lord Bishop of <i>Fearn</i> and <i>Leighlin</i> .	<i>William Maynard</i> , Baron <i>Wicklow</i> .
Dr. <i>Edward Jones</i> , Lord Bishop of <i>Cloyne</i> .	<i>Richard George</i> , Baron <i>Dundalk</i> .
Dr. <i>Capel Wiseman</i> , Lord Bishop of <i>Drummore</i> .	<i>Robert Digby</i> , Baron <i>Geashill</i> .
—— <i>Elphin</i> , void.	<i>William Fitz-Williams</i> , B. <i>Lifford</i> .
	<i>Henry Blaney</i> , Baron <i>Monaghan</i> .
	+ <i>Dermot Malone</i> , Baron <i>Glanmabur</i> .
	<i>Edward Herbert</i> , Baron <i>Castle-Island</i> .
	<i>John Calvert</i> , Baron <i>Baltimore</i> .
	<i>William Brereton</i> , Baron <i>Leighlin</i> .
	<i>Henry Hare</i> , Baron <i>Coleraine</i> .
	<i>Benedict Sheridan</i> , Baron <i>Leitrim</i> .
	+ <i>Connor MacGuire</i> , Baron <i>Enniskilling</i> .
	+ <i>Claud Hamilton</i> , Baron <i>Strabane</i> .
	<i>Francis Hauley</i> , Baron <i>Dunmore</i> .
	<i>William Allington</i> , Baron <i>Killard</i> .
	<i>Robert King</i> , Baron <i>Kingston</i> .
	<i>Richard Coot</i> , Baron <i>Killooney</i> .
	<i>Richard Barry</i> , Baron <i>Santry</i> .
	<i>Altham Ansloe</i> , Baron <i>Altham</i> .
	+ <i>John Bellew</i> , Baron <i>Duleek</i> .
	<i>Charles Bertie</i> , Baron <i>Shelborn</i> .
	+ <i>Thomas Nugent</i> , Baron <i>Riverstown</i> .
	+ <i>John Bourk</i> , Baron <i>Boepkin</i> .
	+ <i>Alexander Fitton</i> , Baron <i>Gawsworth</i> .
Barons.	
+ <i>Almericus Courcy</i> , Baron <i>Kingale</i> .	
<i>William Fitz-Morris</i> , Baron <i>Kerry</i> .	
+ <i>Christopher Flemming</i> , Baron <i>Slane</i> .	
+ <i>Thomas St. Lawrence</i> , Baron <i>Hoath</i> .	
+ <i>Robert Barnwell</i> , Baron <i>Trembleston</i> .	
+ <i>Christopher Plunket</i> , Baron <i>Dunfany</i> .	
+ <i>Pierce Butler</i> , Baron <i>Dunboyne</i> .	
+ <i>Brian Fitz-Patrick</i> , Baron <i>Upper Offery</i> .	
<i>Matth. Plunket</i> , Baron <i>Lowth</i> .	
+ <i>William Bourk</i> , Baron <i>Castleconnel</i> .	
+ <i>Pierce Butler</i> , Baron <i>Cahir</i> .	
+ <i>Theobald Bourk</i> , Baron <i>Brittas</i> .	
<i>Stuart</i> , Baron <i>Castle-stuart</i> .	
<i>Thomas Folliot</i> , Baron <i>Ballishannon</i> .	

The House of Commons consists of three hundred Persons and upwards, only two Protestants, Sir *John Mead*, and Mr. *Coghlan*; two others that have passed in former Days, but now are looked upon to be of the Popish Interest.

The Substance of the new *Irish BILL* for making void the *English Settlement of Ireland*.

I*mprimis*, Act of Settlement, Act of Explanation and Resolution of Doubts, void.

1. Every one to be restored to his Possession, as in 1641.
2. Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, &c. made void, released, and discharged.
3. All Records taken off the File, and cancelled before one or more of the Commissioners.
4. Any Officer not performing this, to forfeit five hundred Pound.
5. Three or more Commissioners for Claims.
6. All Injunctions to stay Decrees of the said Court, void.
7. The Sheriffs refusing to deliver Possession, to be punished.
8. Where Deeds are wanting, the Sentence of the Commissioners not definitive.

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9. All Releases, Conveyances, &c. to be good.
10. The old Estate of Transplanters to be charged with the Interest of Purchase-money, as they sold their Interest in *Connaught*.
11. Reprizals for all honest Purchasers, for good and valuable Considerations, since the Act of Settlement.
12. Transplanted Purchasers to be reprized of equal Value and Purchase out of the forfeited Lands.
13. A Rebellion is now begun, and several are gone to *England, Scotland, Wales*, and the Isle of *Man*, by which they forfeited from the 1st of *August* 1688. All Entails, Remainders, &c. to be cut off.
14. Commissioners to inspect into the Forfeitures, in order to give Reprizals by Commissions under the Great Seal, if thought necessary.
15. In Claim, to insert the Quantity, Quality, and true yearly Value, County, and reserved Rent.
16. To be reprized, such as really purchased before the first of *November* last, but not Affinity.
17. Upon Certificate of the Commissioners, the Lord Chancellor to pass Letters Patent.
18. Before Reprizal, to make full Proof of the original Money paid for the transplanted Purchase. And the ancient Estate to which he is to be restored, to be charged with, &c.
19. If the Transplanted discover, &c. to discover the Purchase, or to forfeit double the Money; one Moiety to the Discoverer, and another to the King.
20. Provided the ancient, &c. invested in the King.
21. *Newry* restored to *Dudly Bagnal*, Esq; it being the Estate of *Nicholas Bagnal*.
22. The Quit and Crown Rent reserved, and forfeiting Lands to be charged to Lands to be restored.
23. All original Debts in 1641, to be and stand charged; the Lands to be restored.
24. All Reprizals to be liable to the same Conditions and Debts as their former Estates.
25. All Incumbrances or Judgments due on forfeiting Persons, and entered before the 22d of *May* 1689; and where he forfeited to be reprized.
26. Transplanters, Proprietors, their Reprizals or ancient Estate, to be liable to the same Incumbrances and Conditions as the former Estate.
27. Lessees to continue, in case it be not the Mansion-house or Demesne-Lands, not exceeding one and twenty Years, or three Lives.
28. Whose Husbands died out of Possession, Widows to be dowable.
29. The Lord *Clanrickard*, &c. That all Deeds, &c. be good, saving to all old Mortgagees.

A LETTER from Colonel *Walker*, giving a full Account of the Treachery of the late Governor of *London-derry*.

WHEN the Lord M——y left the Garison of *London-derry*, he gave private Orders to the Colonel he left Commander in Chief, *That he should punctually observe whatsoever Directions he should receive from him from France.* Now such were the Circumstances of that unfortunate Lord, that being suspected by the late King *James*, and looked upon as the Betrayer of that Kingdom, he had no other way of insinuating into his Favour, and regaining his lost Reputation with him, but by promising to make Colonel L—— an Instrument to break and ruin the Protestants, and render them incapable of opposing any Army, that should march against them.

The deluded Protestants in *Derry*, and all over the North, were extremely overjoyed that they had so good a Soldier for their Head; one whom they really believed to be of their own Religion, and who seemed to be so zealously and warmly affected to their Interest; and therefore they intirely relied and depended upon his Courage and Fidelity, and submitted themselves to his Conduct and Management, never entertaining the least Suspicion of him till it was too late; though it was whispered in every Corner of the Garison, that he had said, *He would heartily fight against Tyrconnel, but not against King James.* At length a formidable and regular Army of the *Irish* marched down towards the North, our Forces then having not the least Intimation of their Approach, till they came almost to the Towns where our Men were garisoned, which they were forced to quit in great Disorder and Confusion.

The Colonel, in the mean time, sat quietly at home, neither made any Provision for the Frontier Garisons, nor gave any Orders to fortify and secure them, and oppose the Enemy, before they were blooded and animated with Success. Soon after (without any Opposition) they over-run the two great Counties of *Down* and *Antrim*: And then the Colonel sent Letter after Letter to the Lord K——n at *Sligoe*, where there was good Store of Provisions and Forage, to come and join his Horse at last with the *Lagan* Forces. The Lord sent him Word, *That if the Horse came away, the Foot would not be persuaded to continue there; and that he feared there was not such Plenty of Provision for their Horse and Men in the Lagan, as they had at Sligoe.* Upon this Answer, the Colonel sends an Express to my Lord, *That both his Horse and Foot should quit Sligoe, and march immediately to the Assistance of Derry.*

My Lord, wearied with these Importunities, and not in the least mistrusting the Integrity of the Colonel, advances with his Forces, and was followed by all the Inhabitants of the Town. But no sooner were they come to *Ballyshannon*, twenty Miles from *Sligoe*, but they received a Message from the Colonel, *That there was not Forage for the Horse in the Lagan.* The Enemy, by this time, had possessed themselves of *Sligoe*; so that they were forced to stay at *Ballyshannon*, where both their Horse and Men were exposed to the greatest Necessities, and were almost destroyed for want of Provisions.

All this while the Towns of *Enniskilling* and *Ballyshannon* had no Ammunition sent them from him, though he had, at the same time, above 500 Barrels of Powder in the *Pullir* Store-house at *Derry*; neither could he be persuaded by any Arguments to get Forage into *Derry*, though the neighbouring Country round about him had great Quantities of Hay and Oats, and made a voluntary Offer of them for the Service of the Garison. Besides, as if he had all along designed the Ruin of that Place, and consequently of the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*, he still gave Passes to every Man that asked them: He endeavoured to possess them that were the most bold and resolute, with strange Apprehensions of their Danger; and where this succeeded not, out of the Abundance of his Affection, he courted and invited others to accept of Passes.

Afterwards, when the Enemy made their Approaches nearer *Derry*, he drew out a Body of 7000 Men, pretending he would fight them at a Pass they were to come over: But as soon as ever Colonel *Skelden* (with his Horse) advanced, he gave him the Sign to come over, and ran away, swearing a great Oath, and saying, *Gentlemen, I see you will not fight*; though, at the same time, they were, in all Appearance, very zealous and willing to engage. From thence he immediately fled to the City, and then shut the Gates upon thousands of Souls, pretending Scarcity of Provisions, who all either perished for Hunger, or were left as a Prey and Sacrifice to the Rage and Fury of their insulting Enemies.

Soon after Colonels C—— and R——, with two Regiments, came to the Assistance of *Derry*, whom he discouraged from staying, declaring, *That they had Provision but for a few Days, and that the People who were in the City were but a Rabble.*

However, all the Transactions in their Council of War, as they called it, (though none were admitted to it but the Colonel's own Creatures) were managed with the greatest Secresy; and the better to delude the Garison, it was given out, *That the Forces would forthwith land.* And of this they were so fully persuaded, that many went aboard the Ships that were in the Harbour, to carefs and congratulate the Soldiers safe Arrival, who were not suffered to return again; but against their Inclinations were brought into *England*. C—— next Day (when on board, and as it was agreed betwixt him and the confederate Colonel) sends him a Letter, *That he had discovered some Ships at a Distance, which must needs be further Succours designed for the Relief of Derry; that he would fall down to the Harbour's Mouth, and return again with the rest of the Fleet.* This Letter was handed up and down *Derry* to pacify the People, though generally they began to apprehend they were sold and betrayed: And in this their Suspicion they were confirmed by a Lady (related to the Colonel) who had forgot her Cue, and unwarily told a Lieutenant in the Garison, *That C—— did not design to land, and that his Letter was a mere Sham.* After this C—— set sail, and hovered at a little Distance, expecting the Colonel, who had promised him to make his Escape, and go with him for *England*; but the Colonel not coming according to the Time appointed, he pursued his Voyage, and left us under the Apprehensions of immediate Destruction. But (blessed be

be God) we have hitherto made some tolerable Defence for ourselves, and still hope to give a good Account of the Place. I am,

Yours,

G. WALKER.

The State of the Papist and Protestant Proprieties in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the Year 1641, when the then Rebellion began, and how disposed in 1653, when the War and Rebellion was declared at an End, and how disposed in 1662, upon the Acts of Settlement; and how the Proprieties stand this present Year 1689, with the Survey, Loss, Cost and Charges of both Parties by the aforesaid War, or Rebellion: With Inferences and Expostulations from the whole, faithfully calculated in so concise a Manner and Order as was never done before: Humbly rendered to the Consideration of the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Parliament of Lords and Commons now sitting at *Westminster*. To which is added, a List of the present Nobility of *Ireland*, Protestant and Papist.

Printed in the Year 1689.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

AS it hath pleased the eternal Providence to make your Majesty the illustrious Instrument of saving these three Kingdoms, now under your happy Government, from an Inundation of Popery and Slavery, just ready to break down the Banks of their ancient Laws and Liberties: So is it the Duty of every particular Person, to the utmost of his Abilities, to prostrate at your Royal Feet those Lights and Discoveries, which he may have gained by long Experience and Observation, to the End your Majesty may the better be enabled, by the general Survey of the State of Affairs in any of your Kingdoms, and a fair Prospect of their past ill Government, to apply those Remedies which your Majesty, in your great princely Wisdom and Prudence, shall deem most conducing to the Establishment of their future Hap-

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Happiness : Since it is yet undetermined among the most deeply learned, by which means a potent Monarch gains the most durable Renown, whether by erecting a new Fabric of Dominion, or by reforming the Errors of an ancient Constitution.

These Papers, therefore, may it please your Majesty, falling into my Hands, and being by myself imparted to some Persons of eminent Degree, and better acquainted with the Affairs of Ireland, I was encouraged to believe, that it would be no Unkindness to the Author, to prostrate them with all Humility to your Majesty's Royal Consideration ; that so your Majesty might, with less Trouble, understand the present Condition of that your Kingdom, in Reference to the partial Disposal of the Lands and Possessions in that Kingdom ; whereby it doth manifestly appear, what Interest prevailed in the Punishment (if so it may be called) of the subdued Irish, for all the Massacres they committed, and all the Blood they spilt in the late Rebellion, as if the Irish had rebelled to be the only Gainers, and the English had expended so much Treasure, and the Lives of so many thousands, to be the only Losers in the Distributions of their Conquests ; the Victors not being permitted to enjoy what they had justly won by the Sword, while the Irish were restored to what they had as truly forfeited by their cruel Disloyalty ; by which partial Piece of Justice, the Victors were indeed subdued, and the Conquered were, in the Conclusion, victorious.

All which being fully made out in the following Sheets, I thought it my Duty, most humbly to add this smaller Offering of my sincere Integrity to serve your Majesty, to the better Assistance and Information of Persons more able, though of none more ready and zealous to approve himself, by all the strictest Performances of Loyalty and Allegiance,

Your Majesty's most humble, obedient,

and faithful Subject and Servant,

J. C.

This LETTER, and the Calculations annexed, were transmitted from *Dublin*, to the late King *James II.* in the Year 1688, some few Weeks before his Highness the Prince of *Orange* landed in *England*.

May it please your Majesty,

THE true Intent of your Majesty's most humble Orator, by this and his former Address, being to give Truth a Release from the common Restraints of Fear, Flattery or Favour, that so your Majesty having a true Representation of Persons and Things here, may be the better enabled and encouraged to apply suitable and seasonable Remedies, to the most desperate Maladies of this late happy, but now most miserable, Country.

Your Majesty cannot but know, that most Princes have, by advantageous Experience, found public Truths made known by private, when suppressed by public

public Persons, yet that the Matters herein contained might contract no Prejudice by the obscure Instrument that conveys it.

As in his former Letter he humbly referred the Particulars to a Person of greater Circumstances of Credit with your Majesty than can be found in this Country; and as to the Calculations hereunto annexed, your Majesty will find their Credit most supported on your own Records, and where those are defective, that Supply is made by those probable Conjectures, which are, as well as the Records, in themselves evident, those Conjectures being either grounded on that common Principle of commutative Justice, *id valet quantum rendi potest*, or subjected to the Mensurations of the Altitude and Magnitude of coelestial Bodies made by Astronomers, which are demonstrable, may, and must be more, but cannot be less than those Computations make them.

I know that the Loss of five Millions, and five Hundreds, and fifty Thousands, mentioned in the Foot of the annexed Estimate, as lost by a less than two Years *Irish* Government, seems to be a prodigious, and an incredible Loss.

But that Sum not appearing to be a Third of the whole Value of the Kingdom, and it being manifest, that at least one Fourth of the Houses in this City of *Dublin* are now waste, and that House-rents here and elsewhere are fallen at least one Third of their former annual Value, and that Lands in the Country are generally fallen more than one Fourth, and the Inheritance now refused at eight Years Purchase, which would not before have been sold for near double that Value.

Some here, and those none of the meanest Critics in Calculations, drawing Inferences from the aforesaid Premises, do conclude that this Kingdom is sunk more than a Moiety of its Intrinsic Value, within the said Time.

Especially, when they add to the aforesaid Considerations, the great Impair of the *British* Trade; the Traders now left, being not worth a Moiety of those we have lost, and these seeming rather prepared for Flight than Stay.

While by the open Packing of *Irish* Juries, corrupting of Evidence, and Partiality of *Irish* Judges, they see it in the Natives Power to take what *British* Life or Estate they please, and to make the most innocent Person suffer as the greatest Malefactor, and all the while not seemingly break any Law by so doing. It is well known that upwards of fifty Indictments were found by *Irish* Evidence against the *British*, who were most celebrated for Loyalty in this Kingdom; who, though they were afterwards all acquitted as being innocent, had yet, in all Probability, suffered as Traytors, had not the unexpected coming of the Earl of *Clarendon* to the Government, and his appointing Protestant Sheriffs broke those Snares.

Your Majesty so well knowing the Validity of Oaths, as to the Proof of Crimes and Titles by the *English* Laws, will easily believe what fatal Execution a People let loose may do on a People bound by those Cords; especially, where Perjury is by some held no Sin, by most a venial Sin, and by others a Duty. How often do we now see forged Deeds, formerly most justly condemned, revived; how often do we see, and that to the great Scandal of Justice and Government, your Majesty's *Irish* Council making Use of your
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Majesty's Name, as Highway-men do of your public Road, that they may the better violate your Law, rob your Subjects, and enrich themselves, and, Pirate-like, make all Prize that are weaker and wealthier than themselves?

How often do we hear the poor *British* reflecting on the late bad and miserable Times, when the *Irish* made all the *British* within their Reach either Accessaries to their Guilt, or subject to their Wrath? When in six Months time, without Commiseration to Sex or Age, without any Opposition or Provocation, they murdered upwards of one hundred thousand *British* in one Province of this Kingdom, and that with all imaginable Circumstances of Cruelty and Barbarity? All which must be true, or the Records taken on your Father of blessed Memory's Commission, reciting Circumstances of Time, Place, and Number of Persons so murdered, must be all false; and had the Government, Garisons, and Army, been then, as now, in the *Irish* Hands, it is more than probable there had not one *British* Person been left alive in this Kingdom.

And can the Fright of the *British* at, and their Flight from, these Flames now, which they found and felt so destructive then, be Matter of Blame to them, or Surprise to any, or can it be presumed that the Natives Disappointment by that War had lessened their Rage, or bettered their Nature, if when the *Irish* had no Share in the Government, nor Arms, nor Knowledge how to use them, and no Command of Garisons or Soldiers, but these and many other Advantages in the *British* Hands; if they were then able to make their Wrath so successful, what can rationally be expected to become of the *British* now amongst them? I do the more willingly enumerate these Particulars, rather to confirm the following, and more moderate Estimate, than the larger made by others, concerning the aforesaid Loss. Yet this I may with more Truth than Satisfaction affirm, that if the judicial Proceedings past in that Time are not reviewed, if the Gaps lately made, to let in an Inundation of arbitrary Power on the *British* Propriety is not repaired, and those who made them severely punished; and lastly, if no better Security than *Irish* Judges, Sheriffs and Juries can be found to preserve the *British* Proprieties, *Ichabod* may well be the Character, a Foreigner the Master, and Desolation the Portion of this unhappy Country, when it becomes a Habitation for wild Beasts, or worse Creatures, under only the Shape and Resemblance of human Features.

Your Majesty's Improvement of these and better Helps may so open your Ears, that, in the Words of the Psalmist, *The sorrowful Sighing of the Prisoner may come up before you*; and then I no ways doubt, but in the further Words of the same Psalmist, according to the Greatness of your Power, and Goodness of your Nature, you will preserve those who seem appointed to die, that they may yet live to pray for your Majesty's long Life, &c. as doth, it may please your Majesty, your Majesty's most humble, dutiful, and obedient Subject and Servant.

An Estimate, containing,

1. The Latitude, Longitude, and Survey of the whole Kingdom of Ireland.

2. What

2. What Part, or how many Acres thereof are profitable, and how many unprofitable.

3. The annual Value, with the Value of the Inheritance of both in 1641, before the late *Irish* Rebellion began, with what it was reduced unto in the Year 1653, when the said Rebellion was declared at an End.

How the said *Irish* Propriety was settled, and disposed in the said Year 1653.

How disposed in 1662 and 1663, by the Acts of *Settlement* and *Explanation*, and by the Commissioners for executing the said Acts.

How it stands on the Date of this Estimate, viz. in the Year 1688.

The particular Loss and Gain of both Protestant and *Irish* Part by the said Rebellion.

The whole Charge of the then King and the Protestant Party, to suppress the said Rebellion.

Lastly, Inferences from all the aforesaid Calculations.

The Survey.

The Latitude of *Ireland*, North, is parallel to *Dumfries* in *Scotland*, which is about sixty Miles more North than *England*.

South, it is parallel to *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*.

The Longitude, West, to the utmost Point of *Ireconough* in the County of *Galway*.

East, to the Head of *Hoath* near *Dublin*.

The whole Number of Acres, by comparing several Surveys, appears to be about ten Millions and four hundred thousand *Irish* Acres (twenty one Foot to the Perch) which make about seventeen Millions *English* Measure, and makes *Ireland* equal in Quantity to *England*, *Wales* excepted.

Of the said ten Millions four hundred thousand Acres, there appears to be about three Millions of Mountains, Wood, Bog, and other unprofitable Acres.

So that the profitable Part appears to be about seven Millions and four hundred thousand Acres, which were thus seised, possessed and enjoyed anno 1641, before the Rebellion began.

First, The *British* or Protestant Propriety was then about two Millions four hundred thousand of the said profitable Acres, *Irish* Measure.

The *Irish*, or Roman Catholics Propriety was the Remainder, being about five Millions of the said Acres.

Memorandum, that anno 1653, the Rebellion was publicly declared to be at an End, and then the aforesaid *Irish* Propriety of the said five Millions of Acres was distributed and disposed of as follows.

First, Unto such of *Irish* Roman Catholics, who proved their constant good Affection to the *British* Interest, were restored about one hundred thousand Acres.

Secondly, There was set aside to satisfy the Officers and Soldiers who served in the *Irish* War before anno 1649, being the Year *Oliver Cromwel* came over into *Ireland*, in the Counties of *Wicklow*, *Longford*, *Leitrim*, *Donnegal*, and within the *Mileline* of *Sea* and *Shannon*, about four hundred thousand Acres.

Thirdly, There was distributed to the Adventurers who advanced Moneys on the Acts of the seventeenth and eighteenth of King *Charles I.* to carry on the War of *Ireland*, about eight hundred thousand Acres.

Fourthly, There was set forth to the Officers and Soldiers, who served from 1649 until 1653, being the declared End of the said War, about two Millions of Acres.

Fifthly, There was set forth to several Grants, about one hundred thousand Acres.

Sixthly, To the Roman Catholics, according to their several Proofs of their Qualifications by the Commissioners at *Loughbreagh*, pursuant to the Decrees of the Commissioners at *Athlone*, about seven hundred thousand Acres in the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*.

Seventhly, There was set aside for the Support of the Government, the forfeited Houses in the walled Towns, and about eight hundred thousand Acres in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Louth*, *Cork*, *Cathorlough* and *Kildare*, the most of which were let in Leases of thirty one Years to *British* Protestants.

Memorandum, That the aforesaid *British* or Protestant Proprieties were, *anno* 1653, restored to the respective former Proprietors.

And thus stood the Proprieties of Lands in the Kingdom of *Ireland* until *anno* 1660, the Restoration of the late King.

Memorandum, That in the Years 1661, 1662, and 1663, by Acts of Parliament, and Decrees of the Court of Claims, there were taken away from the aforesaid Interests and Retrenchments of one Third, by the Explanatory Act, and restored to former Proprietors about two Millions of Acres of the aforesaid Lands, so that at the Period of the said Commissions of Claims, the aforesaid Propriety was as follows:

First, The Protestant Propriety, and the Propriety of the Roman Catholics, who proved their constant good Affection to the *English*, were untouched, either by Act of Parliament or Decrees of the Court of Claims.

Secondly, The Lands of the Officers who served his Majesty in the *Irish* War, before the Year 1649, were reduced to about one hundred and ninety thousand Acres, the rest of their Lands were restored to former *Irish* Proprietors.

Thirdly, The aforesaid Adventurers Satisfaction was by the said Acts of Parliament, and Decrees of the Court of Claims reduced to about three hundred thousand Acres.

Fourthly, Remaining then with the Officers and Soldiers who served since the Year 1649, about twelve hundred thousand Acres.

Fifthly, There was then left with the transplantable *Irish* in the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*, about six hundred thousand Acres.

Sixthly, There were confirmed to Grantees, by the Acts of Parliament about two hundred thousand Acres, of which about one Moiety was to Roman Catholics, the other to *British* Protestants.

Seventhly, There is left of Course, Lands undisposed, and Overplus Lands, in the Hands of Soldiers and Adventurers, about one hundred thousand Acres.

So that there appears, confirmed by Acts of Parliament, and the Commissioners of the Explanatoric Acts, about seventeen hundred and eighty thousand Acres to the Soldiery and Adventurers, and to the Protestant Grantees by Provisoos in both the said Acts about one hundred thousand Acres, and the like Sum of course retrenched and undisposed Lands are still in the King's Hands, which makes in all about two Millions of *Irish* Acres, which is all that the Crown of *England* Interest hath got, and the *Irish* then lost by that Rebellion: But since by his Majesty's present Rent Roll there appears above two Thirds of the aforesaid two Millions, to be got by pretended Deeds, set up by the *Irish*, or by Purchases made at unvaluable Rates, both by the *Irish* and the former *British* Inhabitants of that Country; so that now there is little Appearance of that late numerous and victorious Interest, which rescued this Kingdom out of the *Irish* Rebels and *British* Malcontents Hands; which how valuable the foresaid two Millions of Acres were, and now are, will appear by the next general Head, which contains the annual Value and Inheritance of the said Lands in the Year 1641, before the Rebellion began, and to what Value both Roman Catholic and Protestant Propriety was reduced in the Year 1653, when the said Rebellion was declared at an End: All which will more fully appear by the following Diagram,

The Value in 1641, before the Rebellion began.

The whole Kingdom contains seven Millions four hundred thousand profitable Acres, of which the four Shillings an Acre, comes to one Million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds Sterling, twelve Years Purchase, comes to seventeen Millions seven hundred and sixty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

Irish Propriety then was five Millions of Acres, one Million of Pounds *Sterling* comes unto twelve Millions *Sterling*.

British Propriety two Millions and four hundred thousand Acres, four hundred and eighty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, comes to five Millions seven hundred and sixty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

The reduced Value of the Whole, and of each Propriety in 1653, when the Rebellion was declared at an End, was, annual Value at Nine-pence an Acre, Inheritance at eight Years Purchase.

The whole Kingdom seven Millions four hundred thousand Acres comes to two hundred seventy seven thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*, comes to two Millions two hundred and twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641, and 1653, is fifteen Millions five hundred and forty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

The *Irish* Propriety then about five Millions of Acres, at Nine-pence an Acre *per annum*, comes to one Million eighty-seven thousand five hundred Pounds *Sterling*. The Inheritance at eight Years Purchase, comes to one Million and a half *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641, and 1653, of this Propriety was nine Millions four hundred and eighty thousand Pounds.

The *British* or Protestant Propriety was two Millions and four hundred thousand Acres at 9 *d. per annum*, comes to ninety thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

The

The Inheritance at eight Years Purchase, comes to seven hundred and twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

So that the Difference betwixt 1641 and 1653, in this Propriety, was five Millions and forty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That besides the aforesaid *Irish* Propriety in Lands, there appears by your Majesty's Records in the Auditory-Office that there were as many Houses in walled Towns, besides Tithes and Rectories belonging to the *Irish*, which did yield *anno* 1653, about five thousand Pounds *Sterling per annum*, which at eight years Purchase was then worth forty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

Memorandum, That the Protestant Propriety, within the walled Towns, is not included in the above Calculations, neither the Tithes or Glebe belonging to two thousand four hundred Parish Churches; there being about that Number of Parishes in this Kingdom.

The next general Head is the particular Loss and Gain of both *British* and *Irish* by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That by the aforesaid Article it appears, that the *British* have got, and the *Irish* have lost, by the said Rebellion, about two Millions of Acres; which by the aforesaid Valuations in the Year 1653, appear to be worth two Millions of Nine-pences *per annum*, which is seventy-five thousand Pounds *Sterling*, at eight Years Purchase for the Inheritance, is six hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

This was the common Value when the *British* entred on the forfeited Lands; and to this is to be added the aforesaid forty thousand Pounds for their Interest in walled Towns and Rectories.

This six hundred and forty thousand Pounds is the Whole of the *British* Gain and *Irish* Loss by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That the *Irish* Loss of Houses, Goods, Stocks, &c. being occasioned by their own Rebellion, are not included in this Calculation.

The next Thing considerable is the *Irish* Gain, and the *British* Loss, which appear by these following Particulars:

I. By thirteen Years Loss of Rents, the annual Propriety of the *British* did amount, as aforesaid, before the Rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thousand Pounds, which for thirteen Years amounts unto six Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

II. The said Rebellion began the 23d of *October* 1641, at which Time the *British* had one whole Year's Stock of Hay and Corn by them, which usually supplied them with Materials to satisfy their *November* and *May* Rents then ensuing, and had likewise then sowed their Winter Corn, both which could not be less worth than half a Year's Rent of the whole Land, which appears as aforesaid, to be two hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

III. The *British* Propriety was, as is well known, well stocked and improved *anno* 1641, and consisting of two Millions four hundred thousand Acres *Irish* Measure, which appears to be near a Third of the whole Kingdom, must have its Proportion of the three Millions of unprofitable Acres as aforesaid, and there could not be less Stock on two Acres and a half *Irish* Measure

Measure (which considering the Addition of the Unprofitable, must be more than four *English* Acres) than one Beast on the pasturable Part; what Acres were under Corn must be of a much higher Value, which Beast *Communi Rato*, could not be of less Value than twenty Shillings; by which the Value of the *British* Stock, at a moderate Rate, appears in the Year 1641, to be worth two Millions four hundred thousand Pounds.

IV. The Value of their Houses, Goods and Improvements, cannot be valued at less than double the Value of their Stocks, which makes four Millions eight hundred thousand Pounds. The aforesaid four Sums which were received, and robbed or taken from the *British*, during the said Rebellion, appears to be thirteen Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds, which supposeth the whole *British* Propriety to be robbed, spoiled or enjoyed by the *Irish* during the said Rebellion; whereas it is evident, that the Metropolis of *Dublin*, the City of *Drogheda* in the Province of *Leinster*, the City of *Londonderry*, *Colerain*, Town and Castle of *Enniskilling*, Towns of *Belfast* and *Carrickfergus* in the Province of *Ulster*, the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Bandonbridge*, *Youghal* and *Kingsale* were never in the *Irish* Hands; but these compared with all the other Towns and Cities of this Kingdom, with more than nineteen Parts in twenty of all the Lands, which within six Months after the Rebellion began, were still in the *Irish* Hands, there cannot be abated in the aforesaid Consideration one Tenth of the aforesaid Sum.

Yet abating the Tenths, there remains neat Loss to the *British*, and got by the *Irish* twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

V. On or about the Years 1662 and 1663, there was taken from the *British*, and restored to the *Irish*, by Acts of Parliament and Decrees of the *Court of Claims*, above two Millions of profitable Acres, the annual Value of which said Lands *anno* 1653, when the *British* first entred upon them at Ninepence an Acre, appears to be seventy-five thousand, which at eight Years Purchase for the Inheritance, is six hundred thousand Pounds; but by the *British* Enjoyment and Improvement of the said Lands from 1653 until 1662, and 1663, the annual Value of the said Lands was raised unto two Shillings Threepence an Acre, which was two hundred twenty and five thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and the Inheritance at ten Years Purchase, Lands being then so usually set and sold in those Times, and the Inheritance of the aforesaid two Millions, appearing not to be worth more in the Year 1653, when the *British* entred on them, than six hundred thousand Pounds, which being deducted out of two Millions two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, it appears that the *British* have lost, and the *Irish* have got by the two Millions of Acres so as before restored, sixteen hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, which being added to the aforesaid twelve Millions one hundred and thirty thousand Pounds, its clear by the aforesaid Particulars, that the *British* have lost, and the *Irish* have got by their Rebellion, thirteen Millions seven hundred and eighty thousand Pounds; to which being added the five Millions forty thousand Pounds Damage done the *British* Propriety, as appears by the forementioned Diagram, in reducing the Values of the Inheritance of the said Lands in 1653, from what it was worth in 1641, makes the neat Damage of the
Protestant

Protestant Propriety by the said Rebellion to be eighteen Millions eight hundred and twenty thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

The next general Head is the particular Charge of the said Rebellion to the King, and the *British* or Protestant Interest of this Kingdom.

1. By an adjusted Account now on Record here in *Dublin*, it appears, that from the 23d of *October* 1641, to the Year 1649, there was due only to the commissioned Officers, about eighteen hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

2. There could not be less than double that Sum due to the Non-commissioned Officers and private Soldiers within the said time, which amounts to three Millions six hundred thousand Pounds.

3. There was received by the said Officers and Soldiers in Monies, Quarters and Provisions within the said time, one Fourth of the Whole, which was defaulted out of the Officers Debentures, and amounted to one Million three hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

So that from 1641 to 1649, the Charge of the said War appears to be at least six Millions seven hundred and forty thousand Pounds; and what since to the Period of the War in 1653, appears by these following Particulars:

1. By an adjusted Account, there appears due to the Officers and Soldiers, who served within the said time, about twelve hundred thousand Pounds, which was satisfied in Lands.

2. The said Officers and Soldiers were paid two Parts more in Money, which was two Millions four hundred thousand Pounds.

3. There was one Fourth deducted out of both Officers and Soldiers Debentures on the Account of Quarters and Provision, which amounts to, as aforesaid, twelve hundred thousand Pounds.

4. By an adjusted Account it appears, that the *English* Adventurers advanced in the Years 1641 and 1642, about four hundred thousand Pounds, which Money being advanced and paid in the aforesaid Years of 1641 and 1642, and no Satisfaction made until the Year 1655 and 1656, the Interest must be more than the Principal, which amounts at least to eight hundred thousand Pounds.

5. There was near ten thousand *Scots*, who served most Part of the War in the Province of *Ulster*, under the Command of General *Lesley*; but their Arrears being never stated, adjusted nor paid, cannot be so particularly ascertained, but cannot be less than one Million of Pounds.

Memorandum, That there was many independent Troops in *Ulster* and *Munster* whose Accompts were never adjusted, satisfied or paid.

Memorandum, That in this Calculation is also omitted the most Christian and charitable Relief given and sent by the States of *Holland*, who in one Ship sent thirty thousand Pounds in Provisions in the Beginning of the Rebellion, which came so seasonable, that hundreds of *British* Families were thereby preserved from starving and perishing; nor is there mentioned the Charge of Ships, Arms or Ammunition during the War.

Memorandum, That there is not any Mention made of the great Collection of Charity for the Relief of the despoiled Protestants of the Country.

The aforesaid Particulars since the Year 1649, amounted to six Millions six hundred thousand Pounds; before 1649, appears to be six Millions seven hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

Both Sums containing the Whole of the aforesaid Charge amount to thirteen Millions three hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

The *British* or Protestant Loss and Damage appears to be as aforesaid eighteen Millions eight hundred sixty-two thousand Pounds, and both together make thirty-two Millions one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds.

From all the Premises aforementioned the Inferences following do naturally arise.

1. Whereas the *English* Adventurers Debt, who advanced Money on the Credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Year 1641 and 1642, for Support of the *Irish* War, did amount to more than eight hundred thousand Pounds, and it appearing as aforesaid, that they received more than three hundred thousand Acres of Land for Satisfaction of the said Debt, and it likewise appearing by the aforesaid Diagram, that the annual Value of the said Lands was at most but eleven thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds, it is manifest that the said Adventurers paid more than seventy Years Purchase for what was not worth really more than eight.

2. Whereas there appears as aforesaid due to the *English* Soldiery above all the Deductions, six Millions six hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and those who served before the Year 1649, having received but one hundred and ninety thousand Acres of Land, and as many Houses in walled Towns, and Incumbrances as were worth at most but five thousand Pounds *per annum*.

And whereas it appears that the Soldiery since 1649, had left them by the *Court of Claims* about twelve hundred thousand Acres, making in all about thirteen hundred and ninety thousand Acres, which with the five thousand Pounds *per annum* for Rents of Houses, &c. appears at most to be worth no more than fifty-seven thousand one hundred twenty-five Pounds *per annum*, as appears by the aforesaid Diagram, it is as clear that the said Soldiery have paid more than one hundred and fifteen Years Purchase for what was not worth more than eight.

3. Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole Loss in Houses, Lands, Tithes, and Rectories of the *Irish* do amount at most but to six hundred and forty thousand Pounds, and it appearing that the *British* lost, and the *Irish*, during their Rebellion, got,

1. As much Corn and Hay from the *British* as was at least worth as aforesaid two hundred and forty thousand Pounds, which Sum alone is more than one Third of their whole Loss.

2. The *British* Stock of Horses, Sheep, Cattle, &c. appears as aforesaid to be worth two Millions eight hundred thousand Pounds, which appears to be more than four times the aforesaid Loss.

3. The *British* Houses, Goods and Improvements which the *Irish* got, and the *British* lost, appears to be five Millions six hundred thousand Pounds, which is more than nine times the aforesaid Loss.

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4. The Rents which the *Irish* received from the *British* Propriety during their Rebellion, amounting to five Millions eight hundred and forty thousand Pounds as aforesaid, is more than nine times the aforesaid Loss.

The *British* Loss in their Improvements on the restored Lands by the *Court of Claims* in 1662 and 1663, amounts to sixteen hundred and sixty thousand Pounds as aforesaid, which alone is near treble of the Whole of the *Irish* Loss.

Memorandum, That the aforesaid five Sums which the *Irish* got from the *British*, deducting the Tenth as aforesaid, is fifteen Millions and thirty thousand Pounds; so that it is plainly demonstrated, that the *Irish* got from the *British* more than thirty times what they lost by their Rebellion.

Memorandum, That to the aforesaid *British* Loss, there is yet to be added the Damage done their Propriety, from the Value it was worth in the Year 1641, to what it was reduced to in the Year 1653, which appears to be five Millions two hundred and eighty thousand Pounds, which makes the whole Loss and Damage done the *British* by that Rebellion to amount unto above twenty Millions of Pounds *Sterling*; which Sum appears to be lost out of less than a Third of the whole Propriety of this Kingdom, and is,

1. More than double the Value of the whole Propriety of their Lands in the Year 1641, and more than twenty times the Value it was reduced to in the Year 1653.

2. It appears as aforesaid to be more than the whole Propriety, that all the Lands in this Kingdom was worth in the Year 1641.

3. The Protestants Loss and Damage as aforesaid appears to be near double the Charge of the aforesaid War.

4. It appearing before the Death of *Charles* the Second, that Lands in this Kingdom were raised to equal Value in 1641, it is demonstrable, that the *British* Industry had raised this Kingdom, in thirty Years time, notwithstanding all their Discouragements, to upwards of fifteen Millions of Pounds *Sterling*.

The late King *Charles*, in favour of the *Irish*, releasing by the Explanatory Act the clear Right which the Crown had to the whole Province of *Connaught*, Counties of *Clare*, *Limerick*, and *Tipperary*, his Majesty thereby parted with ten times more than the *Irish* forfeited.

VI. By Proviso's in the Act of Settlement and Explanation, and by Pensions and other Donatives given the *Irish*, as appears by the Treasury Accounts of both Kingdoms, there appears much more given to them than was forfeited or lost by them.

VII. The last Parliament in this Kingdom giving his Majesty twenty-eight Subsidies, and three hundred thousand Pounds in Money, gave more in value than all the Forfeitures by that Rebellion, they settling a Revenue of upwards of two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* on the Crown, with a *Nemine Contradicente*, by that gave more than ten times the Value of the said Forfeitures.

VIII. The Charge of that Rebellion appearing to be thirteen Millions three hundred and forty thousand Pounds, it is evident, that the aforesaid *Irish* Loss will not pay a fourteenth Part of the said Charges.

IX. Ad-

IX. Admit the Lands of this Kingdom were before the Commencement of the present *Irish* Government (or *Irish* Administration) raised to the Value of 1641, and that Lands were only fallen one Fourth in their yearly Value, which appears to be about three hundred and ninety-three thousand Pounds, and that they were only sunk in the Inheritance one Third, which is five Millions five hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, then both making five Millions nine hundred and forty-three thousand Pounds, which this Kingdom is already sunk, with only one Year's *Irish* Government.

X. Whereas it appears by the excellent Preface of the Act of Settlement, that *anno* 1660, seven Years after the aforesaid Rebellion was declared at an End, when Persons and Things were in calm and serene Frame in this Kingdom, the most able of the *Irish* Agents, were fully heard before his Majesty and Council in *England*, what they could answer in behalf of their Countrymen; yet on the said Hearing, the universal Guilt of the *Irish*, with their horrid Massacres and barbarous Murders in that Rebellion, were fully proved, their just Forfeitures of their Lives and Estates affirmed, and that Rebellion declared by the said King and Council in *England*, and afterwards by the Parliament and Council of *Ireland*, the most horrid and universal Rebellion which ever befel that Kingdom; and as thereby it appears to be the highest in point of Guilt, so by what hath been said as aforesaid, it appears to be the greatest in point of Loss and Charge; and though, as by the said excellent Preface it further appears, that by God's Blessing on the *British* Forces, the said *Irish* were totally, universally, and absolutely subdued; yet it appears as aforesaid, that Affairs have been so managed, that the nocent, conquered *Irish* Party, both in times of Peace and War, have been Gainers, and the innocent victorious *British* the only Losers by that Rebellion: But let it ever be remembered by your Majesty, and not forgot by all succeeding Kings of *England*, nor the *English* Nation, that if the public Disturbances in *England*, heightened into a Civil War (chiefly occasioned by the Massacre and Rebellion here) at the same time, and the great Corruptions of those through whose Hands most of the Administrations passed, relating to *Ireland*, had not prevented, that Rebellion had not cost the *British* one Fourth of the Time, nor one Penny Charge, but on the contrary the very Forfeitures of the *Irish* would not only have paid all that whole Reckoning, but an Overplus sufficient to have plentifully rewarded the victorious *British*, which no doubt will be found mathematically true, if ever the *Irish* give another Occasion to try it.

Lastly, Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole Loss, Costs and Charge of the King and Protestant Party, to suppress the said Rebellion, did amount to thirty-four Millions four hundred and eighty thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and whereas it sufficiently demonstrates who have been the greatest Gainers and the greatest Losers, so it shews who have most cause to complain of the dismal Effects of that Rebellion, whether the conquering *British*, or the conquered *Irish*; and so it is more than probable, that the said Rebellion began the 23d of *October* 1641, and ended in the Year 1653, and that as it cost and lost more Treasure, so if there were as careful a Scrutiny made after the Blood spilt, or occasioned to be spilt, as of Treasury spent, both

would appear much greater than the Price of all the late Christian Victories over the *Great Turk*, which may be a sufficient and seasonable Caution, both to Prince and People to prevent future Rebellions in this Kingdom, which, since its original Conquest, hath by the Sins of both been made an *Acheldama*, or Field of Blood. The late unusual Prodigies from the Heavens, the late dismal Apparitions in the Air, the late unheard-of Inundation on this City, the astonishing Variances of our great Ones detecting each others Nakedness, the late Revival of our national and religious Animosities, with the *British Migre-mus hinc*, and other fatal Prognostics, seems to foretell as fatal, or more fatal, Judgments, than that which last beset this Kingdom, which, next to the Abomination of Desolation, which beset the *Jews*, was the heaviest and sharpest that ever beset so small a Spot of the World, since the World began; which, were it described, as it ought, could not be believed but by such as saw it, were Actors in it, or suffered by it, which, with God's Blessing on your Majesty's Counsels, may be yet easier prevented than hereafter cured, which is the proper End of this Estimate, and gives Foundation for the *British* following Expostulation with their King and their *Irish* Neighbours.

Dread Sir,

WHAT have we done, to merit the Severity of your highest Displeasure? Nay, what have we not done, which might intitle us to your highest Favour? Were we or our Ancestors ever false? or were our *Irish* Adversaries, or theirs, ever true to the Crown of *England*? The *Irish* have frequently made us, and our Ancestors, Beggars, but never yet made either Rebels. Were not our Estates seized, our Houses burnt, our Goods and Stock plundered, our chargeable and laborious Improvements spoiled, our Persons stripped and inhumanly murdered in the Year 1641, only for our Loyalty to our God, and our King? And when by an Article made in the Cessation, every individual Person was left to choose his Party, did not we as universally and unanimously declare ourselves of your Father's Party, as the *Irish* declared themselves to be of the Rebel's Party? We, and our Ancestors, have been constantly made the Butt, but it is evident that the Crown of *England*, and the Sovereignty of this Country, have been the Mark of the Natives Wrath. Though your Father left us, and that by a Law, to be supported by the Parliament of *England*, and they really were kind to us, in the Day of our Extremity, yet our Loyalty to him so subjected our Gratitude to them, and the natural Care of our Relations, that when we wanted Hands to revenge the innocent Blood, which the Natives had so inhumanly spilt, or to prevent them of spilling more; yet even then, at your Father's Command, we sent large Supplies of both Horse and Foot, to fight against that very Parliament, which then, under God, were our only Support.

And did we not continue thus dutiful, till your Father's Necessities forced him to desert us, and give us Leave to shift for ourselves, and in this Exigence, which was about the Year 1646, was not his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, by the perfidious Treachery, and Breach of Articles made by the *Irish*, reduced to that Streight, that he was forced to give up his Majesty's Sword, either
to

to the Parliament of *England*, or to the confederate *Irish* Assembly? And did not the Earl of *Castlehaven*, who was then a proscribed Person by the Parliament, and a General to the said Confederate Assembly, advise his Grace, rather to give up the Sword to the *English*, than to the *Irish*, and is not the Reason of that Advice made public to the World in his Memoirs?

And did not the said Duke of *Ormond* then publicly, and frequently caution the Parliament's Commissioners, how they ever trusted the *Irish*, letting them know, that they would serve any *English* Governor as they had served him? And did he not advise his Officers and Soldiers to join with any Party that was *English*, to fight against the *Irish*? Pursuant to this Advice, we strait joined ourselves to the Parliament's Forces, and were eminently instrumental, in that great Victory obtained against the *Irish* at *Dungan Hill*, and though we found a continued Series of Success to attend our Service under the *English* Banners, yet no sooner did we see your Father sold by the *Scots*, little better than imprisoned by the Parliament; and easily foreseeing those Methods, presaging worse to ensue, though the Parliament's Forces were triumphant in the three Kingdoms, yet notwithstanding all Discouragements, we entered into a new Treaty with the Confederate Catholics, and out of our passionate Desire to serve and save your Majesty's Father in that Exigency, your Brother and we submitted to whatever Articles were proposed by the said *Irish*; yet as advantageous as those Articles were to them, and as prejudicial as they were to us, the *Irish* Commissioners could not be prevailed with to sign them, until the 17th of *January* 1648, when they well knew, it was too late to prevent what followed the 30th following, which Articles, whosoever reads will find them the most traiterous that were ever made by Subjects with their Prince.

We thus finding that we could not do what we would for your Father, and vainly hoping the *Irish* might be more loyal and faithful to your Brother, we joined ourselves to them, and continued with them, till we found it was more for his Service to leave them, than longer stay with them, their Armies proving cowardly and treacherous, and their Clergy charging us with their Crimes, though we stood untill we lost our Lives by fighting with our Countrymen in the Field, while they saved theirs, by running into the neighbouring Woods and Bogs. Though we were the only Party that stood, and the *Irish* the only Party that run, at the Fight at *Dublin*, yet their Ecclesiastics charged us as the Occasion of that Defeat, and the same Cause producing the same Effect, elsewhere the Clergy openly preached, that they could expect no better Success while they joined with us that were Heretics; and being disappointed in their frequent Attempts to murder the Duke of *Ormond*, and charging all their Miscarriages on his want of Conduct, whereas their supreme Trusts had the whole Conduct of their Army, and his Grace nothing left but the bare Title of General; and he refusing to quit his empty Command at their Desire, at a great Meeting of their Bishops and others their dignified Clergy, they fixed up a public Excommunication against him, and all that should join with him, or adhere to him; which forced his Grace to leave the Kingdom *incognito*, and so he left us the second time to shift for ourselves; and we conceiving it more for your Brother's Service to leave them, than longer to join with them, we serving
again

again under our Countrymen's Banners, in less than two Years time, with our Help, the whole Kingdom subdued: But that Army being headed by a Junto Parliament, and they and their Confidents put into all Places of Trust and Power in the other two Kingdoms, as well as in this, yet so desirous were we to serve your Brother, and arrive at a lasting Settlement; and so well known were our Desires and Intentions to our Brethren, and they so confident of our Assistance, that a few of us, without the Help of an *Irish* Hand, on the 13th of *December* 1659, surprized and seized the strong Castle of *Dublin*, and in less than fourteen Days got the Power of the whole Kingdom into our Hands, and as soon as we had settled it, tendered the Government to his late Majesty, with the Offer of a well-regulated and disciplined Army to assist his Restoration to his other Kingdoms, and had the Honour of being the first of the three Kingdoms, who declared for his Restoration. Was not his Majesty so highly pleased with the Sense of this our seasonable Loyalty, that he made our Tender and his gracious Acceptance to be made a perpetual Record in his High Court of *Chancery* in this Kingdom, and without any Knowledge, Petition, or Capitulation of ours, of his own free Will, gave us his Royal Assurance of being continued in our Employments? And when by previous or legal Grants that Grace was made unpracticable, in that Case, the losing Party was to be reprimed in Value, Worth and Purchase, as in and by the said Record, relation being thereunto had, it may and will more fully appear.

And was not most of us soon after chose Members of Parliament in this Kingdom? and, did we not then and there, with all imaginable Circumstances of Duty and Affection, without any Consideration of our own Streights or Exigencies, give his Majesty twenty-eight Subsidies, and the Inheritance of a Revenue of more than two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum*? And so passionately desirous were we of living like good Neighbours, good Subjects, and good Christians, with the *Irish*, that we as readily consented to pay his Majesty one full Year's Profit of our Estates, which we afterwards made up three hundred thousand Pounds in Money, which was then more than one Third of all the current Coin in this Kingdom, and this barely to supply and enable his Majesty to exercise his greater Bounty to such of the *Irish* as he knew most deserving; yet was this thought too little by the *Irish* Agents, though we had lost much of our Estates and Improvements very severely by the Proceedings of the *Court of Claims*, and the said Agents promising us an absolute Confirmation in what we had left, without expecting more from us, we readily consented to retrench one Third of what we then had. The aforesaid Particulars being most of them Matters of Record, some Matters of Fact, and all demonstratively true, let all the Annals and Records of this, or former Ages be examined, and see if thence can be extracted a Loyalty exceeding this of ours.

But, Oh! let it not be told in *Gath*, nor published in the Streets of *Ashkelon*, the Returns we have had for all these our aforesaid Services, let them sink in perpetual Oblivion, and never be remembered by Posterity, that we who gave such Evidences of our Loyalty to our exiled Prince, were not
thought

thought fit to be employed after his Return, that we who so faithfully served him in War and Misery, should be thrown out of his Service in times of Peace and Prosperity, our Employments being not only taken from us, without any of that promised Compensation made us; but that which is yet worse, those very Employments put into the worst of *Irish* Hands. Are not many of them now armed in Peace, whom we lately disarmed in War for being Rebels? Are not many, we then made Prisoners, now made our Masters? Are not we made Captives to them in Peace, which we made our Captives in time of War? Did we give up the conquered *Irish* to your Brother's Mercy to be now given up by your Majesty to their Cruelty? Are not the Persons, most rebellious, reputed now the most loyal and meritorious? Is not their horrid Rebellion made now the Standard of Loyalty and Merit? How often do we now hear the *Ulster Irish* boast of their Merit, that they killed *one hundred thousand Heretics in six Months time*, and reproaching the *Leinster Irish* that they killed not half that Number in double that time? Whoever thought that the *Boyles, Coats, St. Georges, &c.* should be turned out and pursued as disaffected to your Majesty, and the *Mac-Gennis, Mac-Mahons, Oneals, &c.* brought into their Places, and received as good Subjects.

And as I have often heard the British making the aforesaid and like Expostulations with their King, so have I heard them as frequently making these and the like Expostulations with their Irish Neighbours.

Sirs, What are our Crimes, or what have we, or our Fore-fathers done? What is the Greatness of our, or their Guilt, that nothing but our utter Extirpation can be our Expiation? Have not they and we been ever pursued as Beasts of Prey, by many of you, who have given clearer Evidence of your being Wolves and Tygers, than Men and Christians? Have we not dearly bought the Estates we have here enjoyed? Might we not have bought the best Land in *England* on easier Terms, than we paid for the worst in *Ireland*? Did we first get them by Oppression or Injury, that we must now lose them by Perjury and Forgery. after we have made the annual Value more worth than the Inheritance when purchased?

You well know, that *Cataline*-like, the Evils you have done cannot be safe, but by attempting greater; and we as well know, that the speedier is your Haste, the sooner you will be at your Journey's End. You must believe as your Church believes, and do as your Priests will have you do; and we well know what they would have done with excommunicated Heretics. You cannot be true to your own Principles, and continue true to us. We do not expect Grapes from Thorns, nor Figs from Thistles; such as is the Tree, such will be the Fruit; your national Principles are bad, but your Ecclesiastics worse: These are the two Bellows that blow up the Flame of your Wrath to the Height, that nothing but our Blood can be our Expiation. Should we give up our Lands, Stock and Improvements, should we voluntarily yield ourselves to be your Slaves, nay, should we turn Papists, that would not save us, nor satisfy you, our original Guilt is our unpardonable Sin; we are *British*, and true to the *British* Interest, which can be expiated with nothing less than our Blood. Are not Thousands of you yet alive, who drank not many
Years

Years since, too deep of that Cup, and are you thirsty still? Were not Hecatombs of our slaughtered Brethren then Victims to your merciless Rage, and are you enraged still? Was the Harvest so pleasant then, that now you have Power, you are so industrious to sow the same Seeds again? Have you so soon forgot, that when we wanted Hands to revenge that innocent Blood which you so barbarously spilt then, and were utterly unable to prevent you of spilling more, did not God himself arise and plead our Cause, when our Swords could not reach you? Did not his Arm find you out? Did he not then send a Pestilence and a Famine amongst you; what the one left, did not the other take; and what both left, did not the Sword devour? And, were not these as inexorable to your Cries, as you had been before to ours? Did not these deal as severely with you, as you had done before with us? Did not these depopulate as many Villages, Parishes and Towns in your Proprieties as you had before in ours? He that thus miraculously helped us, and has justly punished you in that Rebellion, why think you may he not do the like for us in your next, which you now seem to be preparing for? We know his Almighty Arm is not shortned, your Exultations, your *Te Deums*, your Church-merriment for the Exaltation of Roman Catholicism, may like the Music, or rather Howlings at *Moloch's* Sacrifices, drown the present Cries of the Oppressed, and stop the Ears of Men, but will it, think you, as easily stop the Ears, or withhold the Hand of God? As we find your Malice no ways abated, so we wish and advise you to be very cautious how you force it upon another Trial, whether his Arm be any way shortened? When many of you had drunk deep of our Blood, to satiate your Rage, were not many of the same Persons shortly after in the Time of Famine, as greedy of our Flesh, to satisfy your Hunger; and did you *Canibal*-like eat several, and were you not at last, by the same just God, reserved to be yet more chastised by the sharpest and severest of *English* Hands? You made it your Sport to destroy us, they made it their Work to destroy you? They with as much Ease conquered you, as you before had murdered us: Their great Endeavour was to keep off our Hands from being your Assistance, and then feared no Harm which could come to them singly from yours.

When your supreme Council were consulting how to destroy *Cromwell*, you know the Advice given by the Lord Viscount *Clanmaleer*, which was to join with him, giving this as his Reason, that he never knew his Countrymen join with any Party, but they strait destroyed them; you may make yourselves as infamous to Posterity, as he who destroy'd *Diana's* Temple; you may destroy again much of the Country, but cannot long keep it.

What if like *Isaac* we are now bound as a ready Sacrifice to your Rage? was it your Courage that did thus bind us, or our Submission to the Will of God and his Vice-gerent; and as God wrought a miraculous Delivery for him, so we doubt not but in his Time, which is the best Time, he will work the like for us? What, if by the Misrepresentation of a great Courtier, or greater Favourite with his Prince than with his God, we are now as the *Jews* once were to *Haman*, given up to his Hands to be destroyed? Have we not a Queen *Hester* in our View, who is more able to save, than to destroy us? what if

if we who have been as terribly formidable to the *Irish*, as *Sampson* was to the *Philistines*, having now our Strength taken from us, are become as contemptible as he, without his Locks; yet on the Return of our Strength, we despair not soon to pull down that *Irish* Fabric which you have now set up to make us your Slaves? What if your Numbers were treble what they are, or can be, it is well known we never feared your Numbers; the more you are, the more will be to kill, to be taken and to run away? Do not think that the *Irish* Harp, or the fading *Flower-de-Luce* can secure you from the *British* and *Belgic* Lions in a Day of Trial.

You escaped well in the last Rebellion, think not to speed so well in the next; we know you got Favour and Forfeitures enough in your last Rebellion to make Satisfaction for the Charge and Mischief you may do in your next, *fero Sapient Phryges*, wherein perhaps God may arise and spirit Men to call to account that Ocean of innocent Blood you spilt, and as yet unaccounted for, which Day of Reckoning, his Justice will not for ever delay; and though Justice have leaden Heels, yet it hath in all Ages been found to have Iron Hands, could those who have put Arms into your Hands, put Courage into your Hearts, or other Souls into your Bodies, they might hope to make you good Soldiers. It is confessed by all, that the *British* were ever the best Fighters, and it cannot be denied but you were ever esteemed the best Runners. Naturalists observe, that where Nature is defective one way, that Defect is supplied another; so the Want of Courage in your Hearts is supplied with the better Agility of the Heels: *Ob! the Consolation of a soft Bog, and a thick Wood in a Day of Battle! Some of you have complained you have been oppressed by English Governors.* It is confessed, that the Government of this Kingdom, being a subordinate Government, we as well as you have too often received Severities from powerful Ministers; but did we ever take Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, &c. for a Cure, or *Irish* Blood for our Revenge? Though you may have some Cause, yet we know your Complaints have exceeded your Cause. We can remember the Complaint which the present Deputy made to his *English* Predecessor of great Partialities in our then Judicatures; and we as well remember, that it was desired he would assign one Instance to justify his Complaint, and for his Encouragement was openly assured, that the Cause should be re-heard, the injured *Irishman* relieved, and the offending Judge and Jury punished; but we could never hear of any one Instance given to make good the Complaint.

Do not Multitudes of your own People rather wish the Return of that *English* Governor, than a Continuance under the present Deputy? Was not the Kingdom improved under the one? and, is it not sunk a Moiety already of its intrinsic Value under the other? Trade was then increased, Improvements encouraged, Justice equally administered, is it so now? The Army was then well governed, the Establishments paid eighteen Months in twelve Months time, is it so now? All the public Debts cleared, the Kingdom well satisfied, and near fifty thousand Pounds left in the Receiver's Hands. Will your present Deputy ever, think you, do the like; in a Word, never was Governor received with greater Acclamation, never was that Government discharged

with greater Satisfaction, and never was that Government left with greater Lamentation, will it be so now? As this is the first Experiment which the Crown of *England* ever made of *Ireland's* thriving under an *Irish* Government, so it is hoped it may be the last; and it is our only Wish, that it may not now prove to be too dearly bought. It is manifest, by the Experience of former Ages, that the *Irish* lived well and safe under the *British* Government, and 'tis as manifest, that the *British* cannot live so under yours.

But you also further plead, that you are innocent, and most injuriously barred of any Benefit by that Plea, and that by the express Words of the Explanatory Act.

1. You cannot but acknowledge, that in the Times of Usurpation, you had Time without Limitation to prove your Innocence.

2. Such of you as did appear so, were all restored.

3. When constant good Affection was thought too narrow, the Qualifications for Innocency so opened the Door, that you got the whole Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare* from the then Power.

4. On the late King's Restoration in 1660, the Clamour of Innocency was again revived; and though the universal Guilt of the *Irish* was then fully proved, and the just Forfeiture of your Lives and Fortunes affirmed, as appears by the Preface of the Act of Settlement aforementioned, yet a Year's time more was allowed for Trial of your Innocence.

5. On passing the Explanation Bill in the House of Commons in *Ireland*, it was made appear, that your Agents had inserted that Bar, or Clause against Innocency in the Act of Explanation, on purpose to reproach the then expected Settlement.

6. The Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement being prevailed with by your Agents, to put the Proof of your Guilt upon us, and they severally refusing and undervaluing the Evidence of the Soldiery, both before and since 1649, as Parties, by reason of the Satisfaction confirmed to them by the Acts, and rejecting the *Irish* as *Participes Criminis*, and the *Irish* having destroyed all the old *British* within their Reach, there was little Possibility to prove the Guilt of the most rebellious, many who were prescribed by public Proclamation, and large Sums offered to any to bring in their Heads, were by these Restraints made innocent: The Marquis of *Antrim*, the only surviving General which the Rebels had in *Ulster*, was openly declared innocent; and the then Duke of *Ormond* being so declared the same Day, was heard to say, that that Judgment was certainly erroneous; for that they heading two differing Parties, and fighting with each other, on different Authorities, could not possibly be both innocent; the Lords *Taaff*, *Preston*, *Muskerry*, and *Castlehaven* being the only surviving Generals in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, were so far from esteeming themselves obnoxious for what they did in that Rebellion, that they not only procured a Restoration to their former Proprieties by the Acts of Settlements, but had large Donatives of forfeited Lands confirmed to them by that Law; and three of them the Addition of new Honours conferred on them, to make them the more signally meritorious, and were raised to that Elevation of confident Merit, that they and others,

most

most active in that Rebellion, petitioned the Government here to have their Arrears stated, for the good Services they did his Majesty in that Rebellion: So that by the aforesaid Restraints given by the Commissioners, and by the powerful Interest of the aforesaid Generals, and their Clergy, few or none were made Nocents, but such as wanted either Friends or Money to make them innocent: But when the guilty Claimant found, that it was easier buying an inconsiderable Part of his Estate from the Soldier or Adventurer, than to run the Risque of the Whole by the expensive Methods of that Court, they would usually purchase that small Proportion, and limit their Claims to the purchased Part, and to that no Opposition being given, they were declared innocent of course, and being thus declared, they would soon after get their whole Estate by due Course of Law, though this Cheat is expressly mentioned in the Act of Explanation; yet there may the Reader find the Decrees under the Name or Title of Decrees, *Quo ad hoc*, made good by that Law, as illegal as were their whole collusive Decrees, passed after the 2d of July 1663, the *British* well knowing that was the Time limited by Law for their Adjudication; and the *British* preparing little or no Opposition against the worst of the Claimants, Innocents were made as fast as their Claims were read, and the Work was so sweet and pleasant to the Commissioners, that they continued making Innocents until the 22d of August following, fifty-one Days after the Time by Law limited was expired; and in these fifty-one Days made more Innocents than they had done before, and that the Benefit (deserves a worse Name) might be equally divided, the Commissioners agreed, that each Commissioner, in his Turn, prepare his List of Claimants for that Day's Work; only the last Day, viz. 22d of August, there were upwards of seventy Claims posted up to be heard; and their Clerk having not Time to read half the Claims, and he making that Day as many Innocents as the Court, was reported to share half the Benefit of that Day's Work.

Yet as *illegal, corrupt, and horrid*, as these Decrees were, they must, and that by a *British* Parliament, be confirmed, and one Third of what was left the *British* retrenched, or not one Foot could be confirmed to the *British* by that Law, as appears to any that reads but that Act of Explanation: *These were fine Innocents!* These and their Nocents are like to make fair Sheriffs, Judges, and Juries of such Estates as are secured, or left the *British* by that Law.

And as the *Irish* had these Encouragements in times of Peace, so on Enquiry it will be found, that they had as many or more in times of War, which (as appears) was begun not only with the highest Approbation and Encouragement of their own Clergy, but had the united Concurrence, Benedictions, and Masses of most of the Romish Clergy in *Europe* for their good Success. *Urban VIII.* the then Pope, thought it not enough to send his Nuntio to be President of their Councils, and to act as General over their Armies, but with him sent his Bull, bearing Date the 17th of May 1642, six Months after the Beginning of the said Rebellion, when above one hundred thousand innocent *British* had been inhumanly butchered by the *Irish*, and they at that instant murdering more as fast as they could; yet in the said Bull, his Holiness was pleased to call these perfidious horrid *Irish* Murderers, *Faithful Christians,*

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godly Warriors, their Rebellion a godly Undertaking to relieve their Country, and their poor massacred and murdered *British* Protestants, *Heretics* and *Workers of Iniquity*; and by the said Bull, gives further Encouragement to the said *Irish* to confess to any secular or regular Priest approved by the Ordinary of the Place, who on hearing their said Confessions, was empowered to give them Absolutions from all their Sins, how great or heinous soever they were.

In Imitation of this holy Example, given by his Holiness himself, it is notoriously known, that no Penance was more usually imposed by their bigoted Clergy, on the vilest Offenders, than the murdering of innocent Protestants, under the Name of *Heretics*; and that before they would give Absolution, would frequently advance Monies, and promise their saying several Masses for their good Success.

And to conclude, at the Writing hereof, there is such Intelligence here obtained, which gives more than a probable Assurance, the same Spirit is now at work; and some of the said Clergy have actually employed profligate Villains to murder such Protestants, as are in prospect, under God, most likely to preserve the Reformed Religion in this Part of the World.

Are these the Doctrines or Practices of Christians? Or, are they not rather the Doctrines of the Devil, who was a Murderer from the Beginning? Well might the Heathen cry, *Sit Anima mea cum Philosophis*; and as well may the Christian say, *Nostrum non est Evangelium, aut hi sunt Anti-christi potius quam Christi Pontifices & Sacerdotes.*

A LIST of the Nobility of IRELAND, in 1688.

Protestants.	Protestants.	Papists.
Duke of Ormond.	Earls.	Earls.
Earls.	<i>Inchiquin.</i>	<i>Castlemayne.</i>
<i>Kildare.</i>	<i>Clancarty.</i>	<i>Carlingford.</i>
<i>Thomond.</i>	<i>Orrery.</i>	<i>Tyrone.</i>
<i>Cork.</i>	<i>Mountrath.</i>	<i>Tyrconnel.</i>
<i>Desmond.</i>	<i>Drogheda.</i>	
<i>Barrymore.</i>	<i>Waterford.</i>	Protestant Viscounts.
<i>Meath.</i>	<i>Mount-alexander.</i>	<i>Grandison.</i>
<i>Offory.</i>	<i>Down.</i>	<i>Wilmot.</i>
<i>Roscommon.</i>	<i>Longford.</i>	<i>Loftus.</i>
<i>London-derry.</i>	Papists.	<i>Swords.</i>
<i>Donnegal.</i>	Marquis of <i>Antrim.</i>	<i>Kilmurry.</i>
<i>Arran.</i>	Earls.	<i>Castleton.</i>
<i>Conaway.</i>	<i>Clanrickard.</i>	<i>Chamworth.</i>
<i>Carberry.</i>	<i>Castlehaven.</i>	<i>Sligo.</i>
<i>Ardglass.</i>	<i>Westmeath.</i>	<i>Waterford.</i>
<i>Rannalagh.</i>	<i>Fingall.</i>	<i>Stangford.</i>
<i>Cavan.</i>		<i>Tuam.</i>
		<i>Casbell.</i>
		Protestants

Protestants.	Papists.	Protestants.
Viscounts.	Viscounts.	Barons.
<i>Carelow.</i>	<i>Bronkart.</i>	<i>Loghlin.</i>
<i>Cullen.</i>	<i>Galmoy.</i>	<i>Coleraine.</i>
<i>Shannon.</i>	<i>Kingstand.</i>	<i>Leitrim.</i>
<i>Dromcore.</i>	<i>Gormanstown.</i>	<i>Donmore.</i>
<i>Mazarine.</i>	<i>Mayo.</i>	<i>Killard.</i>
<i>Kells.</i>	<i>Killmaslock.</i>	<i>Kingston.</i>
<i>Dungannon.</i>		<i>Colooney.</i>
<i>Fitzbarding.</i>	Protestant Barons.	<i>Santry.</i>
<i>Clare.</i>	<i>Kinsale.</i>	<i>Clawnally.</i>
<i>Charlemount.</i>	<i>Kerry.</i>	<i>Altram.</i>
<i>Powers.</i>	<i>Hoath.</i>	Bishops 24.
<i>Blessington.</i>	<i>Mountjoy.</i>	
<i>Ross.</i>	<i>Foliot.</i>	Barons Papists.
<i>Lisburn.</i>	<i>Maynard.</i>	<i>Athenry.</i>
Papist Viscounts.	<i>Gorges.</i>	<i>Cabir.</i>
<i>Rathcoole.</i>	<i>Digbey.</i>	<i>Baltimore.</i>
<i>Bareford.</i>	<i>Lifford.</i>	<i>Strabane.</i>
	<i>Herbert.</i>	

An ANSWER to a Paper importing a Petition of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and six other Bishops, to his Majesty, touching their not distributing and publishing the late Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*.

Vide, utrum Tunica filii tui sit, an non? Quam cum cognovisset pater, ait, Tunica filii mei est, fera pessima comedit eum. Gen. xxxvii. Ver. 32, 33.

With Allowance.

London, Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel, 1688.

[The King, by this Time, had not only been induced by his Privy-Council of Jesuits, Priests, &c. to set forth another Edition of his Declaration of Indulgence, but to lay a Snare for the Bishops, by ordering them to cause it to be read in all Churches and Chapels through the Kingdom. In the preceding Reign, they had officiously read a Declaration of another Kind, namely, of his Majesty's Reasons for dissolving his Parliament; and Advantage was taken of that Duplicity then, to exact the like Conformity to the Royal Pleasure now. But the Ends to be served by the same Means were widely different; then the Laity were to be crushed

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crushed between the Church and the King; but now the Church was to be crushed between the King and the Laity; and they understood that the Difference of Purpose authorised a Difference of Conduct: Accordingly, instead of the implicit Obedience expected from them, Archbishop Sancroft, and six of his Suffragans, resolved to remonstrate against the Command imposed, and to plead the Doctrine of Prudence, Honour, and Conscience in their own Excuse. This Resolution of theirs, and the Reasons on which it was grounded, were drawn up in the Form of a Petition, and presented to his Majesty by all but the Metropolitan, who was indisposed, in Person; and it was this Petition which the notable Author of the following Piece, by his Majesty's own Royal Authority, undertakes to answer.]

An ANSWER to a Paper, importing a Petition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

NOT to amuse my Reader with any Reasons or Excuse of this Undertaking, let this suffice for both: That several Copies of this Paper, instead of distributing his Majesty's Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, having been privately dispersed through most Counties of *England*, I thought it every Man's Duty, and (among the rest) mine, to undeceive them who have not the same Brains, but more Honesty and Loyalty, than those that sent it, and bestow some Ink upon the Tetter, that it spread no further. In order to which, and that every Man may at once see the Whole before him, and thereby come to the truer Conclusion, I shall take my Rise from the Occasion of this Paper, and thence proceed to the Matter of it. Now the Occasion was thus:

His Majesty finding it had been the frequent Endeavours of the four last Reigns, to reduce this Kingdom to an exact Conformity in Religion, and how little the Success had answered the Design, but rather destroyed Trade, depopulated the Country, and encouraged Strangers; and being resolved to establish his Government on such a Foundation as might make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him by Inclination as well as Duty, on the 4th of *April* 1687, issued his most gracious Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, thereby declaring, That he will protect and maintain his Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of *England*, in the free Exercise of their Religion, and full Enjoyment of their Possessions and Properties, as now established by Law, without any Molestation, &c.—That all Execution of penal Laws for Matters Ecclesiastical, as Nonconformity, &c. shall be, and are thereby suspended.—That all his Subjects have Leave to meet and worship God in their own Way, without Disturbance.—And forasmuch as the Benefit of the Service of his Majesty's Subjects is by the Law of Nature inseparably annexed to, and inherent in his Royal Person, and that no one for the future may be under any Discouragement or Disability, by reason of some Oaths or Tests usually administered; that no such

Oaths

Oaths or Tests shall be hereafter required of them; and that he would dispense with them, &c.

And because several Endeavours had been made to abuse the Easiness of the People, as if he might be persuaded out of what he had so solemnly declared, his Majesty, as well to stop the Mouth of the Gainsayers, as to shew his Intentions were not changed since the said 4th of *April*, by a second Declaration of the 27th of *April* last past, enforces and confirms the said former Declaration, conjures his loving Subjects to lay aside all private Animosities and groundless Jealousies, and to chuse such Members of Parliament as may do their Part to finish what he has begun, for the Advantage of the Monarchy over which God hath placed him, as being resolved to call a Parliament that shall meet in *November* next at furthest.

This Declaration was forthwith printed, and by Order of Council required to be distributed, published, and read in the respective Churches through the Kingdom: And in that it was not enjoined to be read in any the Congregations thereby permitted, what greater Evidence can there be of his Majesty's real Intentions to the Church of *England*, when, however he suffered others, he owned not yet any established National Church but the Church of *England*? Upon this the ensuing Paper was on the 18th of *May* following (between the Hours of Nine and Ten at Night) presented to his Majesty by six Bishops the Subscribers.

To the KING's most excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of divers of the suffragan Bishops of the Province, now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses.

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT their great Averseness they find in themselves to the Distribution and Publication in all their Churches of your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to your Majesty, our holy Mother the Church of *England*, being both in her Principles, and constant Practices, unquestionably loyal, and having to her great Honour been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your Majesty, nor yet from any want of due Tenderneſs to Dissenters; in relation to whom, they are willing to come to such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when the Matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other Considerations, from this especially, because the Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing Power, as has been often declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662, 1672, and in the Beginning of your Majesty's Reign, and is a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, and Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it all over
the

the Nation, and reading it, even in God's House, and in the Time of his divine Service must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the Distribution and Reading your Majesty's Declaration.

Canterbury.

St. Asaph. Bath and Wells.

Chichester. Peterborough.

Ely. Bristol.

And here also for Method's Sake, and before I come to the Matter of it, I hold it requisite that I speak somewhat to the Persons the Subscribers, and the Time of their presenting it.

As to the First, the holy Scriptures styles Bishops the *Angels of their Churches*; and by the Common Law of *England*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is * *Primus Par. Angl.* The Bishops, Lords Ecclesiastical secular †, — and sit in Parliament *Jure Episcopatus*, which they hold || *per Baroniam*. — The Statute (*pro Clero*) calls them Peers of the Realm * ||. — That of Queen *Elizabeth*, one of the greatest States of the Realm † ||. — They have Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical Causes, and are not bound to obey any Mandate but the King's; and by reason of all this, presumed to have a more than ordinary Influence upon the People. Our Saviour calls his Disciples *the Salt, and Light of the World*. And why? but that they should season others with their Doctrine, and guide them, by their Example, into the Way of Peace. His Name is the *Prince of Peace*; his Sermon on the Mount was, *The Gospel of Peace*; the Blessings in it are to the *Poor in Spirit, the Meek, the Merciful, the Peacemakers, &c.* His Life was one continued Practice of it; and his last Legacy to his Disciples was *Peace*. He gave to *Cæsar* the Things that were *Cæsar's*; and that Tribute, which yet was the Product of an absolute Power, he not only paid it without disputing the Authority, but commanded it to others: And though the Imperial Power after his Death was of the same Absoluteness, yet St. *Paul* says not, the Senate had declared it illegal, but calls it the *Ordinance of God*, and enjoins Subjection to it. What the Apostles in their Time were, the same ever, and now challenge the Governors of all Churches; next, and under Kings, they are in the stead of God to the People; and where they make a false Step, what Wonder if the unthinking People forget the Precept, and take after the Example? They see nothing but (*sub imagine lufca*) by Twilight, and conceive according to the Colour of those Rods are cast before them; they hear a Noise, but know not whence it cometh, or whether it goeth, and run away the Cry, without so much as laying a Nose to the Ground for it. What made the People set up *Adonias* against *David's* Disposition of the Crown to *Solomon*? *Abiathar* the High Priest was in the

* 4 Inst. 5. † Idem 362. || 25 E. III. c. 24. * || 8 Eliz. c. 1. † || 1 Inst. 134.

Head of them. What made the Nobles break the Yoke? The Prophets had prophesied falsely, the Priests applauded it with their Hands, and a foolish People loved to have it so. Or, what made the *Jews*, who had so often acknowledged our Saviour, turn head against him, and crucify him? The chief Priests, the Scribes and Elders had possessed the People, that the *Romans* would come and take away their City. Thus we see what Influence great Men have upon the heedless Multitude; and therefore how wary ought they to be, how they give them the least Example of Disobedience; for it is seldom seen, but where the one disputes, the other cavils; and where the Leaders make but a Shrug at the Government, the People think it high time to be mending it. Our own Histories are as one Example of it; or if they run narrow, *Tacitus* may be believed of his, *Erant in Officio, qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* There were (saith he) some in Power that were more for commenting than executing the Emperor's Directions. Nor are Disputes or Excuses of less Danger; for it is a Kind of shaking off the Yoke, and an * Essay of Disobedience; especially if in those Disputings, they which are for the Direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it, audaciously. And if by such Means a Fire break out in the State, it will want no Fuel, when it is kindled from the Altar.

And for the Time of their presenting it, I shall consider it as it may respect the present Circumstances of the Kingdom, or that half Scantling of Time they gave his Majesty to consider of their Excuses.

As to the former, the Glut of Reformers in *Edward* the Sixth's Time was great, and the Qualifications so indifferent, that the Church of *England* has ever since laboured under it, and the same Elements that compounded her, half destroyed her: For, as the Laws, not the Doctrine, brought them first together, they no sooner found themselves streightned in the *One*, than they made it up with the *Other*, and themselves somewhat in the Broils, that were otherwise nothing in the Peace of the State: These Humours, during her, and King *James's* Reign, lay fermenting in the Body, but in his Son's, broke out into a Pestilence. The Crown fell, the Church followed it, and the most diligent Enquirer might have sought *England* in herself, yet missed her; till at last it pleased him, whose only it is to still the Raging of the Sea, to say to the Madness of the People, *Huc usque, nec ultra.* His late Majesty King *Charles* the Second was restored; and so little averse were the Catholic Lords to the Church of *England*, that their Votes, which otherwise might have kept them out, brought them once more into the House of Peers; nor were they scarce warm in their Seats, before the Act of Uniformity was passed, and driven with that Violence, that it had like to have overturned all again. The Dissenters were not fit for Employ, they had Money in their Purses, and the World was wide enough; the Catholic Lords were less to be trusted, they cumbered the Ground, and 'twas but fit they were down. There remained nothing but to cast out the Heir, and then the Inheritance would be the easier divided. And here also it pleased God to appear in the Mount; he plucked

* Lord Bacon's Essay of Subjection.

him out of the deep Waters, and set him on the Throne of his Ancestors: And as he came to the Crown through the greatest of Difficulties, he has been preserved in it by no less a Providence. He stifled two Serpents in the Cradle of his Empire, and in a three Years Government conquered all Example in his own. And now, when our troubled Waters had begun to settle again, what Need of whistling up the Winds for another Storm? When the Wounds of the Kingdom were almost closed, what Charity was it to unbind them too soon, or under Pretence of easing the Patient, to set them bleeding a-fresh? In a Word, when the Brands of our late Rebellions lay smothered in their almost forgotten Embers, what Prudence was it to rake them into another Flame? I see little of the Dove in it, and am loth to say, too much of the Serpent.

And for that half Scantling of Time they gave his Majesty to consider of their Excuses, it seems here also, that the Spirit of Direction (like *Baal* in the *Kings*.) was some way or other out of the Way. The Declaration was no new Thing, it had been published the 4th of *April* 1687, and his Majesty had received the general Acknowledgments of the Kingdom for it, which argued their Satisfaction in it. Their Corn was in the Ground, and now, if ever, was the Time to sow Tares; and therefore, to prevent their choaking it, his Majesty the 27th of *April* 1688. (which was one full Year, and three Weeks after) enforces his first Declaration, and commands it to be read in all Churches within ten Miles of *London*, on the 20th and 27th of *May*, and in all other the Churches through the Country on the 3d and 10th of *June* following, time enough (one would think) to have considered the Matter, so as to have given the King some time to have advised. Whereas on the contrary, they make no Scruple of it, till the 18th of *May*, about Ten at Night, and then (the 19th being a Day appointed for Hunting) they present the Paper before-mentioned, as well knowing, that if his Majesty had an Inclination of countermanding his Declaration, he was so straitned in time, that he could not do it, for it was to be read the Day after. And, what can be rationally interpreted from it, but that they had been all that while numbering the People, to see whether the Party were strong enough? And I am the rather inclined to it, for that since the Time of the first Declaration, the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* has not been so much in Vogue as it was formerly; it would keep cold for another Time, and to have pressed it now, who knows but the People might have believed it? In short, *Nathan*, *Zadoc*, &c. had some Pretence for opposing *Adoniah*; *Me thy Servant*, and *Zadoc the Priest*, he hath not called. So *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, were Ecclesiastical Princes, and thought they might have as much Right to govern as *Moses*: But when the Church of *England* (founded on the Law of *England*) acknowledges the King supreme in all Causes, themselves * *infra ætatem*, & *in custodia Domini Regis*; when the King, by his Declaration, has secured them in their Religion, Possessions, and Properties, and by virtue of his Royal Prerogative (and for the Quiet of the Nation) only indulged it to others (yet making no Doubt of

* *Glan.* l. 7. c. 1. *Bract.* l. 5. 427.

the Parliament's Concurrence to it) is it just that their Eye be evil, because the King's is good? Or, must the King of Heaven be confined to a Party? I never heard that Disobedience was any Qualification for it; and therefore if they will not enter themselves, why do they shut it against others that would enter?

But perhaps the Petition (if yet there can be any Reason for the Breach of a Duty) may give us the Reason of it. The Title says, *In behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses.* Which makes good what I before hinted, that instead of distributing and publishing his Majesty's Declaration to be read in their respective Dioceses, as in bounden Duty to their supreme Ordinary the King, they ought to have done; and the Clergy, in respect of their Canonical Obedience to them, must have obeyed under the Pain of Suspension, and in case of Contumacy of Deprivation; they had been feeling the Pulse of their Clergy, and finding little Return from them, but *speak, Lord, for thy Servant beareth*, they concluded the Flock would follow the Shepherd; and consequently, if the Party were not strong enough, the Multitude of the Offenders might make it dispunishable; whereas it has been seen, that a Ferry-boat's taking in too many Passengers, to encrease the Fare, has been often the Occasion of sinking all together. And if the Loyalty of the Church of *England* receive any Blemish by it, what can they say, but that she was *wounded in the House of her Friends*? For by the same Reason, that a Metropolitan refuses the Injunctions of his supreme Ordinary the King, by the same Reason may a Diocefan refuse his Metropolitan, and every inferior Clergyman his Diocefan; and when the Chain is once broken, you may dispose the Links as you please.

But the Petition says, *It was neither from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majesty.* No; Then why was it not complied with? *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works*, saith St. James; nor will it be possible to clear that Son of Disobedience, that said *I go*, but went not. A Bishop (as before) is not bound to obey any Mandate but the King's; which Exception proves the Rule, and that he is inexcusably obliged to obey the King's; for all Bishops are subject to the Imperial Power, who is to be obeyed against the Will of the Bishop. *Mauritius* * the Emperor (says Bishop Taylor) commanded St. Gregory to hand an unlawful Edict to the Churches; the Bishop advised the Prince, that what he went about was a Sin, did what he could to have hindered it, and yet obeyed. It was the Case of *Saul* and *Samuel*: The King desires *Samuel* to join with him in the Service of the Lord; he, with the Liberty of a Prophet, refused at first, but afterwards joined with him: Whereupon the said Bishop, in the same Place, further says, *That even the unlawful Edicts of a lawful Prince may be published by the Clergy*: How much more then those that are lawful? And that this Declaration is such, I shall shew presently, when I come to speak to their Word *Illegal*. In short, the † Archbishop of *Canterbury* is Ordinary of the Court, and a Bishop's private Opinion may be Warrant enough for him to speak when he is required, but || not to reprove a Prince upon Pretence of Duty.

* *Ductor Dub.* fol. 606. † *Heylin's Life of A. B. Laud*, 209. || *Id. Ductor. Dub.* 608.

Our holy Mother the Church of England being both in her Principles and constant Practices unquestionably loyal. Nor have they hitherto appeared other, and if not Religion, moral Gratitude must have obliged them to it: All the Bishoprics of England (but * Sodor and Man, which was instituted by Pope Gregory the Fourth) are of the Foundation of the Kings of England †, and those in Wales of the Prince of Wales: Nor is it less than Reason, that they look up to the Hand that fed them; Or, to whom more justly ought they have paid the Tribute of Obedience, than to him that took them from the Flock, and sate them among Princes? In a Word, the late War was *Bellum Episcopale*; and if King Charles the First would have confirmed the Sale of Church Lands, he had saved himself: And why then do they reproach the King his Son with their Loyalty, when they instance the contrary in so small a Trial of that Obedience; especially when, were the Matter doubtful, the Presumption were for Obedience, and even unjust Commands may be justly obeyed? For as we fear the Thing is unjust, so have we Reason to fear the Evil of Disobedience, for we are sure that is evil; and therefore we are to change the || speculative Doubt into a practical Resolution, and of two Doubts take the surest Part, and that is to obey; because, in such Cases, *Reum facit Superiorem, iniquitas Imperandi; innocentem Subditum, ordo serviendi*: The Evil (if there be any) is imputed to him that commands, not him that obeys, who is not his Prince's Judge, but Servant; and they that are under Authority are to obey, not dispute; nor shall any thing done by virtue thereof be said to be § *contra pacem*. David commanded Joab to put Uriah in the Head of the Battle, to the End that he might fall by the Enemy: Joab obeys; Uriah is killed; and yet not Joab, who might have prevented it, but David, who commanded it, is charged with the Murder. In a Word, to pretend Loyalty for a common Principle, and yet make Disputing and Disobedience the Practice of it; what is it but a drawing near with the Mouth, when the Heart is farthest from it? The Voice perhaps may be the Voice of Jacob, but the Hands are the Hands of Esau.

And having to her great Honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be so by your Majesty. And, does his Majesty less than acknowledge it in this Declaration? He has in the Word of a King secured to them their Religion, Possessions, and Properties; and, why? but to assure them, he repented not the Character: And it was their Interest, if not Duty, to keep it up; nay, the Honour of their Church depended on it, inasmuch as Men value Things according to the present Good or Evil they do in the World; and what Advantage can that Religion give us to another Life, when it shall be found mischievous, or destructive to this? They have, I said, the Word of a King for their Security; but if they force him in his own Defence, to secure against it, whom can they blame but themselves, who first made the Challenge? Abiathar's Service to David, was acknowledged by Solomon; but when he once began to boggle, he forgave, but removed him. And our Bishop Bonner, though he got his Bishoprick by thwarting the Pope, yet he lost it again by

* 4 Inst. 285. † 1 Inst. 94, & 97. || Id. *Duct. Dub.* f. 136, & 531. § 9 Coke 68.
10 Coke 70.

opposing the King. In a Word, the holy Spirit in the *Apocalypse*, acknowledges the good Works of the Seven Churches of *Asia*, but bids some of them remember whence they had fallen, and repent, and do the first Works, or he would remove their Candlestick.

Nor yet from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters. No ! Why then have thoſe penal Laws been executed with ſo much Rigour againſt them ? Or, why are they ſo averſe from having them eaſed at preſent ? What brought them into this Kingdom, I have touched before, and what turned them out again, our Trade with them is demonſtrable enough in the late Proteſtants of *France*. I will not ſay, but they might have been kept out at firſt ; but being ſettled and embodied into a People, it may ſeem ill Policy to remove any greater Number to gratify a Leſſer. It is not the Nobility, or the Gentry, that are the Traders ; nor is it the Gown that enriches more than particular Perſons ; but the Trade of the Merchant, and the Industry of the middle Sort, that enriches a Nation, and without which *Vena porta*, let a Kingdom have never ſo good Limbs, it will have but empty Veins. It was Trade gave *England* its firſt Credit abroad, and the Manufacture at home found Matter to it ; the one drained other Kingdoms to water our own, and the other brought a Balance to it, in making the Export come up to the Import, and both together ſecured the Dominion of the Sea, and made the Wealth of either *Indies* a kind of Acceſſary to it ; and all this carried on by the middle Sort of People. Take our Sea-ports, and the Seaman is but here and there a true Church of *England* Man ; the Merchant that employs him not much better at Heart ; the Artisan through the Kingdom has more than a Spice of the Diſeaſe ; and the Body of the People not leaſt infected with it. However, let them be quiet within themſelves, and they diſpute no Authority ; but when they are uneaſy, and mew'd up at home, what wonder if they change it for a freer Air ? What makes us complain of the Want of Trade ? That our Neighbours have gotten into our Manufacture : That our Ships are not ſo well manned as formerly, and the Rents of Lands fallen : The Reaſon is obvious, ourſelves have cut off our own Hands. The Merchant ſits down with what he has, or turns Builder ; the Workman carries his Art with him ; the Seaman will have his Opinion as well as his Pay ; and the Lump of the People their Conſciences, or good-night Landlord ! whereas, ſince his Maſteſty's late Indulgence, Trade is viſibly encreaſed, Building ſtops of itſelf, the Kingdom begins to people again, and the numerous Addreſſes on this Occaſion, ſpeak ſo general a Satisfaction, that if ſuch be the Dawn, what may there not be expected from its full Day ? And is there no Equity, that the Catholic alſo come in for a Share, though the Word *Diſſenter* ſeems not (in proper Speech) to comprehend him ; for neither the Law of *England*, or themſelves, ever knew him by that Name ? However, that ſome Tenderneſs might be due to them, may be gathered from the *Engliſh* Litany. The Church of *England* knows, the King profeſſes the Faith of *Rome* ; and therefore when they beſeech God, *That it may pleaſe thee to keep and ſtrengthen in the true worſhipping of thee in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs of Life, thy Servant James our moſt gracious King and Governor*, what do they mean by it ? If after the Way which ſome
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of them call Idolatry, so worships he the God of his Fathers, and they beseech God to keep and strengthen him in the true worshipping of him, they imply that Worship to be a true Worship; and if they do not believe it, and yet use the Words, how will they avoid a Sin? for whatever is not of Faith, is Sin. In a Word, the King has made a general Indulgence to all his Subjects, the Catholics fall under no particular Exception in it; and therefore the Law of Reason, as well as the Law of the Land, gives them the Benefit of it.

In relation to whom, they are willing to come to such a Temper as shall be thought fit, when that Matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. What the Temper hitherto has been, is but too sensible already, and what it is like to be for the future, may be guessed by what is passed. The King (who by the Law of *England* is *Supremus in Ecclesiasticis*) has thought fit, considered, and settled the Matter; and were a Parliament now sitting, the * King is sole Judge, all the rest but Advisers. The Royal Prerogative is a Part of that † Law of the Land, and by that Authority, the King has settled it; and therefore it becomes no Man to be wiser than the Law. Nor is the Advice of *Ignatius* to his Clergy foreign to it, *Nolite || Principes irritare ut acerbentur, ne ansam detis iis qui illam contra vos quærunt.* Provoke not Princes, saith he, to become bitter, lest ye hand an Occasion to those that seek one against ye. But supposing it a Matter only cognisable in Parliament, why could not they have held till then, and in the mean time obeyed? especially when the King had, by the same Declaration, declared his Resolution of calling a Parliament in *November* next at farthest; and our Law says, *Extra § Parliamentum nulla petitio est grata, licet necessaria.* No Petition, how necessary soever, is grateful out of Parliament. Or, how then could the Convocation be concerned in it? for (besides that the Matter is merely political, and singly respects the Quiet of the Kingdom) if the King, who is supreme Ordinary of all *England*, may by the ancient Laws of this Realm, and without Parliament, make Ordinances and Constitutions for the Government of the Clergy, and deprive them for Non-obedience thereunto, as has been more ** than once resolved, he may; what have the Convocation to be consulted in it? especially when they have so often, in *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the †† the Second, and *Edward* the Third's Time, been commanded by the King's Writ, that as they love their Baronies (which they hold of the King) that they intermeddle with nothing that concerned the King's Laws of the Land, his Crown and Dignity, his Person, or his State, or the State of his Council or Kingdom: (*Scituri pro certo quod si fecerint, Rex inde se capiet ad Baronias suas*) willing them to know for certain, that if they did, the King would seize their Baronies. And by the Statute of *Henry* ††† the Eighth, it is provided, That no Canons or Constitutions should be made, or put in Execution by their Authority, which were contrariant, or repugnant to the King's Prerogative, the Laws, Customs, or Statutes of the Realm. In a Word, the King has commanded, they have disobeyed, and by their ill Example perverted others,

* 22 E. 3. 3. † *Stan. Pl. Cor.* 162. † *Inst.* 97. || *Epist.* 12. § 4 *Inst.* 11. ** *Crook Jac.* 37. *Moore* 755. †† 4 *Inst.* 322. ††† 25 H. VIII. c. 19.

and

and are yet very uncondescending (for so the People word it) themselves. And what would *Henry* the Eighth have done in such a Case, made Use of his last Argument, or thrown up the Game for a few cross Cards?

But among many other Considerations, from this especially, because this Declaration is founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as has been often declared illegal in Parliament: And what were those Considerations? If a Man should put an ill Construction upon them, it may be said, their Lordships never intended it; and if they intended not to amuse the People, why did they not speak plain English, and specify those Considerations? inasmuch as all Petitions ought to contain Certainty and Particularity, so as a direct Answer may be given to them; which could not be here: For whatever the King's Answer might have been, somewhat more also might have been hooked in from the Words; and Alexander would have given it a short Answer, (Aut Ligna inferte, aut Thus.) Either made it a Chimney or an Altar. But it seems it moved in sundry Places, though the best Scripture for this pretended Illegality, be a Declaration in Parliament: Their Lordships instance nothing beyond their own Time; but I conceive it not impossible to bring them those of elder Times, that have been so far from doubting the King's Dispensing Power, that they held it unquestionable.

The Statute 1 *Hen. IV. cap. 6.* says, The King is contented to be concluded by the wise Men of his Realm, touching the Estate of him and his Realm, saving always the King's Liberty, *i. e.* his Prerogative of varying from that Law, as he should see Cause.

In the Parliament-roll, 1 *Hen. V. n. 22.* the Statutes against Provisors are confirmed; and that the King shall not give any Protection or Grant against the Execution of them; saving to the King his Prerogative*.

And what was meant by that, may appear by a prior Roll of the same Year, *N. 15.* where the Commons pray †, That the Statutes for the putting Aliens out of the Kingdom, may be held and executed: The King consents, saving his Prerogative, and that he dispense with such as he shall please. Upon which the Commons answer, That their Intention was no other, and by the Help of God never shall be.

Queen *Elizabeth* hath dispensed with the ancient Form and Manner of investing and consecrating of Bishops; and the Parliament of the 8th of her Reign, *cap. 1.* declares it lawful, as being done by her inherent Prerogative. And when, by the same Prerogative or Privilege, and Royal Authority (for so it is worded) she dispensed with the Universities, &c. so Popish a Thing as *Latin* Prayers, and which their Lordships the Bishops still use in Convocations, though it be directly contrary to the Statute 1 *Eliz. cap. 1.* for using the Common Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue only; what is meant by it, but that the Queen might lawfully dispense with that Statute? for, if otherwise, there is no ecclesiastical Person in the Kingdom, but would have found the temporal Censures too heavy for him, when it had been too late to have asked a Parliamentary Consideration, whether legal or not.

* Serj. Rolle's Abridg. 2 part. tit. Prerog. 180.

† Id. Tit. Prerog.

And in particular, in the Years 1662 and 1672, and in the Beginning of your Majesty's Reign. As to the first of which, Matter of Fact stands thus: King Charles II. by his Declaration from *Breda*, had declared Liberty for tender Consciences, and that no Man should be disquieted for Difference in Opinion in Matters of Religion, which did not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. And in his Declaration of the 26th of *December* following stood firm to it, but that no such Bill had been yet offered him. While it thus lay, an Act of Indemnity, and one other of Uniformity were passed: The first regenerated themselves; and the second, with the old Ingredient, *the Growth of Popery*, was a probable Way to exclude others. The 25th and 26th of *February* the Commons come to some Resolves against that and Dissenters; which, with the Reasons of them (wherein yet they declare not the Declaration illegal) they present his Majesty on the 28th in the *Banqueting House*. The King complies; and it was too soon after a Rebellion to have done otherwise: However, if they had declared it illegal, it was but the single Opinion of the Commons, wherein the Lords made no Concurrence: And therefore to say, this dispensing Power was in the Parliament of 1662 declared illegal, when (in common and reasonable Construction) a Declaration in Parliament is intended of both Houses of Parliament; why may it not be as well urged, That those other Votes and Resolves of the Commons, touching the Bill of Exclusion, were a legal Declaration in Parliament, when yet the Lords swept their House of it?

Then, for that other of 1672, the King, in the Interval of Parliament, was engaged in a War with the *Dutch*, and, to secure Peace at home while he had War abroad, had put forth a Declaration for Indulgence to Dissenters: The Parliament meet, grant a Supply of twelve hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty thousand Pounds; and, without charging the Declaration with Illegality, pray his Majesty to recal it. The Argument prevailed, and the King did it; which shews, that it was in the King's Option not to have done it, or done it.

And lastly, for that other in the Beginning of his Majesty's Reign, that also (without declaring it illegal) was but some Heats of the Commons. There were at that time two open Rebellions; the King (who is sole Judge of the Danger of the Kingdom, and how to avoid it) had granted Commissions to certain Persons not qualified according to the Statute 25 *Car. II.* The Commons offer to bring in a Bill for the indemnifying those Persons: The King knew his own Authority, and ended the Dispute. And if any Man doubts the Legality of the King's dispensing with that Statute, a subsequent Judgment (in the Case of Sir *Edward Hales*) has determined the Point*; and that the Power of dispensing with penal Laws, upon Necessity, or urgent Occasions, of which the King is sole Judge, is an inseparable Prerogative in the King, not given him in Trust, or derived from the People, but the ancient Right of the Crown, innate in the King, and unalterable by them. And that this has been the ancient Judgment of the Judges from time to time, I shall meet with the Occasion of shewing it in the next Paragraph.

* *Trin. 2, Jac. II. in B. R.*

And is a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation both in Church and State. And so indubitably is it, that nothing can be more: For the best of Laws being but good Intentions, if a Prince should be tied up to such unalterable Decrees, as in no Case whatever he might vary from them, it might so happen, that what at one time was intended for the Good of Church and State, may at another prove the Destruction of both, if not as timely prevented. The present Case is a pregnant Instance of it: One would have thought, that the frequent Endeavours of the four last Reigns, for the reducing this Kingdom to an exact Conformity in Religion, might have answered the Design; but (if his Majesty in his Declaration had not told us his Thoughts of it) our own Experience might have taught us, the Effects thereof have in a manner brought the Kingdom to nothing: And what should the King have done in this Case; sate still, and expected a Miracle, or interposed his Royal Authority for the saving it? The Question answers itself: And if the Power of dispensing with penal Laws, were not inseparably and unalterably in him, how could he have done it? What elder Parliaments have declared in it, I have already shewn; and that the Judges successively have gone with it, is, or may be, obvious to every Man.

Such was the Resolution of all the Justices in the Exchequer Chamber, 2 Rich. III. 12. and that the King might grant Licence against a penal Statute. And what is that but a dispensing with it? In like manner, by all the Justices in the same Place, 2 Hen. VII. 6. that the King may grant a *non obstante* to a penal Statute, though the Statute say, such *non obstante* shall be merely void; and such was the Case there.—The 13 Hen. VII. 8. to the same Purpose.—Allowed for good Law, *Plowd. Com.* 502 — Confirmed by Sir Edward Coke, 7 Coke 36.—and 12 Coke 18, 19. And lastly, by a Judgment in his now Majesty's Reign, of which before. And if so necessary a Part of the Government, so solemnly determined by Parliaments and Judges, is fit to be slighted, or not obeyed, which amounts to the same, I leave it to every Man.

That your Petitioners cannot in Prudence, Honour, and Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it all over the Nation, and reading it even in God's House, and in the Time of his divine Service, must amount to in common and reasonable Construction. And on the other hand I conceive, that both in *Prudence, Honour, and Conscience*, they were highly obliged to it: For what is *Prudence*, but the active Faculty of the Mind, directing Actions morally good to their immediate Ends? That this Declaration is morally good appears by the Purport of it; and that is, *his Majesty's Desire of establishing his Government on such a Foundation as may make his Subjects happy, and unite them to him by Inclination as well as Duty.* And what greater *Prudence* could there have been, than by their Lordships distributing that Declaration as enjoined to them, and by their Pastoral Authority requiring it to be read in all Churches, &c. to have directed it to its immediate Ends, which were the establishing the Government, and making the Subjects happy? Or, if Wisdom must come in for a Share, the Offices of that are Election and Ordination; the Choice of right Means for, and ordering them aright to, their End.

The right Means of quieting the Nation was before them ; and I think it no Question, whether their Lordships not distributing it, has ordered it aright to the End. The King had enjoined it to be published, and Wisdom, in this Case, like Scripture, is not of private Interpretation, but lies in him that has the Power of commanding, not in him whom Conscience binds to obey. In a word, if Obedience in Subjects is the Prince's Strength, and their own Security, what Prudence or Wisdom could it be, by weakening the Power of commanding, to lessen their own Security ?

Then for *Honour* and *Conscience*, though in this Place they seem to mean the same Thing, and may be both resolved into *Nil conscire sibi*, yet I'll take them severally. And how stands it with the Honour of *the Church of England*, both in Principles, and constant Practices, unquestionably loyal, and to her great Honour, more than once so acknowledged by his Majesty, to start aside in this Day of her Trial ? Both the last *Armaghs*, *Usher* and *Brambal*, Bishop *Sanderfon*, Bishop *Morley*, &c. have all along, by their Doctrine and Practices, beat down that other of resisting Princes, in that *the Church of England held no such Custom* : nor have the most eminent of her Clergy, *Dr. Sherlock*, *Dr. Scott*, and others, until this last uncomplying Compliance, taken any other Measures. And ought not their Practice now to have made good their Principles ? Or that Advice of the present Bishop of *Ely* to the Church of *England*, to have been considered and followed * ? *Let her be thankful* (saith he) *to God, for the Blessings she hath, and unto the King, under whom they will be continued to her ; and take Heed of overturning or undermining the Fabric, because she cannot have the Room that she would choose in it.* And what greater Assay to it can there be, than Disobedience ? inasmuch as he that thinks his Prince ought not to be obeyed, will, from one thing to another, come at last to think him not fit to be King. Nor must the Anniversary of the now Bishop of *Chester* †, be past in Silence. *Though the King* (saith he) *should not please or humour us ; though he rend off the Mantle from our Bodies, (as Saul did from Samuel) nay, though he should sentence us to Death (of which, blessed be God and the King, there is no Danger) yet if we are living Members of the Church of England, we must neither open our Mouths, or lift our Hands against him, but honour him before the Elders and People of Israel.* And having instanced in the Examples of *the Prophets*, *our Saviour*, *his Disciples*, and *Christian Bishops* under heathen Persecutors, and demanded, whether ever the *Sanhedrim* questioned their Kings ? *Nor must we* (saith he) *ask our Prince, why he governs us otherwise, than we please to be governed ourselves : We must neither call him to account for his Religion, nor question his Policy in civil Matters ; for he is made our King by God's Law, of which the Law of the Land is only declarative.* In a word, this and the like has been the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and when, on that Ground, his Majesty has more than once acknowledged her Loyalty, who in Honour more obliged to make it good, than those that serve at her Altar ? unless (perhaps) they coin a Distinction to save it, and that the Church may be of one Opinion, and the Churchmen of another.

* His Coronation Sermon, pag. 27.

† His Sermon on that Occasion, p. 13, 14.

And then in *Conscience* their Obligation was higher: For besides what I said before, that the People are apter to follow Example than Precept, every Man (and even their Lordships with the rest) is party and privy to an Act of Parliament, and bound in Conscience to the Observance of it: Nor is there either Bishop, or Clergyman in the Church of *England*, who has not subscribed to the Lawfulness of this Declaration's being read in the Church, during the time of divine Service. As thus: Every Clergyman at the time of his Institution, subscribes (in a Book kept for that Purpose) That the King's Majesty, under God, is the only supreme Governor of this Realm: And that the Book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God †. Now, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now used in and through the Church of *England*, is enacted by Authority of Parliament, to be read in such Order and Form as is mentioned in the said Book: And the Rubric, *i. e.* the Order and Form how those Prayers shall be read, is, to all Intents and Purposes, as much enacted as the Book itself; and in that Rubric, next after the *Nicene Creed* (in the Communion Service) follow these Words: *Then shall the Curate declare unto the People what Holy-days, or Fasting-days are in the Week following to be observed, &c. And that nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church, during the time of divine Service, but by the Minister; nor by him any thing, but what is prescribed by the Rules of this Book, or enjoined by the King, or by the Ordinary of the Place.* Now, when all Clergymen have subscribed, That the Book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God; and that the King has enjoined, that his Declaration be read in all Churches, during the time of Divine Service; these Subscriptions of theirs (besides the Authority of King and Parliament) conclude themselves, from offering any thing against the Lawfulness of reading it, as it had been enjoined to them, and the Rubric required of them. And being so, what Excuse can there be, why they did not read it?

Or suppose that Clause, *Or enjoined by the King*, had not been in the Rubric (as it was first inserted in this Act of Uniformity, and every Man that was of the Convocation of 1661, knows by whom:) were none of the King's Declarations ever read in Churches (and that, during the time of divine Service) before that time? I think there were, and (amongst many others) that of the Declaration of Sports, for one. Or that the *Ordinary of the Place* had enjoined the contrary, ought not the King, the supreme Ordinary, and as their Subscriptions farther acknowledge, *the supreme Governor of this Realm under God*, to have been first obeyed? I think he ought; for the Authority of the Greater supercedes the Lesser; nor is there any Power in his Dominions, but what is derived from him. And whatever Station the King has given them in the Church, it is not to be presumed he thereby locked out himself. Nor must a Remark of the said Bishop of *Chester*, in his Sermon before-mentioned, be forgotten here: *The Jews* (saith-he*) *say, That the Keys of the Temple were not hung at the High Priest's Girdle, but laid every Night under Solomon's Pillow, as belonging to his Charge.* The Moral of it holds true; for when a Prince

† Ecclesiastical Canons 1603, Art. 36.

* Page 15.

shall have little Authority in the Church, it is not to be expected he should have much better in the State.

And lastly, for their Lordships *so far making themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution and Reading of it, &c. must amount to, in common and reasonable Construction.* A Clergyman's merely reading the Common Prayer in his Church, is no giving his Assent to it, unless after his so reading it, he shall publicly, and openly, before the Congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned Assent and Consent, to all and every thing contained, and prescribed in and by the said Book, intituled, *The Book of Common Prayer, &c.* which necessarily implies, that neither the Distributing nor Reading it, &c. can in common and reasonable Construction amount, to the making the Publisher, or Reader of it, a Party to it †.

The Apostle says, *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake.* And upon this the Bishop of Hereford grounds his Judgment for the Reading this Declaration. *The King (saith he ||) expressly commanding it to be read in all Churches, without requiring him that reads it, to declare either his Consent, Assent, Allowing, or Liking it; I wou'd gladly know how this is contrary to the Word of God? Shew it me. Or, if, as it is said, this Dispensing Power be contrary to the Laws of the Land, as is declared in the Parliament 1662, and 1672, is it contrary to the Law of God? Shew it me, Page 5, 6. Or that to read any thing in the House of God is declaring my Consent to it? Page 8. No certainly, Page 9. For in the Reading this Declaration there is no Doctrine taught, only Matter of Fact declared, and perchance to try my Obedience, Page 10. And done out of pure Obedience to my King, upon God's Command, and to so good an End as the preserving Truth and Peace among us; which if we lose on this Occasion, they will have much to answer for who are the Authors of it, Page 13.* Besides whom, there are several other Bishops of the Church of England, who have obeyed his Majesty's Commands in it, albeit they may not have so publicly declared it. And having said so much to the Matter of the Paper, I think I may well pass the Prayer of it, *That his Majesty will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the Distribution, and reading that Declaration.*

And therefore, upon the whole, if this Declaration had not been thought fit to have been distributed, as enjoined, less ought the said Paper to have been dispersed privately, and by such previous Disposition, stollen the Form of the Design into the Matter it was to work on: And considering the Evils we had passed, and that the Kingdom wanted a Lenitive, not a Corrosive, least of all ought *the People on the Wall* to have been hared with new Jealousies: The People (I say) who need more a Balance than a Fly, somewhat to moderate, not multiply their Motion.

In short, Trust is the Sinew of Society, which is the right Object of true Policy; and Distrust, a disbanding of it. The King, as he has *more than once acknowledged the Church of England's Loyalty*, has as often declared, that *he will protect and maintain his Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of England, in the free Exercise of their Religion, as*

† *Vid.* Act of Uniformity before every Common-Prayer-Book, Par. 3, 4.

|| His late Discourse on this Occasion.

by Law established: And in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Possessions, without any Molestation or Disturbance whatsoever. The King has said it, and shall he not perform it? He has pledged his Royal Word, and shall we doubt the Truth of it? It is not with God that he should lie; nor with his Vicegerent that he should be changed. And therefore let us (as his Majesty by this his Declaration conjures us) lay aside all private Animosities, and groundless Jealousies: *Let us fear God, and honour the King*, and not discover the Falseness of our own Hearts, by distrusting our Prince's.

In a word, let every Man, in his Station, contribute (*his Mite*) to the Peace and Greatness of his Country: Let him shew his Love to God, in his Obedience to his Prince: And let no Man, by setting up Conscience against Duty, run the Hazard of dashing the *First Table* against the *Second*.

A true Account of the Preservation of the Regalia of *Scotland*, viz. Crown, Sword, and Scepter, from falling into the Hands of the *English* Usurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet; with the Blazon of that Family.

Edinburgh, Printed in the Year 1701.

The Atchievement of Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Knight and Baronet, sometime Governor of the Castle of *Dunnottor*, and Preserver of the Regalia.

ARgent, a Lion passant, guardant, Gules, crowned with an Imperial Crown, holding in his dexter Paw, in Pale, a Sword, hilted and pomelled Or, in the dexter chief Point a Thistle proper, ensigned with a Crown of the last, and in the sinister the Badge of *Nova Scotia*, as a Knight Baronet; which Shield is timbered with Helmet and Chachements befitting his Degree, on a Wreath of his Tinctures, for Crest a Demi-man armed at all Points, pointing forth his Right-hand towards the Motto on an Escrol, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*; which Blazon is thus matriculate 27th of December 1673.

This Family carries the Lion passant, guardant, for the Paternal Coat of *Ogilvie*, the Sword, Crown and Thistle, as additional Figures of Honour granted to him by Authority, for special and eminent Service done to his King and Country, in preserving the Honours of *Scotland* from falling into the Hands of the *English* (intimate by his Motto, *Præclarum Regi & Regno Servitium*) as is evident from the following Account instructed by principal Papers and Evidents. For 'tis more satisfactory to Man to know the Truth of Things as they were really designed and acted from the Testimony of original

ginal Papers and Documents, than from the Allegations and bare Assertions of Pretenders, without Proof or Instruction.

When the Rebels in *Britain* under *Oliver Cromwel* the Usurper, had triumphed over the best of Men, and justest of Kings, *Charles* the First, and those that persisted in their Loyalty to him in these lamentable Times of Confusion, the Regalia or Honours of *Scotland* were delivered to the Custody of the Earl *Marischal*, and were lodged in the strong Castle of *Dunnottor*, within the Shire of *Mearns*, as a Place of greatest Security and Distance from the Enemy.

The said Earl being obliged to be in the Fields to defend his King and Country against the Usurper, he made Choice of *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, as the fittest Man for his Valour, Prudence and Loyalty, to intrust the Keeping of the said Castle of *Dunnottor*, with the Honours, viz. the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, and other Monuments of the Kingdom therein, makes him his Lieutenant, and gives him the Commission following.

Forasmuch as the King's Majesty and Committee of Estates, have intrusted the Care and Keeping of the House and Castle of Dunnottor to us William Earl Marischal, and have allowed forty Men, a Lieutenant, and two Serjeants, to be entertained within it upon the public Charge: Therefore we do hereby nominate George Ogilvie of Barras to be our Lieutenant for keeping of the said House and Castle, and give unto him the sole and full Power of the Command thereof, and of the Men that are to be entertained therein, for keeping thereof under us, with Power to him to bruick, enjoy, and keep the said Place, with all Fees, Dues, and Allowances belonging thereto, as fully, in all Respects, as any other Lieutenant in such a Case may do. In Witness whereof, we have subscribed these Presents at Stirling, the eighth Day of July, 1651.

Sic Subscribitur,

MARISCHAL.

Archibald Primrose, Witness.

William Keith, Witness,

Alexander Lindsay, Witness.

The Earl *Marischal*, having intrusted, as said is, the Government of the said Castle, and the Honours therein, to *George Ogilvie*; he accompanies the King to *England*, and after the Battle of *Worcester*, was taken by the *English*, and carried to *London*, where he was detained Prisoner in the Tower for a long time.

George Ogilvie of *Barras* being sole Keeper of the Honours, and Governor of the said Castle, which he found not sufficiently provided with Men, Ammunition, and other Provisions, to hold out against a long Siege, as the King had ordered, acquaints *John Campbell* Earl of *Loudon*, then Chancellor, who returned him the following Answer.

S I R,

Y OUR Letter of the last of *October*, came to my Hands the 9th of *November* Instant, and the Parliament being appointed to meet here upon the 12th Day, I staid the Bearer, in Expectation that I might return you the
Parliament's

Parliament's Answer and Orders ; but the Parliament not having met, and there being no Meeting of the Committee of Estates, I can give you no positive Advice nor Order : But I conceive that the Trust committed to you, and the safe Custody of these Things under your Charge, did require that Provisions, a competent Number of honest stout Soldiers, and other Necessaries, should have been provided and put in the Castle, before you had been in any Hazard ; and if you be in a good Condition, or that you can supply yourself with all Necessaries, and that the Place be tenable against all Attempts of the Enemy, I doubt not but you will hold out : But if you want Provisions, Soldiers, and Ammunition, and cannot hold out against all the Assaults of the Enemy ; which is feared you cannot do, if hard put to it, I know no better Expedient than that the Honours be speedily and safely transported to some remote and strong Castle in the *Higblands* ; and I wish you had delivered them to the Lord *Balcarras*, as was desired by the Committee of Estates, nor do I know any better Way for the Preservation of these Things, and your Exoneration. And it will be an irreparable Loss and Shame, if these Things shall be taken by the Enemy, and very dishonourable for yourself. I have here retained your Letter to the Lord *Balcarras*, hearing he is still in the North, and not to come to this Country. I have written to Sir *John Smith*, to furnish you the Remainder of the Victuals you wrote he should have given you : If he be in the North you will send it to him, and if he be gone home to *Edinburgh*, I cannot help it. So having given you the best Advice I can at present, I trust you will, with all Care and Faithfulness, be answerable according to the Trust committed to you, and I shall continue your assured and real Friend,

Sic Subscribitur,

LOUDON *Cancel.*

Dated at *Finlarge*, 13th November.

Directed thus, *For my much respected Friend*, George Ogilvie, Governor of *Dunnottor*.

The Governor, *George Ogilvie*, being disappointed of sufficient Force and Provisions to hold out a long Siege, and observing the Advances the *English* made daily in reducing the Nation, was exceedingly perplexed, how to prevent the Enemies getting the Honours of this Kingdom in their Hands ; he advises with his Wife (a Lady of great Prudence and undaunted Courage) she therefore forms a very happy Contrivance, that she should convey the Honours privately out of the Castle, and secure them without her Husband's Knowledge, that when he should be put to it, and tortured by the Enemy, he might freely declare he knew not where they were. In order thereto, this Lady sends for Mr. *James Granger*, Minister of *Kinneff*, his Wife, in whom she had great Confidence, and imparts to her the Design ; she promising to be faithful, they privately carried the Honours out of the said Castle to Mr. *James Granger* the Minister (the other Trustee) and put them under Ground within the Church of *Kinneff* ; and the Manner how the Honours were transported from the Castle thither, was on a Servant Woman's Back, in a Sack amongst Hards of Lint.

George Ogilvie, the Governor, not being able to hold out the Castle against so powerful an Enemy, that then besieged him so close, and expecting no Relief, and all other Forts and Castles in the Kingdom being in the Enemy's Possession,

feffion, enters into Capitulation with Colonel *Thomas Morgan*, and surrenders on honourable Terms, the Garifon being permitted to march out of the faid Castle with Drums beating and Colours flying, which were carried by the present Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, Son to the faid Captain *George* (who was the laft Person who carried Colours at that Time in *Scotland* for the King) and one of the Articles of Capitulation being to deliver up the Honours (for the *Engliſh* were certainly informed they were in the Castle) or give a rational Account of them : Theſe are the very Words of Capitulation, which the preſent Sir *William* (the faid Captain *George* his Son) hath in his Cuſtody.

After the Surrender, the *Engliſh* demanded the Honours, or an Account of them. The Governor declared, he knew not where they were, for his Wife had privately taken them away without acquainting him ; upon which he was put into cloſe Priſon in the faid Castle ; his Lady being examined and threatned with Torture, ſhe boldly affirmed, by way of Eviſion for her own Safety, that ſhe had delivered the Honours to *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore*, who carried them abroad to the King. But the *Engliſh* diſtrusting her, put her in cloſe Priſon alſo, and ſent out a Party to the Houſe of *Barras*, to apprehend the faid Sir *William Ogilvie*, their only Son and Child, that they might torture him in ſight of his Parents, to extort a Confeſſion from them ; but he by Providence made a timely Eſcape, and underwent much Toil and Fatigue, by travelling Night and Day, till he came to his Friends in *Augus*, where he remained *incognito*.

After the faid Captain *George* and his Lady had been cloſe Priſoners for a Year, in which Time they ſuffered much inhuman Uſage, by the Cruelty of the *Engliſh*, who cauſed a Centinel to ſtand at the Priſon Door, and another at the Priſoners beſide, that they ſhould not commune about the Honours : And after all, the faid Captain *George* and his Lady adhering to their former Declarations, that the Honours were carried abroad by the now Earl of *Kintore*, had ſuch an Appearance of Truth, that upon Mediation of Friends, Major-General *Dean* was prevailed upon to grant them Liberty to go to their own Houſe of *Barras*, upon ſuch Conditions as here follows, conform to the principal Warrant.

Whereas in the Capitulation made upon the Surrender of the Caſtle of Dunnottor, between Colonel Thomas Morgan and Captain George Ogilvie the then Governor, it was among other Things agreed, that the ſaid Captain George Ogilvie ſhould deliver up the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, of the late King of Scots, which were in his Cuſtody, or give a good Account thereof : And forasmuch as I have cauſed the ſaid Captain Ogilvie ever ſince that Time to be retained a Priſoner in the ſaid Caſtle, for not delivering the ſaid Crown, Sword and Scepter, or giving a good Account thereof. Now in regard he makes divers Pretences that the ſaid Crown, Sword, and Scepter were taken away out of Dunnottor without his Knowledge ; and laſtly, that his Wife conveyed the ſame to a Gentleman that carried them to foreign Parts ; I am willing that in caſe he ſhall procure good Security of 2000 or 1500 l. Sterl. that he ſhall render himſelf a true Priſoner to you upon Demand ; as alſo that his Wife ſhall do the like, he ſhall have his Liberty out of the Caſtle unto his own Houſe, being ſeated within four Miles of the ſame, providing

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viding he do not at all go from the House above three Miles; and I do hereby authorise you to receive such Bond of him as said is, for his and his Wife's further-coming, and thereupon to give him the Liberty abovementioned, for which this shall be your Warrant. Dated the Third of December 1652.

Sic Subscibitur,

Direct to Captain John Garnor, the
present Governor of Dunnottor.

Ri. Dean.

Upon this Warrant, Captain George and his Lady were set at Liberty, and Sir Robert Grahame of Morphie became Cautioner for them, as by the following Bond.

WHEREAS the Right Honourable Major General Richard Dean, hath issued an Order unto Captain John Garnor, now Governor of Dunnottor, that he grants Liberty to Captain George Ogilvie, together with his Wife (they being both Prisoners in the said Garison) to repair to their dwelling House, providing they give sufficient Security, that they depart not above three Miles from Barras, being their Habitation, and that they or either of them, doe nothing that is, or may be prejudicial to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England; and likewise an Advertisement or Warning given, they present themselves true Prisoners at Dunnottor Castle, to the Governor thereof, or his Depute; and that the said Capt. Ogilvie and his Wife shall perform the abovesaid Articles, I whose Name is underwritten, do bind myself, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, under the Penalty and Forfaulture of 2000 l. of lawful current English Money, in case of failzying to present, enter again, and make forthcoming the said Prisoners, when the Governor shall send for them: In witness thereof, I have hereunto put my Hand and Seal the 10th of January 1652. Sic Subscibitur,

Sir Robert Grahame of Morphie,

Testes, Rich. Hugkes, John Turner.

Some time after this, the said Captain George and his Lady were necessitate and enforced by the Rigidity and Strictness of the English, to find Security of new, as the following Bond doth evince.

WHEREAS upon Solicitation for Capt. George Ogilvie and his Wife's further Enlargement, the Honourable Colonel Lisburn, Commander in Chief of all the Forces in Scotland, hath ordered Captain Garnor of Dunnottor Castle, upon Security given, to give them six Weeks time to go about their lawful Affairs; I do therefore engage myself, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, Assigns, in the Sum of five hundred Pounds of good and lawful English Money, for their personal Appearance into the former Obligation of Confinement, six Weeks after the Date hereof. In witness hereof, I have put my Hand and Seal the 1st of February 1653. Sic Subscibitur,

James Anderson,

Attested by John Barkley, Richard Hugkes.

Under this Restraint Captain Ogilvie's Lady died, and he remained therein till the Restoration of King Charles II. and all that time he had a special

Care of the Honours, by sending monthly clean Linen to Mr. *James Granger* the Minister, and his Wife, with Instructions to take out of the Ground, and wrap them in the same, lest they should be spoiled or tarnished, which the Minister of *Kinneff* and his Wife punctually observed, and were faithful in their Secrecy, till the King's Restoration (for which they got a pecunial Reward) and then delivered them to the said Captain *George*, who, according to the King's Order, did deliver them to the Earl *Marischal* in as good Condition as he at first received them, as is evident by the following Receipt, which will demonstratively and undeniably prove, that the aforesaid Captain *George* and his Lady were the principal Keepers and Preservers of the Honours of *Scotland* (whatever others pretend) and the only Sufferers therefore; which honourable Piece of Service, so faithfully performed, should never be forgot by King or Country, in saving the Honours, which prevented both the Disgrace of the Kingdom, and the irreparable Loss of our ancient Regalia.

But notwithstanding of this noble and good Service done by the said Captain *George* and his Lady, yet at King *Charles* the Second's Restoration, the then old Countess *Marischal* wrote to his Majesty, that her Son *John Keith*, now Earl of *Kintore* (who was then abroad upon his Travels, and knew nothing of the Matter) had preserved the Honours, being that the said Captain *George* had unwarily imparted to the said Countess where they were hid, and how by that Contrivance of his Wife, in affirming that she had delivered them to the said *John Keith*, they had saved themselves, and concealed the Honours from the *English*; and his Majesty knowing nothing of Captain *George Ogilvie* and his Lady's special Service in preserving of the Honours (in respect they did not timely apply) did upon the said Countess her Misrepresentation, create her said Son first Knight-Marischal of *Scotland*, and then Earl of *Kintore*, and ordered him a Pension of 400 *l. Sterl.* a Year, which he enjoyed all King *Charles* the Second's Life-time, and is as yet continued to him with the said Place and Dignity, for his pretended Preservation of the Honours.

Captain *George Ogilvie*, then in the mean time in *Scotland*, being informed that the aforesaid Countess and others had misrepresented to his Majesty, his faithful Service, in preserving of the Honours, by which he was like to lose the Honour and Merit of so noble and eminent an Action, performed with the Hazard of his own and his Lady's Life, with the Ruin of his Fortune, he sends to *London* his Son, the said Sir *William Ogilvie* of *Barras*, to give a true Relation of the Preservation of the Honours, who addresses his Majesty with the following Petition.

To the KING's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Ogilvie, Son to George Ogilvie of Barras.

Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Petitioner is sent up here by his Father, to give your Majesty Notice, that his said Father hath had, and still preserves the Crown, Scepter, and Sword of *Scotland* in his Custody, long before the *English* possessed the Castle of *Dunnottor*, with the great Hazard of his Life, and

and long and streight Imprisonment, which occasioned the Death of his Wife. And in respect of your Petitioner's Father his great Interest with these Honours, he could not desert that great Charge, to come here and attend your Majesty himself.

Wherefore he hath sent your Petitioner to have your Majesty's particular Order, in relation to the aforesaid Honours.

The ANSWER to the Petition was as follows:

Whitehall, 28 September 1660.

HIS Majesty ordains the Petitioner's Father to deliver his Crown, Scepter, and Sword, to the Earl *Marischal* of Scotland, and to get his Receipt of them.

Sic Subscibitur,

LAUDERDAIL.

This Order was by the then Earl of *Lauderdale's* Advice, who said, if *John Keith* had kept the Honours, then the said *George Ogilvie* was not able to deliver them; but if the said *George* had the Keeping of them, it would evidently and undeniably appear who was the true Preserver.

At this time the then old Countess *Marischal* being informed that the Honours were hid in the Church of *Kinneff*, she endeavours, by all Means, to persuade Mr. *James Granger* the Minister to deliver them to her; but Captain *George* getting a Surmise thereof, goes to the said Church, and takes out the Scepter, and carries it to his House of *Barras*, and takes also an Obligation from the said Minister to make the rest of the Honours forthcoming to him, as appears by his Obligation, whereof the Tenor follows,

WHEREAS I have received a Discharge from *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, of the Honours of this Kingdom, and he hath got no more but the Scepter; therefore I oblige myself that the rest, viz. the Crown and Sword, shall be forthcoming at Demand, by this my Ticket, written and subscribed this same Day I received the Discharge, 28th September 1660.

Sic Subscibitur,

M. J. Granger.

Within few Days thereafter, Captain *George* gets the King's Order to deliver up to the Earl *Marischal* the Crown, Scepter, and Sword, which readily he obeys, and gets the Earl's following Receipt, all written with his own Hand.

AT *Dunnottor* the 8th Day of October 1660, I William Earl *Marischal*, grants me to have received from *George Ogilvie* of *Barras*, the Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom, entire and compleat, in the same Condition they were entrusted by me to him, and discharges the aforesaid *George Ogilvie* of his Receipt thereof, by this my Subscription, Day and Place aforesaid.

Sic Subscibitur,

Marischal.

Captain *George Ogilvie* not only preserved, by his Prudence, Fidelity, and diligent Care, the Honours as said is, but also considerable Writs and Monu-

numents intrusted to him when Governor of *Dunnottor* (the Way and Manner too tedious to insert) such as the King's Papers. The Receipt whereof follows,

WE William Earl Marischal grant us to have received from George Ogilvie, some time Governor of our Castle of *Dunnottor*, some Papers belonging to the King's Majesty, which was in *Dunnottor*, the Time of his being Governor there, in two little Coffers, which Papers consisting to the Number of eight-score sixteen several Pieces, whereof there are four Packets sealed, and one broke open, of which Papers I grant the Receipt, and obliges me to warrant the said George at his Majesty's Hands, and all others whatsoever, by this my Warrant. Signed, sealed, and subscribed at London, the first of December 1655.

Sic Subscribitur,

Marischal.

The said Captain George also preserved the Registers and Papers of the Kirk of *Scotland*, which is evident by a Receipt thereof, granted to him by the Lord *Balcarras*, by Order of a Commission from the Kirk; also the Monuments and Charters of the University of *St. Andrews*, which he delivered to *Robert Zull*, upon the Order of *Robert Honnyman*, Clerk to the University, and got his Receipt thereof. And likewise, the principal Papers and Charters belonging to the Family of *Hamilton*, which he delivered to *James Hamilton*, then Servant to the present Dutchess Dowager of *Hamilton*, and got his Receipt thereof, written on the End of my Lady Dutchess her Letter, brought by him to the said Captain George. All which principal Receipts and Documents are registrat, for Preservation, in the Books of Council and Session, being the general Register of this Kingdom.

Captain George Ogilvie having faithfully exonerated himself of the aforesaid Trusts, takes Journey for *London*, to wait upon the King, by whom he was kindly received, and delivered to his Majesty the Earl Marischal's Receipt of the Honours; which the King having read, Captain George humbly requested it back, that it might be kept in his Family as an Evident of his and his Wife's Loyalty and good Service done to the King and Kingdom of *Scotland*, which his Majesty granted, and was graciously pleased to confer a deserved Mark of his Highness's Favour upon him and his Family, by making him a Knight Baronet, by a Patent dated at *Whitehall*, 5th of *March* 1661, and gave him a new Charter of the Lands of *Barras*, changing the Holding thereof, to hold thereafter Blench of his Majesty and his Successors, 3d of *March* 1662, which is ratified in Parliament 11th of *August* 1679: In which Patent, Charter, and Ratification, is narrated the eminent Service done and performed by Sir George Ogilvie of *Barras*, and that he was the Preserver of his Majesty's Crown, Sword, and Scepter, the ancient Honours of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Damages sustained by the said Sir George and his Lady there through, from the Beginning of the Usurpation: During which Time (notwithstanding of all Temptations and Threatnings used against them by the Usurper) they carried themselves with the greatest Integrity and Constancy, under all their Sufferings.

This

This Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* was descended of the honourable Family of *Ogilvie* Earl of *Airlie*: He married *Elizabeth Douglas*, Daughter of Mr. *John Douglas* of *Barras*, Brother-german to *William* Earl of *Angus*, Grandfather to the late Duke of *Hamilton*. By this Lady he had the present Sir *William Ogilvie*, who married *Isabel Ogilvie*, Daughter to Sir *John Ogilvie* of *Invercarity*, by whom he hath very hopeful Children.

A clear Vindication and just Defence for publishing of the foregoing Account; with other remarkable Instances, and observable Passages relating to, and confirming the Truth of it.

For Truth seeks no Corners, fears no Discovery, and Justice is no Respector of Persons.

THAT the publishing an Account of the Preservation of Crown, Sword, and Scepter of *Scotland*, from falling into the Hands of the *English* Usurpers, by Sir *George Ogilvie* of *Barras* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle) and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, was not done of Design to offend, or derogate from the just Honour of any, far less those of the Family of *Marischal* (for whom the said Sir *George Ogilvie* did on all Occasions evidence, and his Posterity do yet continue a grand Veneration and due Regard.) But there being an Account of the Earl of *Kintore's* Family given to be inserted in Mr. *Alexander Nisbet's* Book of Heraldry; in which Account, the sole and chief Preservation of the Honours is ascribed to the now Earl of *Kintore*, and the then Countess-Dowager *Marischal* his Mother; and not only makes Mention of the said Sir *George* in a dishonourable Manner, but doth also smother (and might in process of Time have totally obliterate) the good Service, Loyalty and Sufferings of the said Sir *George* his well-deserving Lady: And it being credibly reported, That at the same Juncture the said Earl's Account was given to Mr. *Nisbet* at *Edinburgh*, the like Account was sent to *London*, to be insert in *Mary's* Dictionary (and that a long time before the Printing and publishing Sir *George's* Account) what less could have been done! than, in Self-defence, to vindicate the Fame and good Name, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the said Sir *George* and his Lady: For the Consideration, that the good Name and Reputation of the Righteous shall be vindicated and secured after Death, is, to a generous Nature, sensible of true Honour, a great Spur and Encouragement to worthy and virtuous Deeds; and the earnest Desire that People, of old, had of leaving a good Name behind them, and of perpetuating the Fame and Glory of their Actions to After-ages, did animate their brave Spirits in the Pursuit of Virtue, and, with the Hazard of their Lives, to do great and glorious Exploits for their Country: And as it is the Argument of a great Mind to be moved by this Consideration; so it is a Sign of a low and base Spirit to neglect it: Besides, there is a certain Civility in Human Nature, which will not suffer Men to wrong the Dead, and to deny them the just Commendation of their Worth. I say, what less could have been done, than to
vindicate

vindicate the good Name and Reputation, and to perpetuate the Sufferings of the deceased Sir *George Ogilvie* and his Lady, by publishing to the World the true Matter of Fact, in the whole Contrivance and Procedure, from the evident Instructions and Documents left by the said Sir *George*, and the Account of the Transactions, and pregnant Circumstances clearly by him narrated? which, it is presumed will abundantly satisfy all unprejudiced and unbiaſſed Persons, that the said Sir *George* and his Lady, were the only Sufferers for, and Preservers of, the Honours; but particularly his Lady, being of an heroic and masculine Spirit, like the brave old *Douglas*, was eminently and mainly instrumental (by the Divine Aid) in preserving of the Honours, as anon will more fully appear: For Sir *George's* Lady not only conveyed the Honours out of the said Castle, by her special Care and Contrivance, without her Husband's Privy and Knowledge; but gave out and maintained, both for concealing of the Honours in a feasible Way, and as a Mean of her own and her Husband's Safety, and Exemption from Torture, that she had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, who had carried them abroad to the King: And to confirm the *English* that it was so, Sir *George's* Lady (being of a ready and accurate Wit) contrived a Miſſive Letter, as if from the now Earl of *Kintore*, giving her an Account, That the Crown, Sword, and Sceptre of *Scotland*, were safely delivered by him to the King; which Letter the *English* intercepting, she having so ordered the Matter that it should fall into their Hands, did thereafter almost believe it to be true; but before that was done, the *English* menaced and maltreated Sir *George* (and his Lady in particular) to the highest Degree of Cruelty, in so far as Colonel *Morgan* was upon the Point to expose her to an exquisite Torment, by putting her in the Boots; and he said, she was the most resolute and undaunted Woman ever he spoke to: For she bid him do his utmost, she'd give him no further Account of the Honours. And that the *English* were intending to have wreaked their Fury on Sir *George* and his Lady, may be shrewdly guessed, by their causing a Centinel to stand at the Prison Door, and another at the Prisoners Bed-side all Night, that they (Sir *George* and his Lady) should not commune nor converse anent the Securing and Concealing of the Honours. And because Sir *George's* Lady bravely and constantly maintained, That she had delivered the Honours to the now Earl of *Kintore*, as aforesaid, they, to disgrace and affront her the more, caused their Provost-Martial to attend her, when she obtained the Liberty and Favour to take the Air for some Hours within the Precinct of the Castle, she being then almost stifled by a close and squalid Imprisonment, which certainly hastened, if not procured her Death, being a Woman of a high and fine Spirit, that would rather (like a Piece of true Steel) break than yield; for in a little time after Sir *Robert Graham* of *Morphy's* becoming Bail for her, and her said Husband's rendering themselves Prisoners again to the *English* Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle upon Demand, she became hectic, being then almost worn out, both by her former long and streight Imprisonment, and by the deep Impressions the immoderate Care of preserving the Honours had made on her; to which being added, the Thoughts of her remaining still under Restraint, and the continual Damps of re-entering to close Prison; no Wonder that her high

high and noble Spirit, being as unconquerable as she had then made the Honours, broke the Prison of her Body by a happy and peaceable Death, to enjoy, as there's good Reason to hope, a Crown of Glory, being the promised Reward of the Righteous. And as this Lady excelled in Piety and Virtue, so there is one very remarkable Instance of her steady Integrity (which should eternize her Name) that when she was on her Death-bed, she then, and not till then, did impart to Sir George her Husband, how, and where the Honours were hid and repositied, and took his Hand upon Oath, that although he should be brought to the Scaffold to be execute, he should never betray his Trust, nor deliver up the Honours to the *English*. So by what is above narrated, it will unquestionably appear, that neither the now Earl of *Kintore*, nor his Mother, were either privy to, or had a Hand in conveying the Honours out of the said Castle, nor in securing and hiding of them; but after the Thing was providentially and happily done, for Sir George's Lady to make Use of the now Earl of *Kintore*'s Name, was a very lawful Stratagem in her, and that which no generous Man then abroad would have declined to own, but would not have reaped the Fruits of Sir George and his Lady's Labours, nor taken the whole Reward due for their Sufferings. And that Lady might have made Use of Sir John Strachan's Name (if Providence had suggested it) who was wont to come from King Charles the Second, then in Exile, to get Account of the Posture the Castle and Garison of *Dunnottar* was in, and likewise to know how Matters then stood in this Kingdom: And for Instance that Sir John Strachan did so, he brought a Letter writ with King Charles's own Hand, under Cover of one from the then Lieutenant-General *Middleton*, directed thus, *To the Governor and Gentlemen in the Castle of Dunnottar*; which Letters are yet extant, packed up, and folded in the most secret and compendious Manner. The Tenor of the King's Letter is *verbatim* as follows.

Gentlemen,

ASSURE yourselves I am very careful of you, and sensible of your Affection to me, give Credit to what this Bearer shall say to you, and observe any Directions you shall receive from Lieutenant General *Middleton*, you shall shortly hear again from me, and I would have you find some Way frequently to advertise me of your Condition, which I will take all possible Care to relieve.

Paris, March 26th, 1652.

CHARLES R.

The Tenor of *Middleton*'s Letter to the Governor is *verbatim* as follows.

My dear Friend,

I Am so overjoyed to hear, that you, in this time, do behave yourself so gallantly, that I shall be most desirous to do you Service; the Particulars I remit to the Bearer, my Cousin and yours, to whom give Trust, since he is particularly instructed from him, who shall rather perish, than be wanting to his Friend, and who, in all Conditions, is, and shall be

Yours,

J. M.

The Bearer, as is said before, was Sir John Strachan.

By

By these Letters it doth further appear, That Sir *George Ogilvie* (then Governor of *Dunnottor* Castle) could not have carried himself with more Loyalty and Gallantry than he did. And although it be acknowledged in one Part of the now Earl of *Kintore's* Account, given to Mr. *Nisbet*, that there could be (then) no Hopes of Succour, nor the said Castle able to hold out long, if once attacked; yet, in another Part of the Earl's Account, it is alledged, That after Colonel *Morgan* had laid Siege to *Dunnottor* Castle, and that the Cannon had played against it two Days, the Governor capitulated for himself alone, and made the *English* Masters of the Place, by which they got all the Furniture, Plate, Pictures, Books, and ancient Papers belonging to the Family of *Marischal*. To which it is answered, That there being no Relief given, and all Hopes thereof being then cut off, and but thirty-six Men in the Garison (a mere Handful in Comparison of the Number then requisite to defend the Place) and all of them Day and Night upon Duty, were extremely fatigued and over-waked, yet they maintained their respective Posts valorously for the Space of ten Days, during which Time the said Castle was bombarded and also battered by the Cannon of the *English*; and when the Governor found, that the Garison was not able to hold out longer, and all other Forts within the Kingdom being then reduced, and under Command of the *English*, and the main Chance being secured, and preserved by his Lady, viz. the Honours and the King's Papers, the said Sir *George* (the Governor) made an honourable Capitulation, the Garison being permitted to march out of the said Castle with Colours flying, Drums beating, and kindled Matches, for the Space of a Mile from the Place; and the *English* were astonished to Admiration, to see such a small Force make so long and vigorous Resistance against such a prevailing Army: And the *English* expressly told, that if the Castle had not been that Day surrendered, they were resolved to have stormed it the very next Day following, which easily they might have done, considering (as aforesaid) the bad Posture the Garison was in. And that which did (sometime before) mightily incommode and perplex Sir *George* the Governor, was a Mutiny raised and fomented by one *David Lighton*, who had been a Colonel abroad, yet by the said Governor's Prudence, Diligence and Conduct, the Mutiny was suppressed and crushed in the Bud, by causing train-out Colonel *Lighton*, and never allowed him to re-enter the Castle, whereby the Soldiers were quashed and composed, and the direful Effects of that Mutiny prevented, which was to have sacrificed the Governor, and all under his Charge, to the merciless Cruelty of the *English*. And it was a signal Act of Providence the Design was discovered: For there being several veteran Soldiers in the Garison, who had served in *France* and other Places, most of them Strangers to the Governor, and getting no Pay from the Public, made the Governor's Post uneasy, and also brought him to a deal of Charges, he being necessitate to give Pay to the said Colonel *Lighton*; and also, to the Surgeon, Engineer and Cannoneer, all out of his own Pocket, he having got no Pay either to himself or them, from the Public. The Manner how the King's Papers was conveyed out of the Castle was thus: The Governor's Lady made a Girdle of Linnen, and packed them up, and sewed them in so dextrously that no Part of the Girdle appeared more bulkish

bulkish than t'other, and were happily carried out about a young Gentlewoman's Middle, whom the said Governor's Lady had kept in the said Castle as a Friend (for a while before) on that Design. And after the Castle was surrendered, as aforesaid, and that Sir *George* (the Governor) and his Lady were cast in Prison by the *English*, their own private Estate was not only mismanaged and neglected, but the Generality of the Country and Neighbourhood looked upon Sir *George* and his Lady as forlorn Persons, and upon their Fortune as ruined, in so much that those to whom they were indebted, did instantly distress them; and the *English* did harraßs them, by seizing upon and taking away of the Horses which laboured their own Mains of *Barras*; and Sir *George* and his Lady were not only enforced to suffer all this, but were also necessitate to be at great Charges, during the Time of their Imprisonment, in complimenting and treating the Officers and Soldiers of the *English* Garison, out of their private Estate, and the doing whereof was the great Mean (under the Divine Protection) of Sir *George* and his Lady's Preservation from the extreme Cruelty and Torture they were threatened with by the *English*. And after Sir *George's* Lady had, by her Resolution and Constancy, baffled all the Threats and bad Usage of the *English*, they (the *English*) profered her and her said Husband a vast Sum of Money for the Honours; but that Bait, though very prevalent with a great Part of Mankind, did not in the least stagger Sir *George* nor his Lady's Resolutions of Integrity and Loyalty, which were as firm as the Rock on which they were then imprisoned, and remained untainted to the End, & *finis coronat opus*. So that Bribes was not able to allure them, nor Threats to frighten them into a Discovery of these notable Regalia, the ancient Monuments of this Kingdom. And the said Sir *George* was so cautious and circumspect, as to keep and leave to his Posterity, as an Evidence of his and his Lady's Loyalty, not only all the most material Papers relative to the Preservation of the Honours, but also all the Missive Letters sent him thereanent, with the Doubles of his own Returns and Answers, and all the Passes granted by the *English* to him and his Lady from time to time, during their Restraint and Confinement to the House of *Barras*. And the said Sir *George* did also leave to Posterity Memoirs of the most remarkable Instances, and observable Passages that occurred and fell out, anent his and his Lady's Sufferings and Losses in preserving of the Honours; without which Adminicles, it was not possible to have writ truly on this Subject: But there's as much sure Evidence, fairly exhibited, for proving the Truth of what's asserted, as can be reasonably expected, or the Nature of the Thing can bear or require; and doth so irrefragably convince all, as to leave them nothing to say against it, unless there be any who will obstinately say, we will not believe it, nor yet our own Eyes, nor the Verdict of our Reason.

And that the now Earl of *Kintore* and his Mother did ascribe to themselves the chief and sole Preservation of the Honours, and did so inform King *Charles II.* at his Restoration (before Sir *George Ogilvy* was able to apply, having then the Honours under his Care) is evident, both by the Narrative of the said Earl's Account given to Mr. *Nisbet*, and also by the Answer given by King *Charles* to the then Earl of *Strafford*, when the late Earl of *Airly* (then

Lord Ogilvy) did solicit *Strafford* to represent to his Majesty the eminent Service done by the said Sir George Ogilvy and his Lady, in preserving the Honours of Scotland. *By my Lord Ogilvy's good Leave*, said the King, *it must not be so; for my Lady Marischal wrote to me, that she and her Son John had preserved the Honours.* This the late *Airly* did aver to be the King's Answer.

And that the said Countess endeavoured to procure Mr. *James Granger*, then Minister of *Kinneff*, to deliver up the Honours to her, is evident, by her sending of *Robert Keith* of *Whiteriggs* (then Sheriff-deput of the *Mearns*) to persuade him thereto; but Sir George getting a Surmise of the Design, did expostulate with the said Minister thereanent, who the more to ascertain the said Sir George, wrote him a Letter, wherein he expressly says, *I'll break my Neck before I break to you.* These are Mr. *Granger's* own Words; yet Sir George, to prevent such Endeavours, went and took up the Scepter to the House of *Barras*, and at the same time got an Obligation from the Minister, to make the Crown and Sword forthcoming to him upon Demand; and Sir George, after he had taken up the Scepter, said to the Minister, *The Piper plays the worse that wants the Nether Chafts* (being an old *Scottish* Maxim) intimating thereby, that the said Countess her Design was rendered abortive. And altho' the said Minister's Wife got a pecunial Reward for her, and her Husband's Fidelity and Secrecy (who were employed by Sir George's Lady, as Trustees for hiding of the Honours) yet notwithstanding of all the good and loyal Service, so well contrived, prudently managed, and faithfully performed by Sir George and his Lady (who were, under God, the prime Actors, the only Sufferers for, and main Preservers of the Honours) neither he the said Sir George, nor his Son Sir *William*, got either Place, Pension, or any pecunial Reward; but when Sir George, after the King's Restoration, and that he had delivered the Honours to the Earl *Marischal*, and gotten the Earl's Receipt of them, went to *London*, and was kindly received by the King, and was made a Knight-Baronet, and got the Change of the Holding of his Lands, and the Promise of a Pension, how soon the King's Revenues were settled. And some time thereafter, the present Sir *William* went up to Court (a second time) in Expectation of the Pension promised his Father Sir George: And although King *Charles II.* was graciously pleased to say, from his own Mouth, to the present Sir *William* (upon his re-minding the King of Sir George and his Lady's Losses and Sufferings in preserving of the Honours) *Be you confident, I'll see to the Standing of your Family:* Yet the then *Lauderdale*, who was sole Secretary, postponed and wearied out the said Sir *William* with Dilators and Shifts to the great Loss of his Money and Time at Court: And after Sir *William* had long waited, he was at last so slighted and neglected by *Lauderdale* (then become his Enemy) that he was necessitate to return home, without Place or Pension; although his Father and he computed their Losses to be then (*per Lucrum Cessans, & Damnum Emergens*) a thousand Pounds *Sterling*, the Interest of which, by this time, would have amounted to a considerable Sum. Now let the World judge, if it be not consonant to Equity and Reason, that the Family of *Barras* (being the Posterity of the said Sir George Ogilvy and his Lady) should have a real Reward, according to the Merit of such an heroic

roic and noble Action, and a full Recompence of the Damage they sustained thereby. And by what is above narrated, Truth doth appear in its naked Colours, without Fear or Favour of any; for the God of Truth will not suffer it to be smothered, nor pass without its due Commendation, and deserved Reward.

And such a singular Piece of Loyalty, so prudently and faithfully performed, should be a Motive to induce all honest-hearted *Scotchmen* and good Patriots in this and succeeding Ages, not only to pay a grateful Acknowledgment to the Memory of those renowned Persons Sir *George Ogilvy* of *Barras*, and Dame *Elizabeth Douglas* his Lady, but also to look upon their Posterity as the Representatives of those to whom *Scotland* owes its unconquered Crown.

A LETTER from the Nobility, Barons, and Commons of *Scotland*, in the Year 1320, yet extant under all the Seals of the Nobility, directed to Pope *John*; wherein they declare their firm Resolutions to adhere to their King *Robert* the *Bruce*, as the Restorer of the Safety and Liberties of the People, and as having the true Right of Succession; but withal, they notwithstanding declare, that if the King should offer to subvert their Civil Liberties, they will disown him as an Enemy, and chuse another to be King, for their own Defence.

Translated from the Original, in *Latin*, as it is insert by Sir *George Mackenzie* of *Rosehaugh*, in his Observations on Precedency, &c.

Edinburgh, Re-printed in the Year 1703.

Sanctissimo Patri in Christo ac Domino, Domino Joanni, Divina Providentia Sacro-sanctæ Romanæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ summo Pontifici, Filii sui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fyfe, Thomas Ranulphi Comes Moraviæ, Dominus Manniæ, & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Malifius Comes de Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Levenox, Willielmus Comes de Ros, Magnus Comes de Cathaniæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus Comes de Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Soules Buttellarius Scotiæ, Jacobus Dominus de Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David Dominus de Brechine, David de Grahame, Ingelarmus de Umfravile, Joannes de Monteith, Custos Comitatus de Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbertus de Haia, Constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith, Mariscallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto-claro, Joannes de Grahame, David de Lindsey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame,

Grahame, Joannes de Fenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weyms, Willielmus de Monte-fixo, Fergusius de Ardrosan, Eustachius de Maxwel, Willielmus de Ramsay, Willielmus de Montalto, Alanus de Moravia, Dovenaldus Campbell, Joannes Campburn, Reginaldus le Chen, Alexander de Seton, Andreæ de Lescelyne, & Alexander de Straton, cæterique Barones & Liberetenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodum Reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum osculis beatorum. Scimus, sanctissime Pater & Domine, & ex antiquorum Gestis & Libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras Nationes egregias, nostra sciz. Scotorum Natio, multis Præconiis fuerit insignata: Quæ de majori Scythia per mare Tirenium & Columnas Herculis transiens, & in Hispania inter ferocissimos, per multa temporum Curricula, residens a nullis quantumcunque Barbaricis poterat alicubi subjugari; indeque veniens, post mille & ducentos annos a transitu populi Israelitici, sibi sedes in Occidente quas nunc obtinet, expulsis Britonibus, & Piæti omnino deletis, licet per Norwegienses, Danos, & Anglos sæpius in impugnata fuerit, multis sibi Victoriis, & Laboribus quamplurimis adquisivit; ipsasque ab omni servitute liberas ut priscorum testantur historiæ semper tenuit. In quorum Regno, centum & tresdecem Reges de ipsorum Regali prosapia, nulla alienigena interveniente regnaverunt. Quorum Nobilitates & merita, licet ex aliis non clarent, satis tamen patenter effulgent, ex eo quod Rex Regum Dominus Jesus Christus, post passionem & resurrectionem suam, ipsos in ultimis Terræ finibus constitutos, quasi primos, ad suam Fidem Sanctissimam convocavit: Nec eos, per quemlibet in dicta Fide, confirmari voluit, sed per suum primum Apostolum, quamvis Ordine secundum vel tertium, sanctum Andreæ meritissimum beati Petri Germanum, quem semper ipsis præesse voluit ut Patronum. Hæc autem sanctissimi Patres & Predecessores vestri sollicita mente pensantes ipsum Regnum & Populum, ut beati Petri Germani peculium, multis favoribus & privilegiis quamplurimis muniverunt. Itaque Gens nostra, sub ipsorum protectione, libra hætenus deguit & quieta; donec ille Princeps Magnus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater istius qui nunc est, Regnum nostrum Acephalum, Populumque nullius mali aut doli conscium, nec Bellis aut insultibus tunc assuetum, sub amici & confederati specie, innumerabiliter infestavit: Cujus Injurias, Cædes & violentias, Predationes, Incendia, Prelatorum Incarcerationes, Monasteriorum Combustiones, Religiosorum Spoliationes, & Occisiones alia quoque Enormia, quæ indicto populo exercebat, nulli parcens Aetati aut Sexui, Religioni aut Ordini nullus scriberet nec ad plenum intelligeret, nisi quem Experientia informaret. A quibus malis innumeris, ipso juvante qui post vulnera me detur & sanat, Liberati sumus per serenissimum Principem, Regem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum Robertum, qui pro Populo & Hæreditati suis, de Manibus inimicorum liberandis, quasi alter Maccabæus, aut Josue Laboris & Tædia, Inedias & Pericula, læto sustinuit animo: Quem etiam Divina Dispositio, & juxta Leges & Consuetudines nostras, quas usque ad mortem sustinere volumus, juris Successio, & debitus nostrorum Consensus & Assensus, nostrum fecerunt Principem atque Regem. Cui tanquam illi per quem salus in Populo facta est pro nostra Libertate tuenda, tam Jure quam Meritis tenemur, & volumus in omnibus adhærere. Quem, si ab inceptis desistet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum nostrum volens subicere tanquam inimicum nostrum & sui nostrique Juris Subversorem statim expellere niteremur; & alium Regem nostrum, qui ad defensionem nostram sufficiet, faciemus: Quia quamdiu in Cen-

tum vivi remanserint, nunquam Anglorum dominio aliquatenus volumus subjugari. Non enim propter Gloriam, Divitias aut Honores pugnamus, sed propter Libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. Hinc est, Reverende Pater ac Domine, quod Sanctitate vestram cum omni Præcum instantia, Genu flexis Cordibus exoramus; Quatenus sincero corde, menteque pia recensentes, quod apud eum cujus vices in terris geritis, non sic pondus & pondus nec distinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & angustias nobis & Ecclesiæ Dei illatis ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes; Regem Anglorum, cui sufficere debet quod possidet, cum olim Anglia septem aut pluribus solebat sufficere Regibus, monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes Scotia ultraquam habitatio non est, nihilque nisi nostrum cupientes in pace dimittat. Cui pro nostra procuranda quiete quicquid possumus, ad statum nostrum respectu habito, hoc facere volumus cum effectu. Vestra enim interest, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui Paganorum feritatem, Christianorum culpis exigentibus, in Christianos sævientem aspicitis, & Christianorum terminos Arctari Indies: Quare ne quid vestræ Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, & si quod absit, Ecclesia in aliqua sui parte vestris temporibus patiatur Ecclesia aut Scandalum vos videritis, Exortere igitur Christianos principes, qui, non casum ut casum ponentes, se fingunt in subsidium Terræ sanctæ, propter generas quas habent cum proximis ire non posse. Cujus impedimenti causa est verior, quod, in minoribus proximis debellandis, utilitas propior & resistentia debilior æstimantur. Sic quam læto corde dictus Dominus Rex noster, & nos, si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittet, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignoret satis novit: Quod Christi Vicario totique Christianitati ostendimus & testamur. Quibus si Sanctitas vestra Anglorum reatibus nimis credula fidem sinceram non adhibat, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat; corporum excidia, animarum exilia; & cætera quæ sequuntur incommoda; quæ ipsi in nobis & nos in ipsis fecerimus; vobis ab Altissimo credimus imputanda. Ex quo sumus & erimus in hisque tenemur tanquam obedientiæ filii vobis tanquam ipsius Vicario in omnibus complacere; ipsique tanquam summo Regi & Judici causam nostram tuendans committimus cogitatum nostrum jactantes in ipso; speranteque linem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet & ad nihilum rediget hostes nostros. Serenitatem & Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus Ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbrothock in Scotia, sexto die Aprilis, Anno Gratiae millesimo trecentesimo vicefimo, Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti, quintodecimo.

The following is a Translation of the foregoing Letter.

TO our most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord John, by the Divine Providence, chief Bishop of the most holy Roman and Universal Church, your humble and devoted Sons, Duncan Earl of Fyfe, Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, Lord Mannia and Annandale, Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, Malisius Earl of Strathern, Malcolm Earl of Lenox, William Earl of Ross, Magnus Earl of Caithness and Orkney, William Earl of Sutherland, Walter Steward of Scotland, William de Soules, Buttelarius of Scotland, James Lord Douglas, Roger de Mowbray, David Lord Brechin, David de Grabame, Ingelramus de Umfravil John de Monteith, Warden of the County of Monteith, Alexander Frazer, Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland, Robert de Keith, Marischal of Scotland,

Scotland, Henry de Sancto Claro, John de Graham, David de Lindsay, William Oliphant, Patrick de Graham, John de Fenton, William de Abernethie, David de Weyms, William de Montefixo, Fergus de Ardrosan, Eustacbius de Maxwell, William de Ramsay, William de Mount-alto, Allan de Murray, Donald Campbell, John Camburr, Reginald le Cheene, Alexander de Seton, Andrew de Lescelyne and Alexander Straton, and the rest of the Barons and Freeholders, and whole Community, or Commons of the Kingdom of Scotland, send all manner of filial Reverence, with devout Kisses of your blessed and happy Feet.

Most holy Father and Lord, we know and gather from ancient Acts and Records, that in every famous Nation, this of *Scotland* hath been celebrated with many Praises: This Nation having come from *Scythia* the greater, through the *Tuscan Sea*, and by *Hercules's* Pillars, and having for many Ages taken its Residence in *Spain*, in the Midst of a most fierce People, could never be brought in Subjection by any People, how barbarous soever: And having removed from these Parts, above twelve hundred Years after the coming of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, did, by many Victories and much Toil, obtain these Parts in the West, which they still possess, having expelled the *Britons*, and intirely rooted out the *Picts*, notwithstanding of the frequent Assaults and Invasions they met with from the *Norwegians, Danes, and English*; and these Parts and Possessions they have always retained, free from all Manner of Servitude and Subjection, as ancient Historians do witness.

This Kingdom hath been governed by an uninterrupted Succession of one hundred and thirteen Kings, all of our own Native and Royal Stock, without the intervening of any Stranger.

The true Nobility and Merits of those Princes and People are very remarkable, from this one Consideration (though there were no other Evidence for it) that the King of Kings, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, after his Passion and Resurrection, honoured them as it were the first (though living in the utmost Ends of the Earth) with a Call to his most holy Faith: Neither would our Saviour have them confirmed in the Christian Faith, by any other Instrument than his own first Apostle (though in Order the second or third) *St. Andrew*, the most worthy Brother of the blessed *Peter*, whom he would always have to be over us, as our Patron or Protector.

Upon the weighty Consideration of these Things, our most holy Father, your Predecessors, did, with many great and singular Favours and Privileges, fence and secure this Kingdom and People, as being the peculiar Charge and Care of the Brother of *St. Peter*; so that our Nation hath hitherto lived in Freedom and Quietness, under their Protection, till the magnificent King *Edward*, Father to the present King of *England*, did, under the Colour of Friendship, and Alliance or Confederacy, with innumerable Oppressions infest us, who minded no Fraud or Deceit, at a time when we were without a King or Head, and when the People were unacquainted with Wars and Invasions. It is impossible for any whose own Experience hath not informed him, to describe, or fully to understand, the Injuries, Blood, and Violence, the Depredations and Fire, the Imprisonments of Prelates, the Burning, Slaughter and Robberies committed upon holy Persons and religious Houses, and a vast Multitude of
other

other Barbarities which that King execute on this People, without sparing of any Sex or Age, Religion or Order of Men whatsoever.

But at length it pleased God, who only can heal after Wounds, to restore us to Liberty from these innumerable Calamities, by our most serene Prince, King and Lord *Robert*, who, for the delivering of his People, and his own rightful Inheritance, from the Enemy's Hand, did like another *Joshua* or *Maccabeus*, most chearfully undergo all Manner of Toil, Fatigue, Hardship, and Hazard. The Divine Providence, the Right of Succession by the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom (which we will defend till Death) and the due and lawful Consent and Assent of all the People, made him our King and Prince. To him we are obliged, and resolved to adhere in all Things, both upon the Account of his Right and his own Merit, as being the Person who hath restored the People's Safety, in Defence of their Liberties. But after all, if this Prince shall leave these Principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we, or our Kingdom, be subjected to the King or People of *England*, we will immediately endeavour to expel him as our Enemy, and as the Subverter both of his own and our Rights, and will make another King, who will defend our Liberties: For so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject ourselves to the Dominion of the *English*. For it is not Glory, it is not Riches, neither is it Honour, but it is Liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest Man will lose but with his Life.

For these Reasons, most Reverend Father and Lord, we do with most earnest Prayers, from our bended Knees and Hearts, beg and intreat your Holiness, that you may be pleased with a sincere and cordial Piety to consider, that with him, whose Vicar on Earth you are, there is no Respect nor Distinction of *Jew* nor *Greek*, *Scots* nor *English*; and that with a tender and fatherly Eye you may look upon the Calamities and Straits brought upon us and the Church of God by the *English*, and that you may admonish and exhort the King of *England* (who may well rest satisfied with his own Possessions, since that Kingdom, of old, used to be sufficient for seven or more Kings) to suffer us to live at Peace in that narrow Spot of *Scotland*, beyond which we have no Habitation, since we desire nothing but our own; and we on our Part, as far as we are able, with respect to our own Condition, shall effectually agree to him in every thing that may procure our Quiet.

It is your Concernment, most holy Father, to interpose in this, when you see how far the Violence and Barbarity of the Pagans is let loose against Christendom, for punishing of the Sins of the Christians, and how much they daily encroach upon the Christian Territories. And it is your Interest to notice, that there be no Ground given for reflecting on your Memory, if you should suffer any Part of the Church to come under a Scandal or Eclipse (which we pray God may prevent) during your Time.

Let it therefore please your Holiness to exhort the Christian Princes, not to make the Wars betwixt them and their Neighbours a Pretext for not going to the Relief of the *Holy Land*, since that is not the true Cause or the Impediment: The truer Ground of it is, that they have a much nearer Prospect of Advantage, and far less Opposition, in the subduing of their weaker Neighbours.
And

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And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much Chearfulness, both our King and we would go thither, if the King of *England* would leave us in Peace; and we do hereby testify and declare it to the Vicar of *Christ*, and to all Christendom.

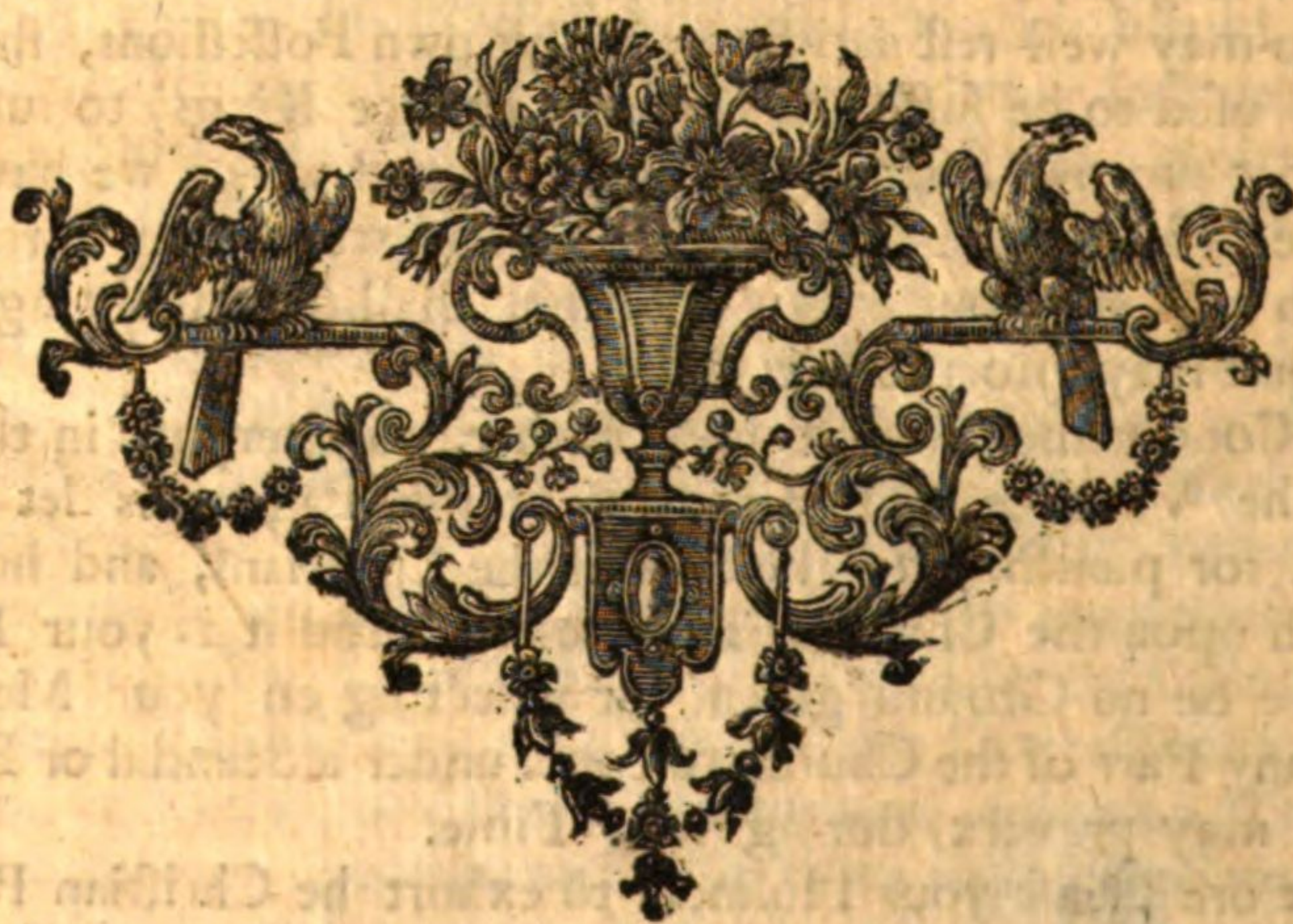
But, if your Holiness shall be too credulous of the *English* Misrepresentations, and not give firm Credit to what we have said, nor desist to favour the *English* to our Destruction, we must believe that the Most High will lay to your Charge, all the Blood, Loss of Souls, and other Calamities that shall follow on either hand, betwixt us and them.

Your Holiness, in granting our just Desires, will oblige us in every Case, where our Duty shall require it, to endeavour your Satisfaction, as becomes the obedient Sons of the Vicar of *Christ*.

We commit the Defence of our Cause to him who is the Sovereign King and Judge; we cast the Burthen of our Cares upon him, and hope for such an Issue as may give Strength and Courage to us, and bring our Enemies to nothing. The Most High God long preserve your Serenity and Holiness to his holy Church.

Given at the Monastery of *Aberbrothock* in *Scotland*, the sixth Day of *April*, in the Year of Grace 1320, and of our said King's Reign the fifteenth Year.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.





Somers, John Somers, 1651-1716

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